

AG 3
Konzeptualisierung von Raum: Morphosyntax und Semantik
spatialer Relatoren

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Differential Locative Marking im Ägyptischen
24.02.2010, 14.00-14.30 Uhr, Raum 1.103

In der ägyptischen Sprache kommen einfache und zusammengesetzte Präpositionen als spatiale Relatoren vor. Präpositionen dienen in Syntagmen der Form VB + PRÄP + NP auch dem Objektanschluß (neben VB + NP). Zu dabei auftretenden Fällen von *Differential Object Marking* (DOM) hat sich jüngst Winand (2008) geäußert und festgestellt, daß die Belege für VB + PRÄP + NP nur an der Oberfläche einheitlich sind, sich dahinter aber verschiedene semantische und syntaktische Strukturen verbergen, die unterschiedliche diachrone Entwicklungen zeigen. Daraus ergibt sich die Frage, wie es sich in anderen Fällen von *Differential Marking* im Ägyptischen verhält, denn das Nebeneinander verschiedener Markierungstypen tritt im Ägyptischen auch bei Ausdrücken für Raum (und Zeit) auf. Diese werden gewöhnlich durch Adverbien oder adverbialen Bestimmungen des Typs PRÄP + NP ausgedrückt. Folgende Variationen lassen sich dabei beobachten:

- (1) Bei zusammengesetzten Relatoren (PRÄP + SUBST) variiert die Präposition bei gleichbleibendem zweitem Bestandteil und ohne offensichtliche Veränderung der Bedeutung der Phrase.
- (2) Ein und dieselbe Relation kann durch eine Präpositionalphrase oder durch ein Spatial- bzw. Temporalnomen ausgedrückt werden.
- (3) Der Relator fällt aus. Das Relatum bleibt unverbunden und wird nicht weiter markiert.

In diesem Beitrag sollen vor allem Fallstudien zu (2) und (3) vorgestellt werden. Bei (2) handelt es sich um synchrone Belege unterschiedlicher Grammatikalisierungsstadien. Im Laufe der Grammatikalisierung entfällt die ursprüngliche Präposition und das Nomen wird zur Präposition und damit zum alleinigen Relator. Vergleichbare Prozesse sind auch im Deutschen abgelaufen, wie etwa die Entwicklung von althochdeutsch *untar zwiskēn* 'zwischen beiden' zu mittelhochdeutsch *zwisc(h)en* 'zwischen' oder von mittelhochdeutsch *zu troze* zu frühneuhochdeutsch *trotz* zeigt. Für die Belege zu (3) stellt sich vor allem die Frage, welche Faktoren das Weglassen des Relators ermöglichen. Es handelt sich dabei offensichtlich nicht um die für DOM gewöhnlich als relevant angeführten Eigenschaften wie +/- Belebtheit oder +/- Definitheit. Stattdessen sind Faktoren wie die im Laufe der Sprachgeschichte zunehmende Adverbialität des Relatums (im Fall von Infinitiven bei PRÄP + INF > INF) bestimmend. Im Fall von Raum- und Zeitbestimmungen im engeren Sinne erweist sich der Normalitätsgrad der Konfiguration als entscheidend für das Weglassen der Präposition: Der Relator kann vor allem dann entfallen, wenn es sich bei dem Locatum-Relatum-Verhältnis um die typischste räumliche oder zeitliche Anordnung beider Konstituenten handelt.

Auch die diachrone Entwicklung der angesprochenen Phänomene soll Beachtung finden, etwa im Zusammenhang mit der Frage, ob es sich bei den in (2) und (3) beschriebenen Fällen um eine allgemeine Tendenz mit Umbau des Präpositionalsystems handelt und ob Phänomen (3) in späteren Sprachstufen zu einer sukzessiven Transitivity der entsprechenden Verben führt.

Winand, Jean 2008. The indirect expression of the direct object in Egyptian: from semantics to pragmatics to a fully-fledged grammatical device. An inner Egyptian and a typological approach (Vortrag auf der Tagung "Language Typology and Egyptian-Coptic Linguistics", Universität Leipzig und MPI-EVA Leipzig, 2.-5. Oktober 2008).

