

Directionals in TAME systems

Östen Dahl



DIRECTIONALS



Table 2.2: Khroskyabs directionals

vertical	‘up’	<i>æ-</i>
	‘down’	<i>næ-</i>
riverine	‘upstream’	<i>kə-</i>
	‘downstream’	<i>nə-</i>
x-riverine	‘towards the left river bank or to higher elevation’	<i>læ-</i>
	‘towards the right river bank or to lower elevation’	<i>və-</i>
neutral	‘indefinite direction’	<i>rə-</i>



Table 2.1: Hiw directionals

vertical	‘up, uphill’	<i>vēn</i>
	‘down, downhill, towards NW’	<i>uw</i>
inclusional	‘in’	<i>iy</i>
	‘out’	<i>rōw</i>
x-littoral	‘landwards, inland, navigational) towards SE’	<i>ag</i>
deictic	‘hither’	<i>me</i>
	‘thither, (on land) parallel to shore towards SE’	<i>vēn</i>

a closed set of morphemes denoting directions

up

in

away

down

out

Directionals grammaticalize primarily as perfective markers

(2) Ronghong Qiang

a. lausə qa xe-sa.

teacher 1SG scold-O:1SG

Imperfective

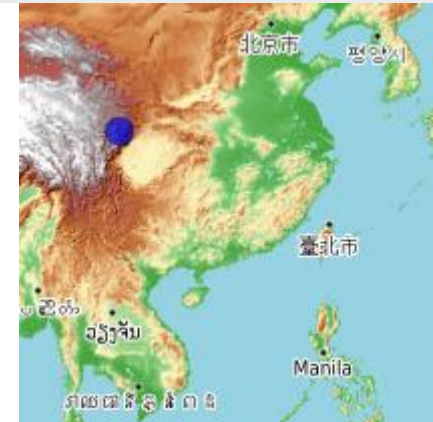
‘The teacher is scolding me.’ (LaPolla, 2003a, 145)

b. lausə qa nə-xe-sa.

teacher 1SG D:UPSTR-scold-O:1SG

Perfective

‘The teacher scolded me’ (LaPolla, 2003a, 146)



THE CLUSTERS

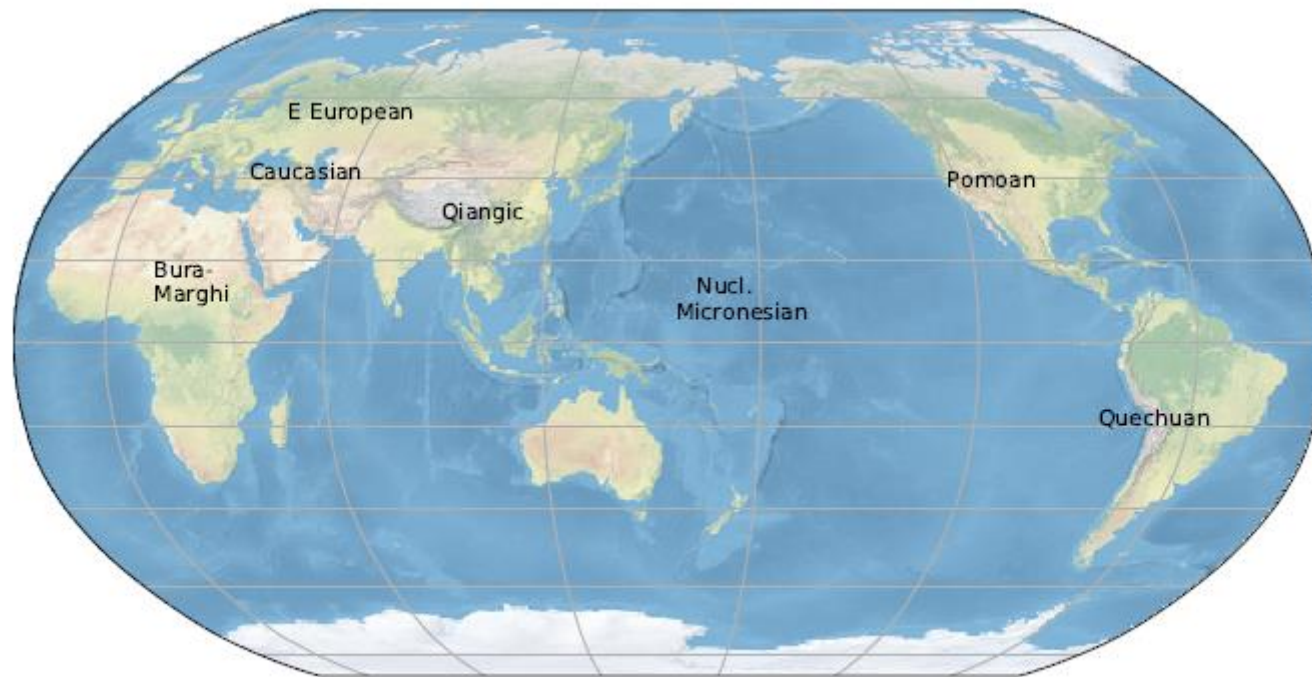


Figure 1.1: Clusters of languages with grammaticalized directionals

Comparing to Slavic

- The languages I study have been claimed to have “Slavic-style aspect”
- It is true that the Slavic aspectual prefixes are similar to the directionals-turned-perfective markers in these languages
- However, although all the languages under discussion have undergone the same kind of grammaticalization process...
- ...there is enough variation in the outcome of that process to make it difficult to identify a shared synchronic type

Soon to come!

- I am working on a draft version that will be made public
- I will tell you in due time where you can download it



that's all

Presentation October 18 2024
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From progressive to imperfective using parallel corpora

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The progressive

Progressives are patterns that mark **ongoing events at reference time** (Comrie 1976: 35; Dahl 1985: 91; Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 126).

