Wednesday 2 June 2010

09.00-10.10 Registration and welcome to the CCCM

10.10-10.30 Opening (in the Lecture Hall)

Kees Hengeveld (Chair of the International Functional Grammar Foundation)
Lachlan Mackenzie (Principal Organizer)
Maria Helena Mira Mateus (President of ILTEC & Chair of the Organizing Committee)

10.30-12.50 First session (Chair: Lachlan Mackenzie)

10.30-11.10 Kees Hengeveld (Universiteit van Amsterdam, Netherlands)

The grammaticalization of Tense, Mood and Aspect in FDG

This paper explores the extent to which the model of Functional Discourse Grammar can be used to predict patterns of grammaticalization in the domain of Tense, Mood and Aspect. To this end, the first part discusses the issue of grammaticalization in FDG in general terms, and ends with a general prediction concerning the directionality of grammaticalization processes that may be derived from the model. The second part then looks more specifically at grammaticalization in the domain of Tense, Mood, and Aspect, and shows that the general prediction holds true for the categories investigated (Hengeveld forthc.).

The general model for pathways of grammaticalization can be summarized schematically as follows:

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Lexicon
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Interpersonal Level
| π M ← π A ← π C ← π T/R |
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Representational Level
| π p ← π ep ← π e ← π f |
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Lexicon
| Lex | Lex | Lex | Lex |

This figure shows that in FDG terms pathways of grammaticalization conform to four scales:

(1) Interpersonal Level: M ← A ← C ← T/R
(2) Representational Level: p ← ep ← e ← f
(3) Interpersonal Level ← Representational Level
(4) π ← Lexeme
The scales in (1) and (2) indicate that at the Interpersonal and Representational Levels grammaticalization involves a widening of scope of grammatical operators. The scale in (3) indicates that elements from the Representational Level may assume functions at the Interpersonal Level in processes of grammaticalization. The scale in (4) indicates that lexical elements may develop into a grammatical operator at any Layer.

Applying the grammaticalization model given above to the classification of TMA categories, it turns out that the former is highly accurate in describing the documented cases of grammaticalization in the field of TMA. Examples are given of all the possible pathways predicted by (1)-(4).

Reference:

11.10-11.50 Maria Chondrogianni (University of Westminster, London, United Kingdom)
The pragmatics of the Modern Greek verb mood system

Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG, Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008) identifies two separate processes which lead to interpersonal and representational language specifications. The formulation of such specifications is based on semantic and pragmatic functions, while its encoding is affected by morphosyntactic and phonological processes. Focusing on the former, Hengeveld et al. (2005), based on 22 indigenous languages of Brazil, and illustrating the way Functional Discourse Grammar typology operates at a semantic and pragmatic level, make a case for the distinction between propositional and behavioural basic illocutions (in addition to a hierarchical structure of basic illocutions that they present). Carrying Hengeveld’s et al. research further, we explore the link between the encoding and the formulation of linguistic expressions at the interpersonal (pragmatic) level in Modern Greek. We identify the illocutionary primitives involved, which form part of the Modern Greek system, as indicated by morphosyntax and phonology, i.e. based on inflection, aspect, negation, distribution in main clauses, word order and clitic placement, intonation and segmental strategies, where appropriate.

The illocutions associated with main clauses introduced by the Modern Greek modal particles θα, να, ας, and μη(ν) (when μην is not preceded by να or ας) form the starting point of this research, which is concerned with examining the verb moods they are associated with. We discuss the relationship between the grammatical mood these particles introduce and their corresponding sentence type(s), as a means of expressing the Speaker’s intention. We are particularly interested in the way the illocution (and the grammatical mood choice) is codified in the message. We propose a pragmatic classification of θα, να, ας, and μη(ν) uses
associated with corresponding illocutionary values, including segmental markers and type of intonation relevant to each use.

We present the propositional and behavioural pragmatic functions expressed through a Modern Greek future indicative verb mood, and introduced by θα, namely:

i. Propositional uses: assertions, including negative assertions, emphatic assertions, mirative uses, and assertions in disguise, i.e. rhetorical questions and contrastive statements; interrogative uses: polar and content interrogatives

ii. Behavioural uses: distinct uses of polar interrogatives/exhortations

iii. Additional segmental marking, involving: requests for confirmation-through the use of tag questions; mitigated questions (proffer) – marked by the use of μήπως (mipos, perhaps); wondering (self or other directed questions) – marked by the use of árave (‘araye’, ‘I wonder’)

Να uses include:

i. Propositional uses: wishes, wondering, expressions of disapproval, as well as estimating

ii. Behavioural uses: mitigated directives, mitigated prohibitives and requests for permission.

iii. Additional segmental marking: wishes, curses, expression of uncertainty and wondering uses.

Μη(ν), when not proceeded by να or ας, functions as the Modern Greek prohibitive marker par excellence, whilst the hortative ας (“as”, “let’s”) expresses wishes (propositional uses) and indifference or permission (behavioural uses).

11.50-12.10 Coffee and tea in the Multifunctional Area on the 4th floor

12.10-12.50 Ahmed Moutaouakil (Université Mohammed V, Rabat, Morocco)
Emphatic constructions in Arabic: a Functional Discourse Grammar approach

In Standard Modern Arabic, the particle ‘inna occurs in the initial position in constructions which serve to express the Speaker’s insistence on the content transmitted. Within the FG framework, these constructions have been analysed in Moutaouakil (1989) as a type of focus construction where (Contrastive) Focus applies to the whole predication. In a recent study, Mackenzie (2009) points out that the properties of ‘inna- constructions can be more adequately accounted for if they are analysed in FDG as emphatic rather than focus constructions.

Subscribing to Mackenzie’s remark and elaborating on the characterization of Emphasis given in Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008), I would like to propose a global approach to emphatic constructions in Arabic where four main issues will be discussed: (a) the extent to which
it would be useful to distinguish between two kinds of emphasis: emotive emphasis (Exclamation) and what we may call ‘argumentative emphasis’ (Reinforcement), (b) the interpersonal status of the units to which the emphatic operator can apply, (c) the formal means by which the emphatic features can be realized and (d) the possibility for a construction to involve more than one emphatic marker.

References:

13.00-14.20 Lunch in Restaurante Campinas, Rua da Junqueira 48-54
14.30-16.30 Second session (Chair: Daniel García Velasco)
14.30-15.10 Aze-Eddine Bouchikhi (Moulay Ismail University, Meknès, Morocco)
FDG as a Grammatical Module of the Model of the Natural Language User

In this paper, we propose the integration of Functional Discourse Grammar as an independent Grammatical Module into the Model of the Natural Language User (NLU) in accordance with the assumptions that will be advanced shortly. We also propose to include an Intentional Module, referred to as the Conceptual Component, which may be confounded with the Epistemic Component, in addition to its holistic nature, which may suggest the term "Conceptual".