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Ancient Egyptian spatial prepositions from topological, diachronic and contextual perspectives. Typological contributions from a dead language
 24.02.2010, 14.30-15.00 Uhr, Raum 1.103

The extent to which spatial prepositions in the world's languages correspond to universal categories in the brain has been the subject of extensive debate in the linguistic community. Thus far, little contribution to this issue has been made by ancient languages such as Egyptian (Afro-Asiatic). The aim of this paper, therefore, is to investigate the extent to which the hypotheses put forward by e.g. Levinson and Meira (2003) or Brala (2007) help us understand spatial relations within Egyptian in more detail. Secondly, we intend to demonstrate which dimensions, such as diachrony, synonymy, register and context, we need to take into account in order to understand the variability within the Egyptian data.

The first step in our research has been to delineate the topological relations of the *basic locative constructions* (BLCs) in the manner successfully adopted by the MPI Language and Cognition group (Levinson and Wilkins 2006). The fieldwork-based model that uses Melissa Bowerman's picture series is thus applied to a dead language and ancient cultural context, which is a process not without obstacles: to search for data, we had to first conceive of substitutes to lamps hanging above tables. Notwithstanding these cultural problems, it seems that in comparison to other Afro-Asiatic languages like Akkadian (Semitic, Afro-Asiatic), Egyptian topological expressions are more similar to modern Indo-European languages.

Secondly, to move from broad spatial categories to individual instances, we address in greater detail the distinction between prepositions of allegedly similar semantic value. One problematic instance is the seemingly simultaneous and undifferentiated use of the simple preposition *ḥr* /ḥil/ ON and the compound preposition *ḥr-ṯp* /ḥil-ṯap/ ON-HEAD. It is possible that the forms can be distinguished based on the stage of the language, the type of text, and/or the specificity of the context.

Thus, the study of spatial prepositions in Egyptian can be seen to be substantially assisted by perspectives from linguistic study, just as linguistic study in turn receives some new insights from understanding data from ancient languages.

Marija M. Brala. 2007. Spatial 'on' – 'in' Categories and their Prepositional Codings across Languages: Universal Constraints on Language Specificity, in: Andrea Schalley & Dietmar Zaefferer (eds.). *Ontolinguistics. How Ontological Status Shapes the Linguistic Coding of Concepts*, Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 299–329.

Stephen C. Levinson & Sérgio Meira. 2003. 'Natural Concepts' in the Spatial Topological Domain-Adpositional Meanings in Crosslinguistic Perspective: An Exercise in Semantic Typology, in: *Language* 79/3, 485–516.

Stephen C. Levinson & David P. Wilkins. 2006. *Grammars of Space: Explorations in Cognitive Diversity*, Language, Culture and Cognition 6, Cambridge / New York: Cambridge University Press.

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Two strategies for expressing directionality in Polish