English:	<i>I am working</i>	COP + GER
Spanish:	<i>Estoy trabajando</i>	COP + GER
Swedish:	<i>Jag håller på å jobbar</i>	<i>hold + på + å + V</i>

Progressives typically combine with dynamic verbs and not statives, and they are usually not available for generic and habitual uses.

Grammaticalization of progressives

It is well acknowledged that progressives most often arise from locative patterns and that they may grammaticalize further and become imperfectives (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: chap. 5).

locative → progressive → imperfective

Progressive to imperfective

present progressive	→	present tense (or present imperfective)
past progressive	→	past imperfective

Progressive vs imperfective

Stative:

*Jag håller på å vet Jag vet

Posture verbs:

*?Jag håller på och står här Jag står här

Habitual:

*Jag håller på å dansar varje onsdag Jag dansar varje onsdag

Performative:

*Jag håller på å ber dig Jag ber dig

Future:

*Jag håller på å åker imorgon Jag åker imorgon

I say/tell:

*?Jag håller på å säger till dig att... Jag säger till dig att...

Progressives with expanded uses

(3) Cusco Quechua (Quechuan; (Hastings 2004: 11, 95).|

a. *Ña uywa-kuna-pas mikhu-sqa-n-ku-manta kuti-y-mu-sha-n-ku-ña...*
 already animal-PL-CONJ eat-NM-3SG-PL-ABL turn-AUG-CIS-**PROG**-3SG-PL-already
 ‘The animals (also) were already returning from their grazing...’

b. *Chay Juan yacha-sha-ra-n Antonio-q suwa-sqa-n gulqi-ta,*
 DEM Juan know-**PROG**-PST-3SG Antonio-GEN steal-NM-3SG money-ACC
chay wasi-y-pi ka-sha-n.
 DEM house-1SG-LOC be-**PROG**-3SG
 ‘The money Juan knows Antonio stole is in my house.’

Method and data

- The parallel Bible corpus
 - Sample of 65 grams (grammatical constructions) that can be defined as progressives with expanded uses
 - Lists of verses with expanded uses. 20 verses/list.
- Each gram is run against each list in order to see how many times it occurs with that use

Results

The 65 grams of the expanded progressive sample

Table 1. Occurrences of expanded progressives per lists.

LISTS	NUMBER OF GRAMS IN THE LISTS		
	0-6	7-13	14-20
posture verbs	31	28	6
stative predicates	49	16	0
habitual contexts	42	23	0
I say/tell	29	7	19
performative uses	48	17	0
future uses	61	3	1

Results and conclusions

- Some grams have acquired one of the three main uses (posture, stative, occurrence in habitual contexts):

progressive → + posture v → + stative v/habitual context → imperfective

progressive → + stative v → + posture v/habitual contexts → imperfective

progressive → + habitual context → + stative v/posture v → imperfective

→ Expansion to **postural verbs** is the most common type.

THANK YOU!

References

Bybee, Joan, Revere Perkins & William Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar. Tense Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press.

Comrie, Bernard. 1976. *Aspect. An introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

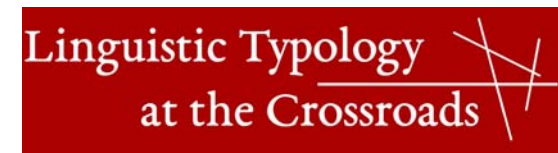
Dahl, Östen. 1985. *Tense and Aspect Systems*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Meaning, typology and massively parallel texts

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with Anna Sjöberg

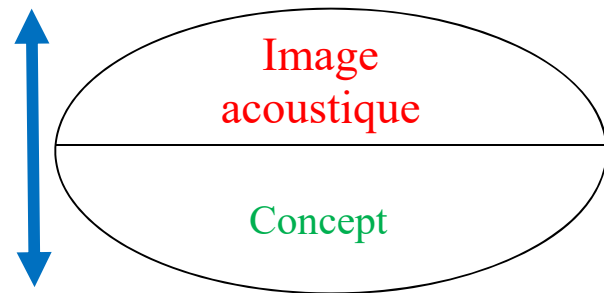
Wälchli, B. & Sjöberg, A. (accepted). A law of
meaning. *Linguistic Typology at the Crossroads*



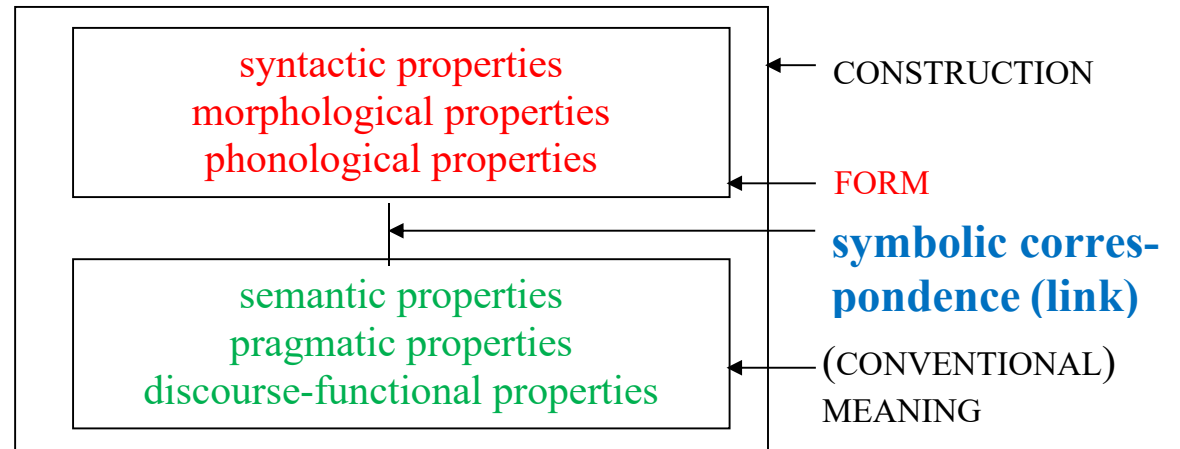
The dominant approach to **meaning** & **marker** is **symbolic** & **intensional**