Therefore, we advance the following assumptions:

1. The Model of a NLU consists of a Grammatical Module, an Epistemic Module, a Logical Module, a Perceptual Module, a Social Module and an Imaginary Module, which has been added in our previous work (Bouchikhi 1998; 2008).

2. When a speaker takes a decision to communicate, the intentional Module triggers the other modules, including the Grammatical Module.

3. Each Module plays its functional role when it is motivated by the Intentional Module, while the other modules remain pending.

4. Each module interacts with the other modules, as required by the production of discourse acts used in communicative settings. Thus, the Intentional Module stimulates both the Grammatical Module and the Epistemic Module: it stimulates the Epistemic Module in order to provide
the required information to the first one, and it also stimulates the Grammatical Module in order to select the relevant information to formulate the discourse act before it reaches the Output Module, which is the last stage of production.

5. The interaction between the modules does not require additional mechanisms to determine the relationship between them; one might say they are self-programmed.

It is possible to distinguish between the modules according to their roles as follows:

a) Motivating Module, that is the Intentional Module.
b) Storage Module, that is the Epistemic Module.
c) Interpretation Module, that is the Grammatical Module and the Logical Module.
d) Supplying Module, that is the Perceptual and the Social Module.
e) Imaginary Module, that is the Imaginary Module.

15.10-15.50 Sterre Leufkens (Universiteit van Amsterdam, Netherlands)

**Transparent languages. How transparent are creoles?**

Transparency is a one-to-one relation between linguistic units at all four levels of organization (cf. Hengeveld forthcoming). Transparency thus exists at the interfaces between the levels. A language that maintains transparent relations throughout its grammar is called a transparent language.

Violations of transparency occur at all interfaces. Non-transparent relations between the Interpersonal and Representational Levels include apposition and cross-reference, as in these processes two Referential Subacts correspond to one Individual. At the interface between the Representational and the Morphosyntactic Level, expletive elements are non-transparent as these are units at the Morphosyntactic but not at the Representational Level. Grammatical gender, tense copying and grammatical relations are formal operations without a counterpart at a higher level and as such non-transparent as well. Fusional morphology is absent from a transparent language, as the fusion of two formal units into one results in a two-to-one relation between meaning and form. A transparent language adheres to domain integrity, which is why discontinuity and raising are expected to be prohibited. Furthermore, there is transparency when phrasing at the Morphosyntactic and Phonological Levels runs parallel.

The above list of features that are expected in transparent languages can be used to attest non-transparency in languages. Thus, the degrees of transparency of languages can be compared. This has been done for instance for Kharia (Leufkens forthcoming) which is transparent to a high degree.
Creoles have been argued to be more transparent than older languages (e.g. Seuren & Wekker, 1986). This could be the result of the heavy contact situation in which they emerged. Another possibility is that transparent features of creoles are inherited from shared source languages. In this study, four creoles are compared for their transparency. To exclude the hypothesis that (lack of) transparency is inherited from a shared ancestor, the creoles studied here have different source languages. The sample includes Diu Indo-Portuguese, Pichi, Nubi and Sri Lanka Malay.

The creoles indeed turn out to be transparent to a high degree. All four languages lack grammatical gender, tense-copying rules and grammatical relations. They have little fusional morphology and, with a few exceptions, domain integrity is maintained. Phrasing at the Morphosyntactic and Phonological Level run parallel. This could very well be explained by the heavy contact situation in which these languages emerged. It is argued that language contact increases transparency, whereas age can increase opacity.

References:

15.50-16.30 Lucía Contreras-García (Universität zu Köln, Germany)

**Functional Discourse Grammar and interface flexibility from a comparative perspective: architectural advantages**

The present study applies the notion and qualitatively varying instances of interface flexibility to Functional Discourse Grammar in order to account for a non-redundant, non-derivational view of grammar whereby a contextual component and an innovative conception of non-uniform linking rules play a major role in the adequate distribution of information and in the minimization of the model’s abstractness as opposed to other views of grammar such as parallel and traditional, generative conceptions of linguistic architecture (the degree of abstractness being understood as the degree to which a model tolerates the gap between the actually readable or audible expression and the formal representation thereof within the grammatical component).

I report on a comparative analysis between mainstream generative grammar, parallel conceptions of grammar and Functional Discourse Grammar with a focus on the latter, since it provides for a new conception of interface flexibility as well as for a contextual component until now ignored by other views of grammar when arguing for the correct distribution of linguistic information. The aim is to show to what extent the model’s interface conception, i.e. whether the interface is
flexible or transparent or, in other words, to what extent it allows for inter-level representational non-homomorphisms or mismatches, and of what kind, plays a major role in the model’s ability to provide for an empirically sound grammatical representation which distributes each piece of information where it belongs without the need to resort to redundant representations or excessive abstractness. The (non)-derivational architecture of the model, inherently linked to a model’s interface conception, is hereby also considered. I further comment upon the role of adjacent non-grammatical components in providing an additional source for the correct distribution of information and for the restriction of excessive abstractness.

Finally, I suggest that the architecture of Functional Discourse Grammar allows for distinct kinds of interface flexibility or non-uniformity, quantitative as well as qualitatively. The model’s tolerance of absent representational levels, should they at any point of the linguistic architecture be irrelevant (i.e. the allowance for an inter-level zero-to-one correspondence in e.g. interjections, whereby some representational levels are absent), is introduced as a main factor contributing to an optimally efficient methodological apparatus which, in the absence of unnecessary or redundant information, manages to provide a new version of interface flexibility.

16.30-16.50  Coffee and tea

16.50-18.10  Third session (Chair: Marize dall'Aglio Hattnher)

16.50-17.30  John Connolly (Loughborough University, United Kingdom)
   Recontextualisation and its Analysis in terms of an FDG-based Framework

In the standard model of FDG, the Grammatical Component is connected to a Contextual Component and to a Conceptual Component, both of which exert an influence upon the generation of utterances. The handling of context in FDG has also been discussed by several other authors, including Connolly (2007), who has proposed an extended model of context (EMC) which offers a more detailed treatment of contextual factors.

However, one aspect of the handling of context that has not so far been discussed in the FDG literature is the treatment of recontextualisation. This is the process whereby content that has been given expression in one context is subsequently re-expressed in a different context. For instance, the content of an article in an academic journal may re-expressed, perhaps in a simpler form, in a student textbook.

The aim of the present paper is to evaluate the adequacy of FDG, incorporating the EMC, as a basis for the analysis and description of recontextualisation. The discussion will be illustrated with the help of some textual data pertaining to a scientific study indicating a link.
between food additives and hyperactivity in children, and the reporting of the findings of that study in the press.