24.02.2010, 15.00–15.30 Uhr, Raum 1.103

Languages differ in the ways they describe spatial goals. Variation in the encoding of directed motion events is particularly well-studied. Talmy (1985, 1991, 2000) first observed that in some languages, which he calls *verb-framed*, such as Spanish, the directional meaning is usually encoded in the verb stem (cf. *La pelota entró en la cueva (flotando)* 'The ball entered the cave (floating)', whereas in others, which are labeled *satellite-framed*, such as English, the path component is expressed in a satellite, e.g. a particle or a directional phrase (cf. *The bottle floated into the cave*). Another option, disregarded by most studies on motion events, consists in a strategy in which the directionality is neither encoded in the verb stem nor in a satellite (cf. *He ran in the room* which can have both locative and directional interpretation), so that it relies on the pragmatic context. Interestingly, as noted by Nikitina (2008), in a single language more than one of these linguistic resources for describing directionality may compete. Polish, being a satellite-framed language, expresses the directional meaning by means of morphosyntactic marking. For instance, with some prepositions, such as *na* 'on' or *pod* 'under', *inter alia*, directional goals are distinguished from locations by means of morphological case: while the accusative case denotes directional goals, the locative or instrumental case is a formal marker of locative phrases (cf. *Jan wskoczył na stół* 'John w-jumped on table-Acc' [directional reading] vs. *Jan tańczył na stole* 'John danced on table-Loc' [locative reading]). However, with some verbs denoting caused motion, such as *kłaść* 'put' or *wieszać* 'hang', the goal can be marked either with accusative or with locative case. The aim of this paper is to investigate the use of locative phrases as a strategy for expressing goals in Polish. Drawing on the *National Corpus of Polish*, we study the factors that favor the use of locative phrases with directional meaning. Our preliminary observations suggest that this strategy is used exclusively in cases where the directional meaning can be inferred from other components of the construction, usually a causative motion verb encoding path. As a consequence, locative phrases cannot bear directional meaning with manner verbs. In such a sense, this strategy is parallel to that used in verb-framed languages. On the other hand, the choice of locative phrases instead of the directional ones is related to the conceptualization of the motion event: while the directional phrase profiles the path of motion, the latter is used when emphasis is on the endpoint of the movement (cf. Tutton 2009). The second factor is particularly important for the metaphorical extensions of motion - constructions in domains such as emotions. For instance, in metaphorical expressions where a strong mental identification with the goal of movement is implied, the locative phrase is preferred (*Postaw się na moim miejscu* 'Put yourself in my place' [lit. stand yourself on my place-Loc]). The use of the directional phrase in similar contexts suggests a lack of affective connection with the metaphorical goal

(*Postaw się na konsumpcyjny ideał życiowy* ‘Adjust yourself to a consumptionist life-style’ [lit. stand yourself on a consumptionist life’s ideal-Acc]). We illustrate this important issue, providing a network of metaphorical senses related to the directional interpretation of locative phrases.

Nikitina, T. (2008): “Pragmatic Factors and Variation in the Expression of Spatial Goals: The Case of into vs. in”. In A. Asbury, J. Dotlačil, B. Gehrke, and R. Nouwen, eds., *Syntax and Semantics of Spatial P*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 175-209.

Talmy, L. (2000): *Toward a Cognitive Semantics, Vol.2*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Tutton, M. (2009): “When In Means Into: Towards an Understanding of Boundarycrossing in”. *Journal of English Linguistics* 37, 5-27.

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Language-specific variation in spatial semantics

24.02.2010, 15.30-16.00 Uhr, Raum 1.103

This paper surveys the spatial semantic variation in the morphosyntactic affordances of spatial relations that are “structured in terms of a cognitive organization called *conceptual structure*” (Jackendoff 2002: 123). If one only looked at a handful of European languages, it seems that universal perceptual mechanisms take over and speakers encode spatial relations on relatively similar and objective grounds. Using (a) the *Topological Relation Markers* (TRM; Pederson, Wilkins & Bowerman 1998), and (b) the *Spatial Categorization Elicitation* test (SPACE; Thiering 2006), enables the comparison of cross-linguistic data relying on perceptual stimuli. In both tests, speakers are asked to respond to the prompt “Where is object X”?