Comes in various forms, e.g.:

De Saussure: Semiotics



Croft: Radical Construction Grammar



“canonical ideal of a one-to-one correspondence” between meaning and marker (Haspelmath 2023: 2)

Our approach: **no one-to-one correspondence** (not even as an ideal):

meanings are not always expressed,	markers express more than one meaning,	a meaning has more than one marker
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Link by extension: discourse occurrences is where meanings and markers are convertible units of the same kind
no convention, but a law:

A law of meaning

A meaning is expressed by the set of non-randomly recurrent markers that together are the best collocation of that meaning

3 sets: (i) meaning tokens, (ii) marker tokens, (iii) sets of marker,

Meaning ~ Marker set as best collocation of possible marker sets

‘negation’ { #inte# | #ing | #aldrig# | #varken# | #förbjöd# }

‘know’ { #vet# | #kän | #visste# | #veta# | #kunskap | förstå }

simple marker candidates: word-forms, morphs (character sequences), bigrams

#: word boundary

An alternative to symbolic links: collocations

“you shall know a word by the company it keeps” (Firth 1957)

“[a] collocation is an expression consisting of two or more words that correspond to some conventional way of saying things” (Manning & Schütze 1999: 151)

more generally: a strong non-random association between two types of events

<i>strong tea</i>	<i>powerful drug</i>
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Dunning’s (1993) log-likelihood

<pre>def logLikelihoodRatio(k1, n1, k2, n2): E1 = n1 * (k1 + k2) / (n1 + n2) E2 = n2 * (k1 + k2) / (n1 + n2) return 2 * ((k1 * log(k1 / E1)) + (k2 * log(k2 / E2)))</pre>	thanks to Dmitry Nikolaev
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Type of collocation	Examples
Intra-text collocation of markers (monolingual corpus)	<i>Strong</i> collocates with <i>tea</i> but not with <i>powerful</i>
Inter-text collocation of markers (parallel text)	English KNOW collocates with French <i>connu, savez, connaître</i> etc.
Meaning–marker collocation (parallel text)	‘know’ collocates with French <i>connu, savez, connaître</i> etc.

Diversity sample, 83 lgs. (Translations of the New Testament)

North America: **Bribri**, Comaltepec Chinantec, Cherokee, Chol, Nopala Chatino, Dogrib, Central Alaskan Yupik, Hopi, Tol, Mi'kmaq, Tlahuitoltepec Mixe, Pennsylvania German*, Western Highland Purepecha, **Tlachichilco Tepehua**

South America: Mapudungun, Central Aymara, Galibi Carib, Cashibo-Cacataibo, Cuiba, San Blas Kuna, Culina, Kotiria, Murui Huitoto, San Andres Creole English*, Kaiwá, Southern Nambikuára, Pilagá, Huallaga Huánuco Quechua, Rikbaktsa, Epena, Trinitario-Javeriano-Loretano, Sanumá, Yuracaré

Eurasia: Standard Arabic, Bengali, Car Nicobarese, Chechen, Mandarin Chinese, Dimasa, Middle English*, Basque, Hungarian, **Iu Mien**, Japanese, Kannada, Halh Mongolian, Korean, Swedish, Thai, Turkish

Africa: **Afrikaans***, Hamar-Banna, Zarma, Toro So Dogon, Igbo, Southern Kisi, **Matal**, Ma'di, Morisyen*, Moro, Murle, Naro, Tamasheq, Teso, Uduk, Wolaytta, Yalunka

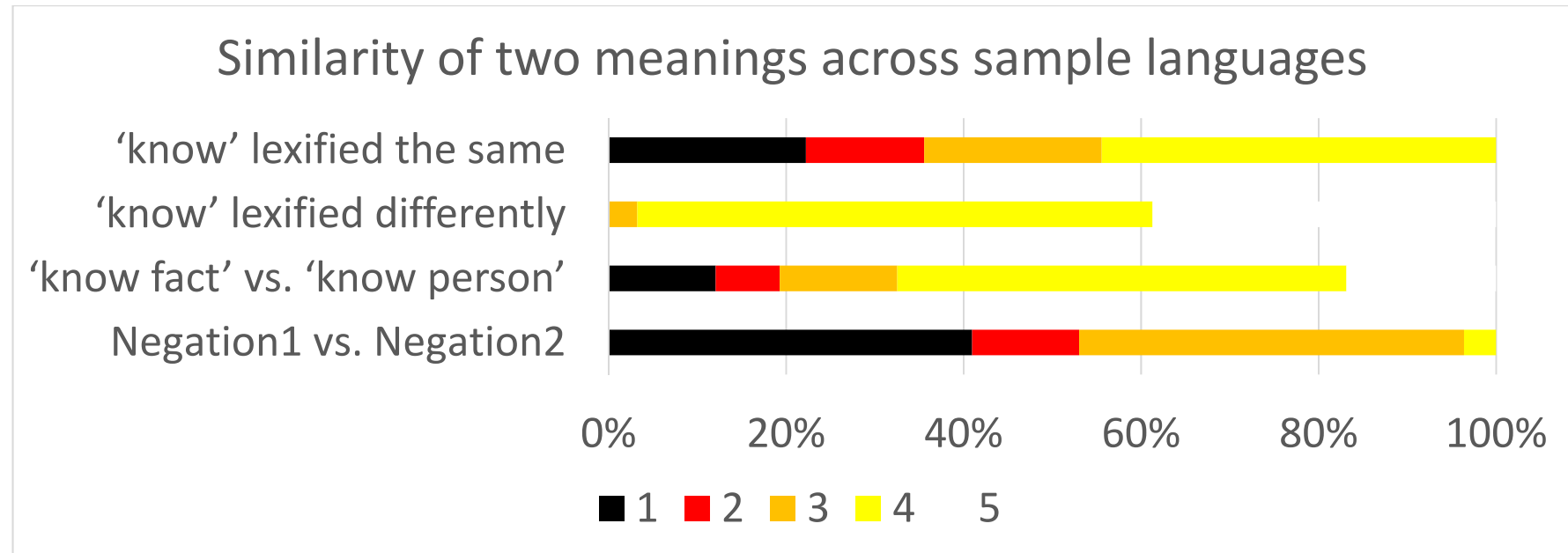
[* wild card languages]