In order to analyse and describe such recontextualisation, use will be made of the EMC. In this extended model, distinctions are drawn between (i) discoursal and situational context, (ii) socio-cultural and physical context, and (iii) broader and narrower context. These categories will form the basis of the analysis, but they will be supplemented by some sociological categories taken from Goodman (1992: 31-34, 45-46), pertaining to relevant social groups/categories and cultural background. It will be contended that this method of analysis offers a useful basis for the description of recontextualisation.

As mentioned above, the recontextualised material may undergo changes (such as simplification) when it is re-expressed in a new context. Such recasting of content is termed resemiotisation by Scollon (2005: 473). It seems fair to state that no account of recontextualisation can be considered complete unless it includes an analysis and description of any associated resemiotisation of the content. Hence, a satisfactory method of characterising resemiotisation is required. In this connection, we naturally look to FDG to supply the necessary framework.

It is clear that FDG is capable of supporting the detailed analysis of resemiotisation, insofar as it offers the necessary lexical and grammatical coverage. However, it will be argued that the framework could be improved in this regard by enriching the lexicon to include an explicit recognition of lexical fields and of affective as well as conceptual meaning. Furthermore, resemiotisation may involve changes in discourse structure and/or the redistribution of content among the available modes of communication, for instance language and diagrams. In order to accommodate an analysis of these, further developments will be needed within the framework of FDG.

References:

Francis Cornish & Christel Le Bellec (Université de Toulouse Le Mirail, France)
What agreement can do for FDG: French morpho-syntax, discourse and the Contextual and Conceptual Component

Agreement is a central phenomenon for grammatical theory, its description bringing into play a number of different components and levels of analysis. The goal of this paper is to show how stating certain agreement facts, taking French as the example language, requires reference to each of the levels and components available within the model. This is in order to refine the description of agreement and in doing so, to sharpen the descriptive apparatus of the FGD model as a whole.
Agreement is essentially bound up with the (re)identification and establishment of referents – the province of the **Interpersonal level** as well as the **Contextual component**. The various dependents of a head noun in NP-internal agreement, as well as the expressions involved in a predicative relation with the NP as a whole, contract a function-argument relation with their controller term: the **Representational level** within FDG. And the grammatical relation which the agreeing terms create via the manifestation of agreement between them is crucial to the very existence of the phenomenon: the inflectional markers which manifest it on the targets involved are the tangible trace of this relation – the **Morphosyntactic level**.

In many languages, agreement may not occur between potential controllers and their targets, for “interpersonal”-type reasons. First, if the potential controller is not a topic, as is the case in thetic utterances, then subject-past participle agreement, for example, does not occur. Second, the speaker may ‘withhold’ the expected agreement between potential controllers and targets, as a function of the nature of the reference intended: see Corbett’s (2006: 97-8) “neutral agreement”. So the speaker is in control of agreement phenomena, rather than their being necessarily specified by the grammar of a language automatically. Moreover, the target may “agree” according to the features available via properties of the referent of the topic, as a function of the way in which the speaker conceptualises the referent – whether that topic is expressed textually or is available contextually.

Semantic agreement thus depends on the assumed properties of the intended referent as well as on what is being predicated of it. So it’s to the Contextual Component that we need to turn for access to these properties. This component plays a significant role in the operation of agreement: it contains a description of the discourse just constructed, a representation of the perceptible situational frame as well as of the speech participants’ shared knowledge and their social relations. It must therefore feed into the operation of morphosyntactic encoding. The Conceptual Component is also relevant to the description of certain agreement phenomena.

Clearly, agreement is not merely the “icing on the grammatical cake”; rather, it is a substantial part of the very cake itself. Agreement phenomena are not purely redundant, semantically empty and grammatically predictable (as has often been claimed – e.g. by Hengeveld, 2009: 2 within the FDG framework), but, as we shall be demonstrating, may perform several key functions at the level of discourse. Often, agreement-marked forms serve to indicate not only which controller amongst several possible candidates the target is to be understood as contracting a grammatical relation with but also how its reference or denotation is to be construed in context.
The semantic category of Time in FDG: the syntax and semantics of Dutch temporal expressions

At the Representational Level FDG distinguishes a number of semantic categories denoting different types of entities. There are four basic semantic categories: Individuals, States-of-Affairs, Propositional Contents and Properties. Added to these are a number of minor semantic categories, which may be relevant to only a limited number of languages, such as Location, Time, Manner and Reason. So far, none of these minor categories has been given proper attention in FDG, although Place (Location) has been described in detail within the framework of FG (Mackenzie 1992). The focus of the present paper will be on Time: we will investigate the form and use of a certain type of temporal expression in Dutch, in which a non-inherently temporal noun is used to refer to a time unit. An example is given in (1a):

\[(1) \quad \begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{Hij heeft} \quad \text{de hele voorstelling} \quad \text{geslapen.} \\
& \quad \text{he has} \quad \text{the whole performance} \quad \text{slept} \\
& \quad \text{‘He slept throughout the performance.’} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{Hij heeft} \quad \text{de hele middag} \quad \text{geslapen.} \\
& \quad \text{he has} \quad \text{the whole afternoon} \quad \text{slept} \\
& \quad \text{‘He slept the whole afternoon.’}
\end{align*}\]

In (1a), a noun typically used to describe a second-order entity (voorstelling ‘performance’) is used (metonymically) to refer to a time unit – a function normally performed by specific time expressions such as de hele middag ‘the whole afternoon’ in (1b). Not all nouns normally used to denote a SoA are, however, equally acceptable in this construction. Moreover, even where the construction is fully acceptable, as in (1a), use of these expressions turns out to be restricted.

The aim of the present paper will be to:

1. describe the semantic and morphosyntactic properties of the constructions exemplified in (1a), such as restrictions on the noun, the presence of certain modifiers, the combination with progressive aspect, the use of (in)definite determiners, etc.
2. explain why certain nouns can be more easily used in this construction than others. It appears that for a non-temporal noun to enter
this construction (1) the noun must have some inherent durative aspect, (2) the temporal entity denoted must have a more or less fixed duration and (3) the temporal entity is preferably some kind of conventional unit. 3. examine the possibility of providing reliable tests for distinguishing SoA-denotation from Time-denotation. The data provided suggest that the distinction between inherently and non-inherently Time-denoting expressions is gradual: the better a noun fulfils the semantic requirements of the construction, the fewer morphosyntactic restrictions there seem to be on the use of the construction. 4. suggest an analysis of these constructions that results in a more consistent treatment of both temporal and locational expressions in FDG

Reference:

09.50-10.30 Miriam Tavierniers & Gudrun Rawoens (Universiteit Gent, Belgium)
Oriented adjuncts in two Germanic languages

In this paper we focus on what have been called subject-oriented (Davies 1967), agent-oriented (Frey 2000) or participant-oriented adjuncts (Dik et al. 1990), or, simply, “oriented adjuncts” in Geuder’s (2000) terms, in English and Swedish, as illustrated in the following examples:

(1) He wisely kept his mouth shut.
(2) Han höll klokt nog munnen stängd.