Figure A: CLOUD ABOVE MOUNTAIN

- | | | | | | | | |
|--------|------------------------------------|--------------|-------------|------------------|--------------|------------------|-----------|
| (1) a. | DET | FIG | COP | LOC | DET | GND* | |
| | <i>Die</i> | <i>Wolke</i> | <i>ist</i> | <i>über</i> | <i>dem</i> | <i>Berg.</i> | German |
| | the | cloud | 3SG.be | above | the | mountain | |
| | 'The cloud is above the mountain.' | | | | | | |
| b. | FIG+DET | COP | LOC | GND+DET | | | Norwegian |
| | <i>Sky-en</i> | <i>er</i> | <i>over</i> | <i>fjell-et.</i> | | | |
| | cloud-the | 3SG.be | above | mountain-the | | | |
| | 'The cloud is above the mountain.' | | | | | | |
| c. | DET | FIG | COP | LOC | DET | GND | English |
| | <i>The</i> | <i>cloud</i> | <i>is</i> | <i>above</i> | <i>the</i> | <i>mountain.</i> | |
| | the | cloud | 3SG.be | above | the | mountain | |
| | 'The cloud is above the mountain.' | | | | | | |
| d. | DET | FIG | COP | LOC | DET | GND | French |
| | <i>Un</i> | <i>nuage</i> | <i>est</i> | <i>au-dessus</i> | <i>d'une</i> | <i>montagne.</i> | |
| | a | cloud | 3SG.be | above | a | mountain | |
| | 'The cloud is above a mountain.' | | | | | | |

- e. DET FIG COP LOC LOC DET GND Spanish
La nube está arriba de la montaña.
 the cloud 3SG.be above/over of the mountain
 'The cloud is above/over the mountain.'
- (2) a. BP+LOC COP+DEG BP LOC+GND Totonac
laka-tzunaj=tzá waká'lh ix-pu-hélh-ni' nak=sipéj
 face-close=now 3SG.be.high 3PO-CTD-mouth-NM LOC=hill
 'The cloud is closely over the irregular upper surface of (mountain).'
- b. GND LOC FIG FIG+MOTION[CLV] Dene
ttheshéth daghe yak'odhaz ghe-shel
 rock.hill above cloud IMPF.3SGS-AM.uncontrolled.move
 '(the) cloud above (the) mountain is moving uncontrolled.'

* AM = amorphous mass; BP = body part; CLV = classificatory verb; COP = copula; DET = determiner; DEG = degree; FIG = figure; GND= ground; LOC = locative; NM = nominalizer; PO = possessive; SGS = singular subject

Speakers in (1) generally encode the picture in *Figure A* as a static and non-perspectivized scene using a locative and copula construction. Speakers of Dene Chipewyan in (2b) tend to describe the scene as dynamic as profiled by the classificatory verb system, or with a certain degree of specificity (Svorou 1993) as in Upper Necaxa Totonac (2a) and its body part system. This degree of specificity as well as the various imaging parameters encoded in the particular spatial scene are due to language-specific morphosyntactic affordances. Hence, the scenes are encoded as perspectivized constructions, i.e., the spatial categorization depends on object-specific knowledge (e.g., clouds are perpetual in motion). Thus, all viewing arrangements are ultimately anchored to the human body depending on and evolving from cultural practices and experience (Svorou 1993; Talmy 1983). Finally, it is argued here that language-specific morphosyntactic affordances mirror the variety of spatial conceptual structure and data will be presented supporting this assumption.

Jackendoff, R. 2002. *Foundations of Language: Brain, Meaning, Grammar, Evolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pederson, E., Wilkins, D., Bowerman, M. 1998. *Static Topological Relations*. Ms.

Svorou, S. 1993. *The Grammar of Space*. Typological Studies in Language, Vol. 25. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Talmy, L. 1983. How to structure space. In H. Pick, L., Acredolo (eds.), *Spatial Orientation: Theory, Research, and Application*. New York: Plenum Press, 225-282.

Thiering, M. 2006. *The Spatial Categorization Elicitation Tool (SPACE)*. Developed at the Department of Linguistics, University of Alberta, Canada. Property of the author and the Daghida Project (Dr. Sally Rice).