Oceania: Angor, Bauzi, Daga, Fasu, Kire, **Kalam**, Doromu-Koki, Kuot, Meyah, Wubuy, Olo, Rotokas, Tabaru, North Tanna, Warlpiri, Yele

red: only one marker for negation extracted

While we can look at the markers extracted for one meaning, such as ‘know’, we can also **compare extractions for two similar meanings**

Example language	‘know fact’ German <i>wissen</i>	‘know person’ German <i>kennen</i>	Level	Type
North Tanna	[itun əruru#]	[itun əruru#]	1	Completely identical markers
Kalam	[#niŋb]	[#niŋbi]	2	Same markers, but in different order or slight variation
Doromu-Koki	[#diba# #toto#]	[#toto# #diba# #mama#]	3	At least 2/3 of markers are roughly the same
Swedish	[#vet# #visste# #veta# #känner dina#]	[#kän]	4	At least one marker is similar
Mandarin Chinese	[#zhi1dao# #xiao3de2# #qi3bu4 zhi1#]	[#ren4]	5	No similarity at all

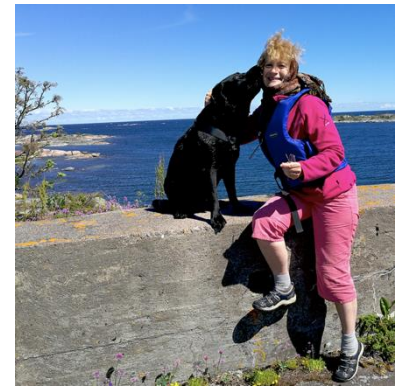


In terms of lexical relations in semantics

Colexification:	Dark profile
Dyslexification:	Bright profile
Near co-hyponyms:	Mixed dark and bright profile
(Colexification+Dyslexification)	
Near synonyms:	Very dark profile

Is it true or the truth is? Truth-related words and their discourse functions across European languages.

Volker Gast (Friedrich-Schiller-University Jena)
Maria Koptjevskaja-Tamm (Stockholm University)

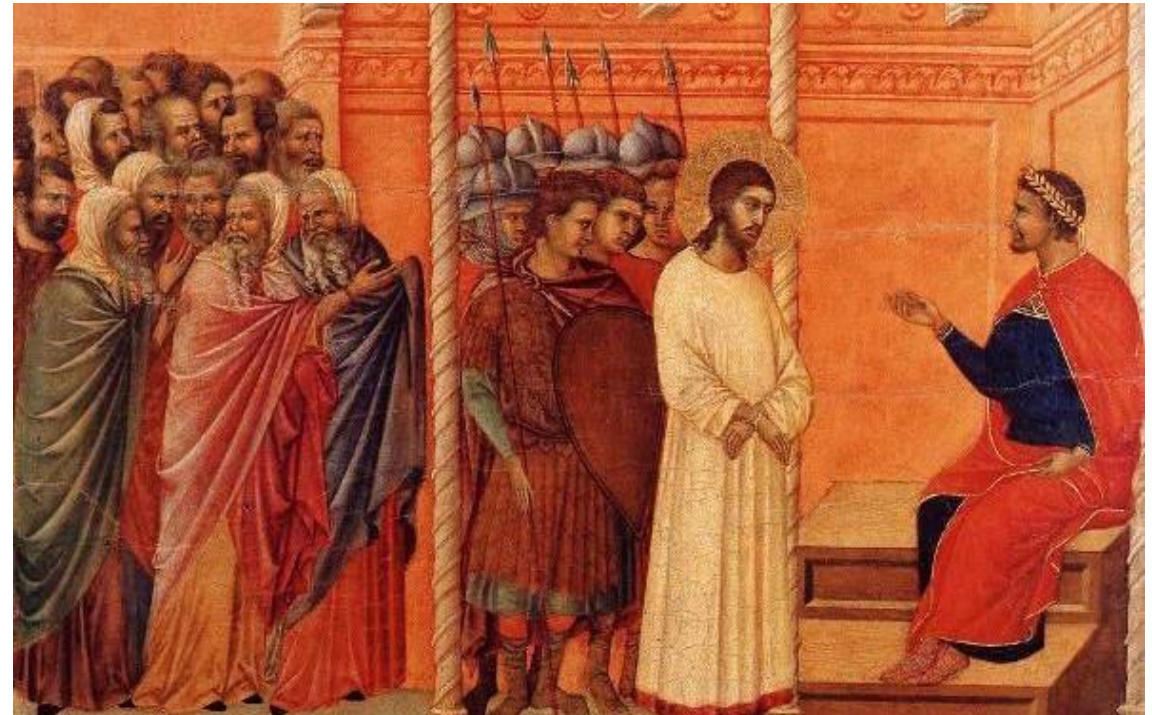


What is truth? Quid est veritas?

King Jesus answered with abandonment, “You say that I am a king. Instead, in fact, the reason I was born and came into the world is to testify to the truth. Everyone on the side of truth listens to me.”

“What is truth?” retorted Pilate.

(John 37 – 38)



‘Truth’ and ‘true’ in philosophy

Different theories, e.g., the correspondence theory:

- What we believe or say is true if it corresponds to the way things actually are – to the facts.