In the first part we propose a typology of oriented adjuncts in the two languages, paying special attention to the following aspects: morphological marking; possible paraphrases; inherent ‘voice’ – i.e. active or passive (Davies 1967); variation in positioning of the adjunct; possibilities of semantic ambiguities (‘manner’ reading and/or ‘oriented’ reading) and ambiguities as to the attribuand of the oriented adjunct. In the second part we discuss some grammatical and semantic issues related to oriented adjuncts which have been described in the literature, and try to approach these from an FDG perspective. Themes which we explore include:

a) The question whether the attribuand of an oriented adjunct (the ‘controller’) is to be modelled in terms of syntactic or semantic functions (cf. the alternative uses of the terms ‘subject-oriented’ and ‘agent-oriented’/’participant-oriented’).

b) The scope of oriented adjuncts: e.g. what is the contribution of event-relatedness in participant-related adjuncts? In case of event-orientation, what aspects of the event are characterized? Hengeveld & Mackenzie (2008), for instance, describe two possibilities: an orientation towards the State-of-Affairs itself, or towards the Configurational Property that is the head of the State-of-Affairs.
c) A possible link with deontic modality which has been noted in the literature (Nakamura 1997, García Núñez 2002), i.e. certain types of oriented adjuncts appear to be licensed by the same conditions which allow deontic modalization.

References:
Approaching the grammar of adjuncts.]

10.30-11.10 Arok Wolvengrey (First Nations University of Canada, Regina, Canada)
Placing Plains Cree locatives: On the road to a functional analysis

This paper will investigate the clausal and extra-clausal word order of locative expressions in Cree discourse through a survey of the Plains Cree texts collected by Ahenakew (1987). The forms that locatives take in the Cree language – deictic proforms, other indeclinable and adpositional particles, and locative nominals – will be briefly described and the positional tendencies of each type of locative expression will be discussed.

As a necessary backdrop to this survey, an idealized and general version of a Functional Grammar (FG) word order template, based on Dik (1997), will be used to organize the word order data on Cree locative expressions. This template will be shown to compare favourably with two additional word order templates that have been proposed for Algonquian languages: the first originally proposed by Dahlstrom (1995:3) for the Fox (Meskwaki) language within the framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar, and since cited with reference to a number of other Algonquian languages, including Ojibwe (Valentine 2001) and Menominee (Shields 2005); the second recently proposed by Mühlbauer (2005) for Plains Cree within the Minimalist Transformational framework. When all three templates are compared, a considerable amount of convergence will be observed. However, applied to the Cree locative data, the FG template allows for finer detail in differentiating post-verbal constituents and, while it may appear to underspecify the pre-verbal possibilities, proves sufficient to characterize the placement of preverbal locatives as well. Ultimately, the FG template will be used to illustrate a very clear correlation between clausal and extra-clausal position and function, with particular locative expressions also being
found to correlate with function to a large extent. Not only does a functional analysis prove essential to explaining word order tendencies in this purportedly “free word order” language, but it also provides a necessary aid to teach and learn the language in attempts to reverse the trend of language loss.

References:

11.10-11.30 Coffee and tea

11.30-12.50 Fifth session (Chair: John Connolly)

11.30-12.10 Flávia B.M. Hirata-Vale (Universidade Federal de São Carlos, Brazil) & Taísa Peres de Oliveira (Universidade Federal de Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil)

Hypothetical correlative constructions in Brazilian Portuguese

If-then constructions have long been analyzed alongside canonical conditional clauses. In Functional Discourse Grammar theory (Hengeveld & Mackenzie, 2008), if-then clauses are regarded as correlative constructions, in an equiordination relation. It is suggested that the differences between the if-then construction and the if-clause remains at the Morphosyntactic Level only, for at the Representational Level they are analyzed similarly. This paper intends to show that the differences between if-then and if-clauses go beyond the kind of syntactic combination that join their parts. In order to do so, this paper aims at describing this kind of conditional construction in Brazilian Portuguese, codified in this language by se-então, hereafter called the hypothetical correlative. We propose to distinguish the hypothetical correlative from canonical conditionals based on both semantic and morphosyntactic features. Based on real data analysis, collected from the “Corpus do Português” (www.corpusdoportuges.org), we present some evidence that allow us to say that due to its role in the hypothetical correlative construction, the word então (‘then’) has to be analyzed as a conjunction, by the means of the semantic function. Following Dancygier (1998), we believe that então functions both as an anaphorical reference and also as a sequentiality marker. The word has undergone a grammaticalization process and is used within the hypothetical correlative as a conclusive conjunction (Pezatti, 2001). The difference
between hypothetical correlative and canonical conditionals can be visualized as follows:

\[(1) \quad (p_i) \colon [(e_p) \colon [(e_i) \colon \text{cond} \colon (e_j) \colon \text{cond} \colon (p_i))]\]
\[(2) \quad (p_i) \colon [(e_p) \colon [(e_i) \colon \text{conc} \colon (e_j) \colon \text{cond} \colon (p_i))]\]

Moreover, the analysis carried out here shows that the hypothetical correlative always designates an episode, since the events described within it always have to be sequential, thus being temporal coherent. At the Morphosyntactic Level, the main difference between hypothetical correlatives and canonical conditionals concerns their ordering pattern. Due to the semantic nature of hypothetical correlative, as a codification of two sequential events, the clause marked by *se* must occur in the \(P^{\text{pre}}\) position, that is preposed to the *nucleus*, which comes in the central position \(P^{\text{centre}}\), with no other possibility. This order is iconic to the sequence of events the two clauses describe and may not be inverted to the extent that its semantics may be affected. The considerations made so far only confirm our proposal here to treat the hypothetical correlative as a distinct kind of conditional construction.

*(FAPESP/1010-01847-9)*

**References:**


12.10-12.50 Freek Van De Velde (Universiteit van Leuven, Belgium)

**Semi-autonomous subordinate clauses in Functional Discourse Grammar**

Dutch has a number of constructions with (semi-)autonomous subordinate clauses. In these constructions, the matrix clause on which the subordinate clause depends is either not fully explicit or is not expressed at all. In this talk, several of these constructions will be investigated from a Functional Discourse Grammar perspective.