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Zum ungarischen Typ *ki az ablakon* ‚aus dem Fenster‘
 24.02.2010, 16.30-17.00 Uhr, Raum 1.103

In dem Beitrag soll untersucht werden, bis zu welchem Grade die Entstehung der ungarischen Wendung *ki az ablakon* (*ablak-[o]-SUPERESSIV*, wrtl. [auf Fenster]) ‚aus dem Fenster (gucken, fallen, werfen usw., *ki* ‚aus‘, *az* DET)‘, die an deutsche Bildungen wie *zum Fenster hinaus* (werfen, heizen usw.), *zum Städte hinaus* (müssen) erinnert, und im Ungarischen zu ungarischen Syntagmen wie *Dunántúl* ‚Transdanubien‘ (*túl* ‚jenseits, über ... hinaus‘, *Tiszaán innen* ‚diesseits der Theiß‘)

und *árkon-bokron át* „über Stock und Stein“ [*árok* „Graben“, *bokor* „Strauch“]) usw. isomorph ist, vom finnisch-ugrischen Sprachtyp her zu erwarten war, und inwieweit die Entwicklung des Typs in der ungarischen Sprachgeschichte einen Wandel der Raumvorstellung abbildet.

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Spatial relators in Hungarian: processes of grammaticalization

24.02.2010, 17.00-17.30 Uhr, Raum 1.103

The paper provides a description of topological relations in Basic Locative Constructions in Hungarian. While Hungarian is a well documented and well described language, it has mostly been the object of traditional and formal descriptions; this study, on the other hand, is conceived in a functional-typological approach and focuses on processes of grammaticalization in the context of Hungarian Basic Locative constructions (BLC).

The data for this study combines experimental material from Topological Relation Picture Series (the 1993 version, reprinted in Levinson & Wilkins 2006), and a literary corpus consisting of the first paragraphs of 228 short stories describing the topological situation of a human Figure.

After presenting the inventory of the different types of spatial relators in BLC i.e. the locative case suffixes and locative postpositions and locative adverbs, the talk will focus on the processes of grammaticalization they have undergone.

About the inventory of spatial relators it can be said, first, that the systems of case suffixes and postpositions are similar for static spatial relations and dynamic ones. About the well known rich Hungarian case system, the interesting feature is that it includes 9 locative cases organized in 3 sets of 3 cases, indicating either the source or the goal of movement or static location, and that, within each set, each case varies according to the nature of the Ground. As will be shown also, postpositions and locative adverbs demonstrate the same tripartite organization. This feature is shared by other Uralic languages.

The paper will then show how the Ground element of Basic Locative Constructions can be expressed in any one of three ways:

a. by NP inflected with one of three cases

inessive :	<i>-ban/-ben</i>	(inclusion)		‘in’;
superessive :	<i>-on/-en/-ön</i>	(surface, with contact, without specification of surface or direction)		‘on’;
adessive :	<i>-nál/-nél</i>	(proximity, without contact, without specification of direction)		‘at’.

b. by postpositional phrases (PP) including a locative stative postposition + a noun in the nominative case, e. g.:

<i>alatt</i>	‘under’	<i>fölött</i>	‘over’,	
<i>előtt</i>	‘in front of’	<i>mögött</i>	‘behind’,	
<i>mellett</i>	‘next to’	<i>körül</i>	‘around’	<i>között</i> ‘between’, etc.

b'. by postpositional phrases (PP) where locative stative postpositions combine with inflected NPs :

superessive:	-n	+	<i>kívül</i> 'outside' / <i>belül</i> 'inside' / <i>túl</i> 'beyond'
instrumental:	-vel	+	<i>szemben</i> 'opposite'

c. by an Adverb, e. g. *fent* 'up', *lent* 'down' etc.

The paper will then focus on an interesting aspect of the study of Hungarian spatial relators, which is that they are all linked through processes of grammaticalization. A detailed analysis of the form of postpositions such as *alatt* 'under', *mellett* 'next to' (see above) and their segmentation in *ala-tt*, *melle-tt* can show that the language has developed its four types of spatial relators, namely postpositions, adverbs, locative case suffixes and even preverbs, from the same source construction consisting of a relational noun or a body part noun, inflected by a case suffix called "primary adverbial suffix". The paper will describe the different paths of grammaticalization of the spatial relators and argue that it represents a case of polygrammaticalisation in the sense of Craig 1991.

CRAIG, C., 1991, "Ways to go in Rama: a case study in polygrammaticalization", in TRAUGOTT, E. & B. HEINE (eds.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia, Benjamins, II: 455-492.