Another suggestion (Strawson): ‘to be true’ is primarily used is to show agreement with another speaker, i.e., in (inter-)subjective functions.

Our starting point

When and why do we say

- *It is true that Beethoven was a genius, or*
- *The truth is that Beethoven was a genius*

rather than simply

- *Beethoven was a genius?*

In other words, why do we EXPLICITLY (and perhaps redundantly) mention truth and true?

Our research questions

Q1. Under what discourse conditions do we predicate truth, from the perspective of language use in interaction?

Q2. What cross-linguistic patterns can be observed?

Europarl corpus: speeches in the European parliament

2. Ankündigungen für die 9. WahlperiodeVideo der Beiträge



► **President.** – Good morning everybody. Can I please ask you to take your seats for the opening of this sitting. The sitting is opened. I'd just like to tell you that the announcements concerning the ninth term will be published in the minutes of this sitting. I would also like to inform the House that I have received requests for points of order, starting with Christine Anderson.





► **Christine Anderson (ESN).** – Frau Präsidentin! Ich beziehe mich auf Artikel 128 über die Wahl der Kommissionspräsidentin, die morgen auf dem Programm steht. Der Europäische Rat schlägt uns in diesem Zusammenhang Ursula von der Leyen vor – Ursula von der Leyen, eine Kandidatin, die in zahlreiche Affären verwickelt ist und unter dem Verdacht steht, korrupt gehandelt zu haben. Zumindest ermitteln sowohl die Staatsanwaltschaft Lüttich als auch die Europäische Staatsanwaltschaft gegen Ursula von der Leyen wegen Korruption.

Eine solche Frau sollte überhaupt nicht kandidieren dürfen. Ich bitte Sie deshalb, Frau Präsidentin, dass Sie alles juristisch in die Wege leiten, um die grundsätzliche Wählbarkeit Ursula von der Leyens juristisch abklären zu lassen, und die Wahl bis auf Weiteres zu verschieben.





► **Bart Groothuis (Renew).** – Madam President, today is a sad day. Today, exactly 10 years ago, flight MH17 leaving from Amsterdam to Kuala Lumpur was shot down – a shameful, shameful deed. Shooting down innocent people from ten kilometres altitude, 298 innocent people were killed: 196 of them – I must reiterate, dear President – were Dutch, four Belgians, four Germans, but 17 nationalities in total. More than 80 children were onboard.

Russia had effective control of the territories from which that rocket was fired. Russia was beyond any doubt... Beyond any doubt, the Russian military fired that Buk missile. And today we grieve. Today we are united in our grief. And today we seek justice for the dead. And we want to take responsibility. We want Russia to take responsibility. But Russia is not taking responsibility.

Three men were convicted in The Hague, but they remain in Russia under the custody of Vladimir Putin. Vladimir Putin spreads disinformation, false narratives about MH17, and Vladimir Putin still occupies territory and kills innocent people.

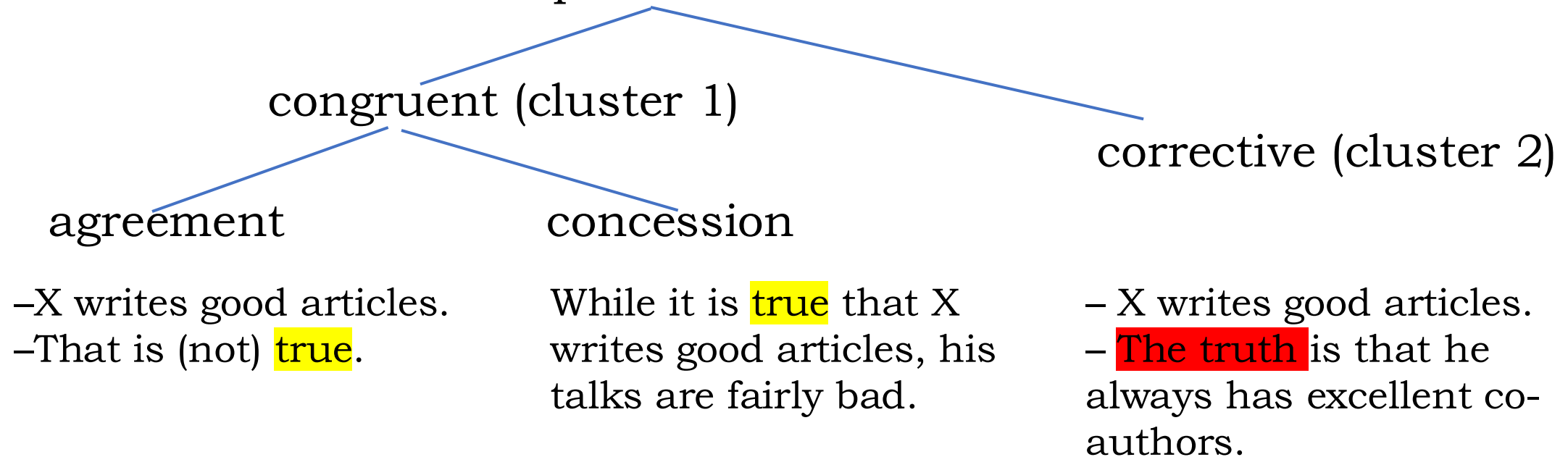
Later this year, the European Court of Human Rights will come with a verdict. Later this year, the Civil Aviation Organisation will come with a verdict. But I would like to say, as an inhabitant of The Hague, Mr Putin, President Putin, The Hague is the only city in the European Union where you are welcome. And I live to see the day that you end up in The Hague.



Preliminary results: contexts

Q1. Truth predicates can be used in congruent contexts, expressing (potentially partial) agreement, and in corrective contexts, introducing a new proposition into the discourse.

Contexts for truth predications:



Preliminary results: cross-linguistic patterns

Q2. While some languages do not systematically distinguish between the two types of contexts (the 1-term languages), other languages do exhibit such a differentiation.