The first class of semi-subordinate clauses is the construction with an adjective or an adverb followed by a subordinate clause introduced by the complementiser *dat* (‘that’) (see e.g. Aelbrecht 2006). A somewhat similar construction is the exclamative in (2) (see Haeseryn et al. 1997:1435), and a third case of strange subordinate clauses are instances like (3), which fall under Evans’s (2007) category of ‘insubordination’.

\[(1) \quad \text{Goed/Gelukkig/... dat hij komt!} \quad \text{Good/Fortunate/... that he comes}\]
\[\quad \text{‘It is a good thing that / Fortunately / ... he is coming!’}\]
Traditionally, it is assumed that the examples (1)-(3) all involve ellipsis.
It will be shown, however, that this analysis is not without problems.
Instead, we need to fully recognise the surface structure.

On the basis of the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic characteristics of
(1)-(3) and on the basis of differences and similarities with cognate
constructions, it will be argued that the best way to represent sentences
like (1)-(2) at the Morphosyntactic Level (ML) and at the Interpersonal
Level (IL) is something like (4) and (5), respectively. For cases of
insubordination, like (3), Croft’s (2000) concept of ‘hypoanalysis’ is
invoked to explain how we arrive at the ML representation in (6), and the
IL representation in (7). The idea is that the exclamative force is
reanalysed as an inherent semantic property of the subordinating
conjunction (dat ‘that’). This will again be corroborated by taking other
constructions, which often go unnoticed in reference grammars of Dutch,
into account. The FDG model will thus be used to arrive at a unified
approach to (semi-)autonomous subordination patterns in Dutch.

References:
Longman.
Nijhoff.

13.00-14.20 Lunch in Restaurante Campinas, Rua da Junqueira 48-54
14.20-16.30 Sixth session (Chair: Hella Olbertz)
14.20-15.00 Daniel García Velasco (Universidad de Oviedo, Spain)
Raising in Functional Discourse Grammar

In this paper I will be concerned with the phenomena known as Subject-
to-Subject Raising (SSR) and Subject-to-Object Raising (SOR) with
reference to their manifestation in Spanish and English. The following
are examples of each in English.
Raising phenomena can be characterized as the placement of a unit which semantically belongs to an embedded domain in a matrix domain and its subsequent formal adjustment to the morphosyntactic requirements of the hosting environment. Raising is thus similar to other displacement phenomena, to the extent that several characterizations are given in the literature which differ in the delimitation of the scope of the process. The first part of the talk will thus offer an operational definition of raising. Next, I will provide examples of SSR in Spanish and SOR in English. It will be shown that in spite of their morphosyntactic differences, both processes perform a textual-cohesive function and that the application of the rule is triggered under very specific discourse conditions: raising appears to be a textual strategy which serves to increase the degree of topicality of an otherwise highly active referent.

The second part of the talk will be devoted to the formalization of the facts in Functional Discourse Grammar as presented in Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008). In particular, it will be shown that the activation status of a referent as represented in the Contextual Component will very much work as a precondition for the triggering of raising.

Reference:

15.10-15.50 Ventura Salazar García & Ana Belén Martínez Caballero (Universidad de Jaén, Spain)

Degree words in Modern Standard Arabic

The purpose of this paper is to offer an analysis of the main degree words in Modern Standard Arabic. As its starting point, this study uses the so-called Amsterdam Model of Parts-of-Speech Systems developed by Hengeveld et al. (2004), which has been incorporated into the general principles of Functional Discourse Grammar (henceforth: FDG) as part of the Representational Level (cf Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008: 217-230). However, it is not the standard version of this model that is employed here, but the constituent-based approach applied by Salazar (2008) in his study of degree words in Romance languages.

At this stage of our research, we are able to offer the following provisional conclusions:

The majority of degree words are flexible modifiers which can function either as adjectives (term modifiers), or as adverbs (term modifiers or modifiers of modifiers). Nevertheless, there are differentiated degree words which are specialised in one single function and show no signs of
categorial flexibility. This is the case of jiddan (‘very’), which only acts as a modifier of modifiers (the transcriptions of the Arabic examples into the Latin alphabet follow Ryding’s guidelines 2005: 13-15; abbreviations: M = masculine, SG = singular).

(1) (Ryding 2005: 278)

\[
\text{shay'} \quad \text{mu'sif} \quad \text{jiddan} \\
\text{thing.M.SG} \quad \text{distressing.M.SG} \quad \text{very}
\]

‘a very distressing thing’

The rigid strategy is present in the partitive structures in which the quantifier acts syntactically as a nucleus, whereas the quantified term functions as a modifier. Arabic has two different partitive structures: one with a preposition, and another without a preposition. The latter is known in traditional Arabic grammar as ‘iDaafa (‘construct’).

The variable combination of flexible, differentiated and rigid structures guarantees the thorough communicative efficiency of the system of degree words in Arabic. Although the flexible strategy is widely used, the existence of differentiated adverbs and of certain syntactically construed units of a rigid nature considerably reduce the risks of ambiguity inherent in categorial flexibility.

References:

Valéria Vendrame (Universidade Estadual Paulista, São José do Rio Preto, Brazil), Maria Luiza Braga (Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil), Edson de Souza (Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Brazil) & Kees Hengeveld (Universiteit van Amsterdam, Netherlands)

**Perception verbs in Brazilian Portuguese: a functional approach**

The aim of this paper is to give a systematic description of the semantics of Brazilian Portuguese (BP) perception verbs and of the complementation patterns they exhibit, both semantically and morphosyntactically, within the framework of Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG, Hengeveld & Mackenzie, 2008). We predict that the many subtle semantic differences among sentences with perception verbs can be understood in terms of the hierarchical clause structure used in FDG to represent utterances. In order to test this prediction, we analyze both the semantics of perception verbs in BP and the types of complement with which these verbs may occur in their various meanings.

In BP, there are different verbs to refer to the five sensorial modalities (sight, hearing, touch, taste and smell). Irrespective of the type of
perception verb, they are used to describe the subject’s perception of an aspect of the extralinguistic world. Therefore the overall constructions are dealt with at the Representational Level in the FDG model. Perception verbs specify a relation between an individual (x) and different kinds of semantic categories, according to the nature of what is perceived. Thus we predict that perception verbs can take the following types of complement: properties (f), individuals (x), states-of-affairs (e), episodes (ep), propositional contents (p), and communicated contents (C). The data confirm this prediction, but the analysis of the verbs according to the sensorial modality they describe show that not every kind of perception verb can take all of the six types of complement presented above. Verbs of touch, taste and smell, for instance, do not take C-complements, since the meanings of these three kinds of perception verbs are not related to the perception of linguistic information. Another remarkable result concerns the lexical variability of perception verbs in BP. It was observed that the higher the layer of the complement is, the less variability one finds in the perception verbs. Regarding smell, taste and touch, there are specific perception verbs with f- and x-complements describing each one of the three sense modalities, but there are only two verbs which can take e- and p-complements. For hearing and seeing, in the same way, a higher variability of perception verbs is found in sentences with complements lower in the hierarchical structure of semantic categories. The results briefly summarized here are not random, but follow this implicational hierarchy:

\[
f/x \subset e \subset p \subset C
\]

which means that, if a verb may combine with a C-complement, it will occur with all other types of complement; if it does not combine with an e-complement, nor will it combine with p- and C-complements.