1-term systems:
Czech

Cluster 1 (congruent)

- (13) We are told that farmers in Ireland did well – and that is **true**.
- (14) Bylo nám řečeno, že farmáři v Irsku se mají dobře – a je to **pravda**.

Cluster 2 (corrective)

- (15) However, the **truth** is that these solutions do not solve the fundamental issues.
- (16) **Pravda** však je, že zásadní problémy těmito způsoby nevyřešíme.

Preliminary results: cross-linguistic patterns

2-term systems: English and French

Monsieur le président, il est **vrai** que 2008 sera une année importante
...

Mr president, it is **true** that 2008 will be an important year ...

La **vérité**, c'est que ... les gouvernements d'Europe ... ont fait passer le message que la Turquie ne rejoindrait pas l'Union Européenne.

The **truth** is that ... Europe's governments ... have been sending out a message that Turkey will not join the European Union.

Preliminary results: cross-linguistic patterns

3-term systems

	Congruent Cluster 1		Corrective Cluster 2	
Latvian	taisnība NOUN (44.89%)	tiesa NOUN (26.67%)	patiesība NOUN (89.41%)	
Swedish	sant ADJ (45.34%)	stämma VERB (33.3%)	sanning NOUN (87.21%)	
German	stimmen VERB (37.72%)	wahr ADJ (14.49%)	Wahrheit NOUN (42.1%)	Tatsache NOUN (15.8%)

Preliminary results: cross-linguistic patterns

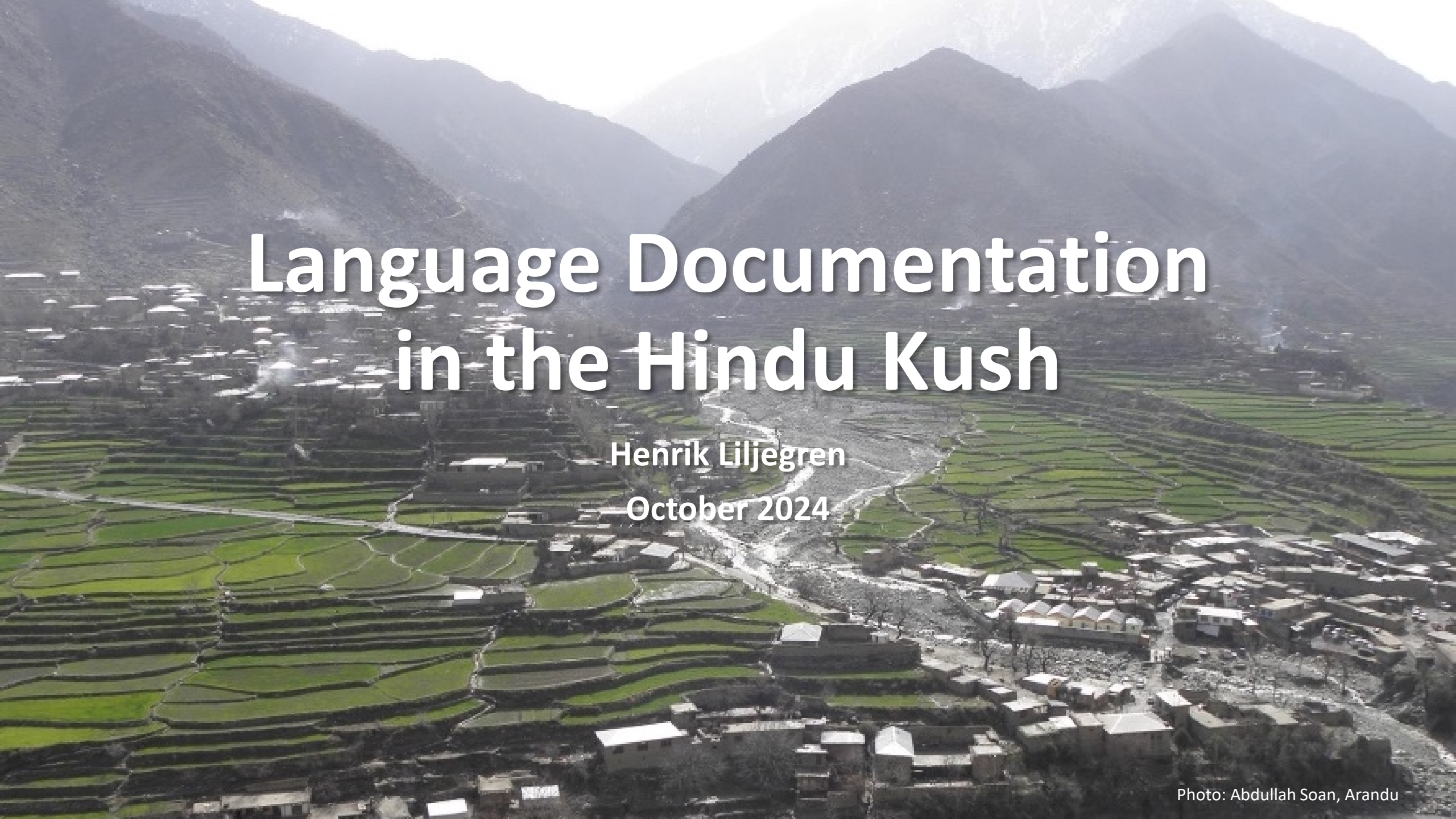
- All 1-term systems of our sample have a noun as the dominant expression of truth in congruent as well as corrective contexts.
- Those languages that differentiate between congruent and corrective contexts predominantly use a noun for the corrective cases, and a verb or adjective for the congruent cases.

Jack: That, my dear Algy, is the whole truth pure and simple.

Algernon: Truth is rarely pure and never simple.

Oscar Wilde, "The importance of being Earnest".

Our search for truth is continuing!