In sum, the results confirm our prediction: the subtle semantic differences of the sentences with perception verbs can be perfectly described according to the hierarchical clause structure used in FDG in a way that the more abstract meanings are related to categories higher in the hierarchical structure when compared to more concrete meanings lower in the hierarchy.

Reference:

16.30-18.00 Guided tour (in English) of the Museum of the CCCM

18.00 End of Day 2
The grammaticalization of the Spanish connector *pues* – a proposal for an FDG account

*Pues* probably is the most multifunctional connector in Spanish grammar. It can express both motivation and conclusion types of meanings, and can serve a variety of pragmatic purposes. The meanings and functions of *pues* vary depending on its position within a linguistic expression and on the context within which it is used. The following examples illustrate some of its functions in educated general Spanish (i.e. the geographically relatively unmarked usage from anywhere in the Spanish-speaking world). In interclausal position *pues* connects two propositions (1), in intraclausal position it connects the communicated content to the wider context (2), and in clause-initial position it generally serves to introduce a turn, indicating that what follows is contrary to the addressee’s expectations (3) or otherwise noteworthy in relation to the wider or immediate context:

(1)  [thinking about writing a love letter]
    *sin duda me saldría bonita y eloquente, pues siempre he tenido grandes facultades literarias*
    ‘without doubt it would be very beautiful and eloquent, for I have always had great literary talent’

(2)  [after a long interruption of a discussion]
    *Volvamos pues al punto donde nos habíamos quedado – dijo.*
    ‘Let us then return to the point where we had been – he said.’

(3)  –¿Y qué dijo ella?
    –*Pues no dijo nada, es tan poco habladora . . .*
    ‘And what did she say?
    –*Pues* she didn’t say anything, she is so little talkative . . .’

In the informal speech of large parts of Spanish America, *pues* can also occur at the end of the clause, where it generally establishes a relation to the previous context and/or the expected contextual knowledge of the addressee:

(4)  –¿*Qué hiciste este verano?*
    –*Veranear, pues.*
    ‘–What did you do this summer?
    –*Have a summer holiday, pues.*

Interestingly, the variation of *pues* is partly paralleled by similar connectors in German and Dutch. The use of German *also* ‘therefore’ is more or less analogous to that of *pues* in (1-3), whereas Dutch *dus* ‘therefore’ behaves in a similar way as *pues* in (1) and (4). The functional variation of *pues* and its counterparts in German and Dutch corresponds
to various stages of grammaticalization, as manifested by (i) the increasing scope of the grammatical formative, (ii) the proportional decrease of its semantic specificity and the eventual loss of its meaning and (iii) the parallel acquisition of pragmatic functions.

In my paper I intend to give an overview of the diachronic and synchronic developments of the functions of *pues*, making use of German and Dutch data to support my point. The more general aim of the paper is to propose an account of the grammaticalization of discourse markers in FDG.

09.50-10.30 María Eugenia Vázquez Laslop (El Colegio de México, Mexico)

**Aspectualized modals: Spanish *poder* and *tener que*+INFINITIVE in aspectual verbal periphrases**

The purposes of this paper are to demonstrate that Spanish root modals *poder* (“can”) and *tener que* (“have to”) can be aspectualized, and to propose an explanation about the order of the aspectual and modal operators in terms of Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG). Detailed studies on Spanish aspectual and modal periphrases based on Dik’s Functional Grammar (FG) (1989) are Olbertz (1998) and Fernández de Castro (1999). What still needs to be done, however, is to describe the distribution of these periphrases with tense, mood, and lexical and grammatical aspect. This study advances in the identification of some combinatorial properties of Spanish aspectual and modal semi-auxiliaries.

Verbal sequences such as those shown in (1-2) involve aspectual semi-auxiliaries combined with modal semi-auxiliaries *poder* and *tener que* plus infinitive. Following the FDG categorization at the layer of Configurational Properties of the State-of-Affairs at the Representational Level (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008: 210), these constructions show aspectual operators modifying participant-oriented modality operators. (Peninsular Spanish examples, taken from the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual*, Real Academia Española.)

(1) Los adolescentes [...] comienzan a ten-er que tom-ar decisiones sobre su futuro.

“Teenagers [...] have to start making decisions about their future.”

(2) [...] no acaba-ba de pod-er reconoc-er=se a sí misma en la figura de una mujer enamorada.

“She was not being successful with the ability of recognizing herself in the figure of a woman in love.”
According to Dik’s (1997) and Olbertz’s (1998) aspectual categorizations, (1) is an example of a phasal aspectual semi-auxiliary modifying modality, while (2) is a case of perspectival aspectual periphrasis functioning over modality.

Perspectival aspectual periphrases combined with modal semi-auxiliaries demand an especial observation. In FDG terms (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008: 211) it seems that resultative is categorized as Phasal Aspect, i.e. within the scope of the Configurational Properties of the State-of-Affairs. It may be the case that \textit{ir a} (“go to”) + INFINITIVE, and \textit{acabar de} (“finish”) + INFINITIVE, as much as quantificational \textit{soler} (“used to”), function at an external layer, very close to temporal operators corresponding to FDG’s Episode layer (2008: 163-166). Perspectival Aspect – in Dik’s words – is an operator concerned “with the way in which the State of Affairs is viewed upon from an external point in time” (1997: 238). Then, it is very common for forms to be used to codify Perspectival Aspect grammaticalize as tense forms. This is the case of the Spanish perfect and, in some degree, of \textit{ir a} + INFINITIVE, which may be categorized either as prospective perspective aspectual periphrasis or as analytic future tense, since it is more frequently used in the oral register than the synthetic future (\textit{cantar-é}; “I will sing”) (Cartagena 1999: 2965-2969; Fernández de Castro 1999: 205-218).

10.30-11.10 Marize Dall’Aglio Hattnher (Universidade Estadual Paulista, São José do Rio Preto, Brazil)

The grammaticalization of modality in FDG

The aim of this paper is to investigate to what extent the grammaticalization process that involves modal verbs may be explained in terms of the layered approach to grammatical categories presented in Hengeveld & Mackenzie (2008). After a brief introduction to the treatment of modalities in FDG and an overview of the grammaticalization process in the domain of modality, some predictions related to the scope relations between the modals that follow from the FDG approach will be discussed taking into account the grammaticalization path proposed by Hengeveld (forthc.). In the light of these predictions we will analyze the modal verbs in Brazilian Portuguese. This study, however, does not intend to analyze the grammaticalization process itself, but its synchronic consequences for the analysis of the modal verbs.