An aerial photograph of a valley in the Hindu Kush mountains. The foreground is dominated by terraced green fields, likely rice paddies, which are separated by low stone walls. A river flows through the center of the valley, surrounded by a mix of green fields and small settlements. In the background, steep, rugged mountains rise, some with patches of snow or light-colored rock. The overall scene is a typical representation of mountain agriculture in the region.

Language Documentation in the Hindu Kush

Henrik Liljegren

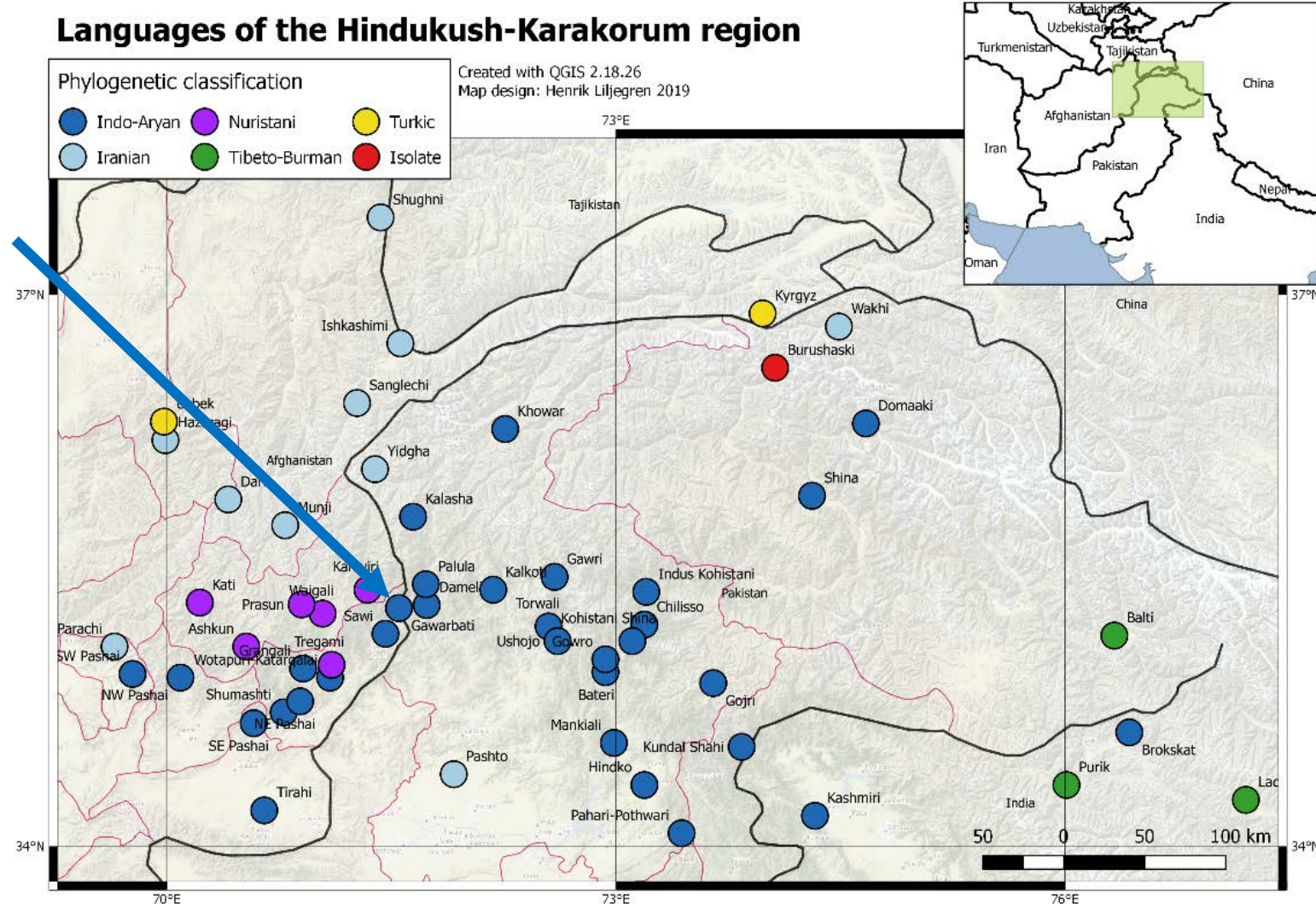
October 2024

Current focus: Gawarbati

- *Gawarbati: Documenting a vulnerable linguistic community in the Hindu Kush* (Project funding from Vetenskapsrådet 2021-2024)
- Overall goal: To compile a lasting record of the Gawarbati (= collect data and make it widely available) in close collaboration with the language community
- Classification: Indo-European > Indo-Iranian > Indo-Aryan > Gawarbatic > Gawarbati

Where?

- ISO 639-3: gwt
- Glottocode: gawa1247
- Pakistan-Afghanistan border area
- One of many lesser-described languages in the HK region
- ~20,000 speakers (4,000 in Pakistan)
- Arandu in Chitral district is our primary target



What?

- Create a corpus based on video and audio recordings
- Build an open-access lexical database
- Provide a language description
- Produce community resources

The Gawarbati-speaking area along the Kunar River (view from the north)

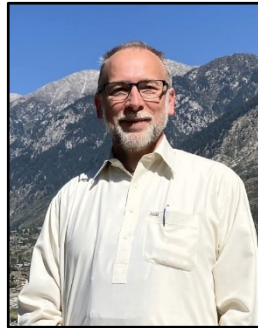


Photo: Muhammad Ali Shah, Arandu

Who?