The category of modality is split into three different categories in Hengeveld & Mackenzie (2008): subjective epistemic modality, event-oriented modality, and participant-oriented modality. Since the modals are classified according to the layer at the Representational Level at which they apply, a scope relation between them is established. Taking into account that absolute tense is an operator of the Episode layer, while relative tense is an operator at the State-of-Affairs, we will consider, in accordance with Hengeveld (forthc.), that the event-oriented epistemic modality is, indeed, located at the Episode level.
Several studies on grammaticalization in the domain of modality have hypothesized, with slight differences, diachronic developments in the field of modality expressions. Traugoth and Dasher (2002: 147), talking about languages with deontic-epistemic polysemy, have confirmed earlier findings that:

a. deontic > epistemic, not vice versa,
b. narrow > wide scope, not vice versa,
c. root possibility/necessity > epistemic, not vice versa,
d. subjunctification increases within each domain

Hengeveld (1989: 142) hypothesizes that diachronic developments in the field of TMA expressions will go from lower to higher scope, and not the other way round. Translated into the current FDG model (Hengeveld, forthc.), this pathway may be described as follows:

(1) Interpersonal Level: \( M \leftarrow A \leftarrow C \leftarrow T/R \)
(2) Representational Level: \( p \leftarrow ep \leftarrow e \leftarrow f \)

Taking into consideration only the Representational Level part of this pathway, which is relevant to the classification of modalities, we will argue that there is a correlation between the diachronic developments of the modal expressions and the scope relation between properties, states-of-affairs, episodes and propositions predicted in Hengeveld & Mackenzie (2008) and Hengeveld (forthc.), and attested in the synchronic analysis of the modal verbs in Brazilian Portuguese.

References:
Hengeveld, Kees (forthc.), The grammaticализation of tense, mood and aspect.

11.10-11.30 Coffee and tea

11.30-12.50 Eighth session (Chair: Evelien Keizer)

11.30-12.10 Núria Alturo & Neus Nogué (Universitat de Barcelona, Spain)
Background encoding in conversational Catalan

The purpose of this paper is to account for the role of Background encoding in conversational Catalan (Payrató and Alturo ed. 2002). According to Hengeveld & Mackenzie (2008: 89), “the linguistic marking of Background rather than new information seems to be very rare”. This is certainly the case in spoken Catalan, where background information is very frequently left unexpressed, as it can be easily obtained dynamically from the previous discourse and the extralinguistic context. In these cases, verb affixes and bound pronouns are the only
expression of Referential Subacts with a Background function.

However, research on Catalan information structure (Vallduví 1992, 2002, Villalba 1996, Bott 2008) and intonation (Prieto 2002) shows that Background can also be marked by means of the insertion of lexical material in either pre-clausal, post-clausal, or both pre-clausal and post-clausal positions. Besides, all extraclausal background material coexists with verbal affixes (person and number) and/or bound pronouns referring to the same entity. In Hengeveld & Mackenzie (2008: 350), this is considered a case of apposition involving two Referential Subacts referring to a single entity. However, this analysis forces a double marking of Background function on each of these Referential Subacts, which seems to be unmotivated. By contrast, our hypothesis is that there is a single Referential Subact which normally triggers a lexical or a cross-referenced Background within the clause, and that additional extraclausal encoding of Backgrounds is motivated by the dynamic implementation of discourse.

Taking as its starting point a treatment of extraclausal backgrounds as anaphors, our paper shows that background elements, like other, grammaticalised, anaphors, play a role in textual cohesion. Pre-clausal backgrounds may play the role of directing the hearer’s attention towards the background referent that is also a Topic. This allows the speaker to add new information concerning this referent. Besides, they may effect a contrast between a backgrounded entity and another entity in the context. By contrast, post-clausal backgrounds anchor the referent to the new information provided by the Focus, without directing the attention of the hearer towards the backgrounded entity and without being contrastive.

References:

**A few considerations on Vocatives in Brazilian Portuguese**

In this presentation we discuss a few issues concerning Vocatives in Brazilian Portuguese within Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG) (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008). One particular property of Vocatives is focused on, namely their lack of communicative autonomy. The
presentation highlights this property and its relevance for the processing of Vocatives, and then it provides a discussion of its possible implication for the analysis of Vocatives.

Non-communicative autonomy means that a Vocative has to be used along with another Act uttered (usually) by the same Speaker. This works as a necessary condition for a communicative event to make sense and get minimal completion. In normal situations, if a Speaker utters only an Act like “Hey...” or “Peter…”, a continuation will probably be required by the Addressee. A Vocative cannot be the only Act of a Speaker in a communicative event, in contrast to Acts like “Good morning!” or “Dinner is ready.”. It seems that this property is part of the very notion of Vocatives. A concept usually associated with Vocatives is “interpellation”, which seems to invoke the sense of “calling on someone to say something”. In Brazilian traditional grammars and also in the specialized literature on Vocatives, that property is hardly ever explicitly stated, but it seems to be tacitly taken as a characteristic of Vocatives. In FDG, the property under consideration seems to be assumed, or at least it could be easily accommodated, since the notion of Vocatives implies gaining the Addressee’s attention with regard to further (subsequent or ongoing) discourse.

Briefly, the feature in question consists in the fact that a Vocative is an Act which works for a further (Central) Act; i.e. Vocatives are subsidiary to other Acts, to which they direct the Speaker’s attention. Basing our analysis mainly on this characteristic, we propose to describe Vocatives in FDG as a type of Subsidiary Discourse Act. In this respect, we try to show that Brazilian Portuguese presents a particular device to encode the dependent status of Vocatives. This can be observed by assuming that Vocatives are one of the elements of a larger class of interactive expressions, and looking at a few particularities of each of these elements. Penhavel & Guerra (2008) argue that Brazilian Portuguese has three types of Interactive Acts (Checkers, Injunctives and Initiators) which together with Vocatives belong to a larger class of Interactive Acts. Following these authors, we consider that Checkers, Injunctives, Initiators and Vocatives are indeed elements of the same larger class. Further, we argue that these four types of Acts are dependent in nature, and that each of them presents a particular rule to express its dependence in relation to a Central Act.

The results presented here are not conclusive, since this presentation is part of research still under development, but the data have supported them so far. It is interesting to note that, although the research has pointed to an analysis of Vocatives that had not been considered before, FDG is able to accommodate this analysis, which indicates the pertinence of the model, as well as its descriptive power.

References:
Plural formation and reduplication in Dholuo provide an illustration of the way in which the abstract underlying clause structures can be mapped onto actual linguistic expressions. This mapping is effected by expression rules, which determine the form, as discussed by Dik (1997: 337). Katamba (1989: 254) states that linguistic theory is interested in sound not just for its own sake, but as the medium for speech production: “I think the most promising analysis of the relation between phonology, morphology and the lexicon is the model of LEXICAL PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY (normally referred to as LEXICAL PHONOLOGY”).

Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008: 15, 421) state that for each Discourse Act the Phonological Level provides a representation that serves as input to the Output Component. Dholuo uses the Phonological Level to express certain parts of speech. For example the adverbial notion ‘very’ discussed in this paper is expressed as a reduplication of the stem of the adjective.

As Katamba (1989: 257) puts it, the rules of morphology and phonology applying within the lexicon are essentially CYCLICAL: “Rules are made to apply in a cycle, first to the root, then outward to the affixes nearest to the root, then outward to the outer layer of affixes”. This paper will attempt to show how this applies to Dholuo. The analysis describes the knowledge that underlies a language user’s potential to communicate in his/her language in an explicit highly formalized way. The language user’s knowledge comprises both the basic units (e.g. lexemes, auxiliaries, syntactic constituents and phonemes) and the ways in which these units may be combined (into Discourse Acts, Propositions, Clauses, and Intonational Phrases), as described by Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008: 26).

References:
Gareth O’Neill (Universiteit van Amsterdam, Netherlands)

**Addressing the Black Box: initial consonant mutation in Irish Gaelic**

Similar to the other Celtic languages, initial consonant mutation plays a prominent role in the grammar of Irish Gaelic, and is activated by specific morphosyntactic, semantic, and/or pragmatic factors. For example, the initial /b/ of the noun *bád* ‘boat’ in (1a) is changed to an initial /v/ in (1b) as a result of the numeral *aon* ‘one/any’:

(1)  
a. **bád**  
   baːd̪  
   boat.SG  
   ‘(a) boat’

b. **aon bhád**  
   eːn vaːd̪  
   NUM.1 boat.SG  
   ‘one/any boat’

There exist, however, phonological constraints on initial consonant mutation in Irish Gaelic which, when applicable, serve to block the application of a particular mutation. For example, the initial /tʃ/ of the noun *teanga* ‘language’ in (2a) is not changed in (2b) as would be expected due to the numeral *aon* which normally triggers a mutation:

(2)  
    a. **teanga**  
       tʰæːŋgə  
       language.SG  
       ‘(a) language’

b. **aon teanga**  
   eːn tʰæːŋgə  
   NUM.1 language.SG  
   ‘one/any language’

The coming together of the homorganic consonants /n/ and /tʃ/ in (2b) blocks the application of a mutation which is in fact activated in this case by the numeral *aon*.

An analysis of examples (1b) and (2b) within the current model of FDG results in the following representations, respectively (3a) and (3b):

(3)  
    a. **aon bhád**
    ML: (Npi: [(Gwi: aon (Gwi)) (Nwi: bád (Nwi))] (Npi))
    PL: (PPI: [(PWj: /eːn/ (PWj)) (PWj: /baːd̪/ (PWj))] (PPI))
    OL: [eːn vaːd̪]

b. **aon teanga**
    ML: (Npi: [(Gwi: aon (Gwi)) (Nwi: teanga (Nwi))] (Npi))
    PL: (PPI: [(PWj: /eːn/ (PWj)) (PWj: /tʰæːŋgə/ (PWj))] (PPI))
    OL: [eːn tʰæːŋgə]

The placement of the numeral *aon* before the noun *bád* at the Morphosyntactic Level in (3a) results in the activation and application of a mutation in the initial /b/ of the noun *bád*, which may be observed at the Output Level. In contrast, the placement of the numeral *aon* before the noun *teanga* at the Morphosyntactic Level in (3b) does not result in the application of a mutation on the initial /tʃ/ of *teanga*. As is apparent in the examples, there is currently no method available in the model of FDG to represent the activation of a particular mutation, and when
applicable, the subsequent restriction of a particular mutation as a result of a phonological constraint.

This paper will propose a possible model to adequately represent the activation and application or phonological restriction of initial consonant mutation in Irish Gaelic within the framework of FDG. Specifically, several new initial consonant mutation operators and a new sequential sub-operation within Phonological Encoding will be postulated, resulting in an expansion of the current model of FDG.

15.50-16.10 Coffee and tea

16.10-16.50 Evelien Keizer (Universiteit van Amsterdam, Netherlands)

We teachers, you fools: the use of pronouns in close appositions

The subject of this paper will be a type of close apposition that has tended to be overlooked in most studies of apposition, i.e. English close appositions with a pronominal first element (we teachers, you fools). The aim of this paper will be to provide a detailed description of the form and use of these constructions, to compare them to other types of close apposition and to suggest an underlying FDG representation which reflects their specific formal and functional characteristics.

Over the years close appositions have been discussed by various linguists from different theoretical backgrounds. Although close appositions come in different types ((e.g. the actor Orson Welles, Orson Welles the actor, my friend Orson Welles, actor Orson Welles, the name Orson etc.), linguists generally agree that close appositions share the following formal properties: (i) they contain two nominal elements; (ii) these elements form one intonation unit; (iii) there is no linking element between the elements; (iv) one element is a proper noun or uniquely defining element, the other a count noun. In order to account for the differences between the different types of close apposition, Keizer (2007) proposes a classification into a number of subtypes, providing each subtype with its own analysis. At the same time, the similarities between the various subtypes are reflected by the fact that they are all analysed as one referential unit consisting of two non-referential nominal elements, the first of which functions as the head, the second as a modifier.

Since constructions such as we teachers, you fools fulfil all the requirements mentioned above, it seems justified to analyse them as close appositions. We thus seem to have yet another subtype of close apposition (which will be referred to as pronominal appositions) with its own specific semantic, morphosyntactic and functional characteristics. Thus it turns out that it is subject to a number of restrictions, for instance on the person and number of the pronoun, the presence of determiners and quantifiers, and the reversibility and omissibility of the two elements. In addition, it will be demonstrated that these constructions can fulfill a number of different functions. In most cases they simply function as Referential Subacts at the Interpersonal Level. Constructions with the
proform you, however, have two other important uses: (i) as (grammaticalized) plural forms of the pronoun you (e.g. you guys, you folks; cf. Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008: 70), and (ii) as vocatives (you idiot(s), you lazy whatsit!).

Using authentic examples, this paper will offer a detailed examination of pronominal appositions in which will the following questions will be addressed: (i) What are the formal properties of pronominal appositions?; (ii) How are these constructions used? (iii) Can the formal properties of these constructions be explained by their (discourse) function? (iv) Are all the examples quoted above to be analysed as close appositions?; and (v) How can we represent these constructions at the Interpersonal and Representational Levels?

References:

17.00-18.00 Business Meeting and Closure
Kees Hengeveld (Chair of the International Functional Grammar Foundation)
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