Stockholm University

PI:
Henrik Liljegren



PhD student /
research
assistant:
Anastasia
Panova

Forum for Language Initiatives (Pakistan)



Team coordinator:
Fazal Hadi (2021-
23) / Allauddin
Torwali (2023-24)



Language
consultant
(annotation):
Abdullah Soan

Language
consultant
(recording,
metadata):
Nasirullah Nasir



Language
consultant
(lexicography):
Fazal Akbar



Current status

- Data collection completed:
 - 157 events recorded (≈ 22 h), segmented and annotated in ELAN: IPA & orthographic transcriptions, Urdu & English translations)
 - 25,000 entries from locally produced dictionary (Gawarbati-Urdu) in FLEx
- 115 events partially glossed (FLEx)
- 50% of draft dissertation grammar (Anastasia Panova)
- 3 topic-specific papers submitted
- A few student projects based on project data, ongoing or completed



Photo: Allauddin Torwali

Closing event in Kalkatak, Chitral, 2 Oct 2024

Typographic meaning in (English) Lexical Blends

Daniel Kjellander, Ph.D., Stockholm University

Suzanne Kemmer, Ph.D., Rice University

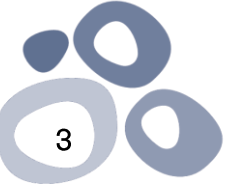


Stockholm
University



RICE

Background



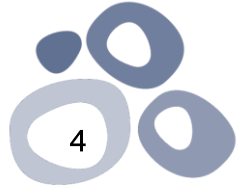
What is lexical blending?

“the **combination** of two (or more) **segments** of words
fused into one lexical item.”

(Kjellander, 2022:1, my bold)

Trick

Technology



Lexical blends in linguistic analysis and theory

Description of formation –
troublesome for 'building block' theories

(Bauer 1983, 2006, Cannon 1986,
Dressler 2000, Fradin 2000, 2015)

Typology of
formation types

(Bergström 1906, Pound 1914, Algeo 1977,
López Rúa 2004, Renner 2020)

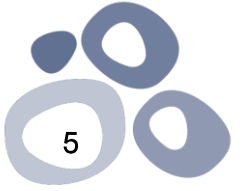
Factors motivating blends

(Kubozono 1990, Lehrer 1996, Kelly 1998, Kemmer 2003, Gries 2004b, 2012, Fandrych 2008, López Rúa 2012, Beliaeva 2014, Renner 2015, Kjellander 2018, Lalić-Krstin & Silaški 2018, Balteiro and Bauer, eds., 2019, Wulff & Gries, 2019)

Similarity of form

(Cannon 2000, Gries 2004a, 2006, 2012, Renner et al, eds., 2012, Kemmer 2017, Wulff & Gries, 2019)

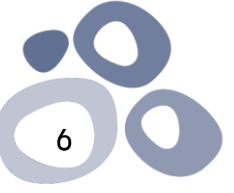
Our study



Factors motivating blends →

Multimodal similarity analyzed using
schema-based descriptions of blend formation

(cf. Fauconnier & Turner, 2002; Kemmer, 2003).



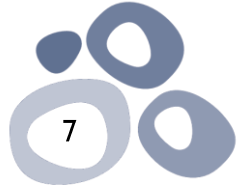
Our study

Visual similarity in **typographical** representations makes sense as a motivating factor.

Example

Intellisense (intelligence + sense)

S g g



Relevant observations

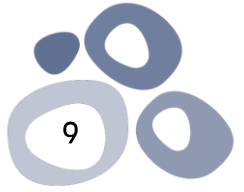
Similarity of different kinds is a central motivation in lexical blending (Algeo 1977, Kelly 1998, Gries 2004a, 2004b 2006, 2012, Brdar-Szabó & Brdar, 2008, Arndt-Lappe & Plag 2013, Wulff & Gries, 2019)

Creativity and **wordplay** are key characteristics in lexical blending (Kemmer 2003, Bauer 2006, López Rúa 2007, 2010, Renner 2015, Beliaeva 2019, Kjellander 2022)

Visual similarities in language are exploited in fraudulent Internet behavior (e.g., 'umu-se' instead of 'umu.se') (Moreno-Fernández et al. 2017)

The distinction between general shape recognition and linguistic shape recognition appears to be a **cline** (Zhan et al. 2022)

Data



Databases

The Rice University Neologisms Database (**RUN**), 1,472 items
(<https://neologisms.rice.edu/index.php>)

- Large number of items

Kjellander (2022) (Diss.) (**DK**), 179 items
(<https://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:umu:diva-193497>)

- Strictly systematic collection

m and n

infomercial (information + commercial)

(DK)

m-rm or mm-rm

warmpire (warm + vampire)

(RUN)

m-rm (and ww-v)

bandamna (bandana + damn)

(RUN)

m-n or mn-n

m rm rm

mm rm rm

b and p

webisode (web + episode)

(DK, RUN)

barkour (bark + parkour)

(RUN)

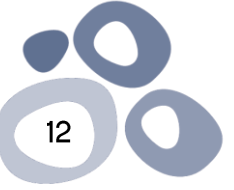
bopular (bop + popular)

(RUN)

p

b

b



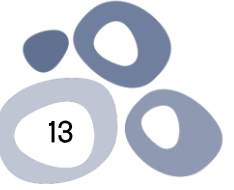
Intercalation ('inserted structure')

precrastination (pre[-] + procrastination)

precrastination

Dragula (drag + Dracula)

Dragula



Substitution

carjack (car + hijack)

greedflation (greed + inflation)

Usually no/little wordplay (Kemmer 2003, Kjellander, 2022)

Overlap (identity → perfect graphemic and phonemic similarity)

barkour (bark + parkour)

	b	a	r	k	
	b	a	r	k	o u r
	p	a	r	k	o u r

overlap

phonemic similarity

shape similarity

Wrapping up

Schemas as an explanatory tool

A schema-based description accounts for the wide **formal range** of blends, the **variation in formations** for a given blend, and the **disregard of morphological boundaries** characteristic of lexical blends

We have added a new dimension to the study of lexical blends: **Visual similarity** of graphemes in the source lexemes as a **motivation for cognitive integration**.

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