LEVINSON, S.C. & D. WILKINS, 2006, *Grammars of Space*. Explorations in Cognitive Diversity, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

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The spatial case system of the Tsezic languages
24.02.2010, 17.30-18.00 Uhr, Raum 1.103

The focus of this talk will be two the Tsezic languages, Bezhta (East-Tsezic) and Hinuq (West Tsezic), which belong to the Tsezic subgroup of the Nakh-Daghestanian language family. Daghestanian languages are famous for their rich inventory of local cases.

The local case systems of Bezhta and Hinuq, as well as those of other Daghestanian languages, consist of two separately coded categories, location (e.g. 'in', 'at', 'under') and orientation (e.g. 'towards', 'from'), that can be combined to form complex categories (36 in Hinuq, 45 in Bezhta). Additionally, both languages have about a dozen spatial postpositions that are normally employed for sharpening the meaning conveyed by the spatial case (1c). The spatial cases and postpositions have primarily spatial meanings (1a-c). In addition, they also have a wide range of other non-spatial uses, e.g. they express temporal location, mark arguments of simple and derived verbs (addressee, experiencer, causee, potential agents, objects of perception, etc.), and they convey other concepts (e.g. purpose, standard of comparison, possession) (1c, d).

(1) Bezhta: Spatial location

a. *surat* *yõsoʃ* *b-oxonna* *gey*
picture(III) wall-CONT III-hang.UWPST be
'The picture is hanging on the wall.'

Hinuq: Spatial location

- b. *surat* *qešu-ḡo* *b-exe-s* *ḡoḡ*
 picture(III) wall-AT III-hang-WPST be
 ‘The picture is hanging on the wall.’

Bezhta: Spatial location

- c. *du-doy* *äⁿydää* *ḡähiyotušman*
 you.SG.OBL–ALOC in.front be.PTCP enemy
 ‘the enemy in front of you’

Bezhta: Recipient

- d. *do* *du-l* *okko* *niḡ-ca*
 I.ERG you.SG.OBL-LAT money give–PRS
 ‘I give you money.’

Hinuq: Standard of comparison

- e. *Maḡama* *dew-de-r* *eži* *ḡoḡ*
 Mohamed you.SG.OBL-ALOC-LAT old be
 ‘Mohamed is older than you.’

Based on empirical data elicited by means of the Topological Relation Picture Series (e.g. Levinson & Meira 2003) and on texts collected in the field the use of the spatial cases and postpositions will be described. I will show that although Bezhta and Hinuq are closely related and their spatial cases and postpositions are for the most part cognate, they differ considerably in how they divide up the spatial domain (e.g. compare (1a) and (1b)).

In the second part of the talk I will propose an analysis of the non-spatial functions based on Haspelmath’s (1999) semantic map of typical dative functions. Thereby the following questions will be answered: Which part of the paradigm is occupied by which non-spatial uses? Is there any semantic connection between spatial and non-spatial meanings?

Haspelmath, Martin. 1999. External possession in a European areal perspective. In: Payne, Doris L. & Immanuel Barshi (eds.) *External Possession*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 109-135.

Levinson, Stephen & Sérgio Meira. 2003. ‘Natural concepts’ in the spatial topological domain-adpositional meanings in crosslinguistic perspective: An exercise in semantic typology. *Language* 79(3), 485-516.

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Imbalances in Prepositional Expression of Spatial Relations

24.02.2010, 18.00-18.30 Uhr, Raum 1.103

This presentation will discuss issues connected with the manner in which prepositional systems of Biblical Greek, Gothic, Classical Armenian and Old Church Slavic divide semantic space. The study is based on data collected from the New Testament text of the canonical Gospels in each language. The focus is on the expressions that mark prototypical spatial notions – direction, location, source – and their subtypes.

Particular attention is given to imbalances in divisions of semantic space inside of a particular language and/or across languages in question. For prepositional phrases

that usually reveal a rich semantic load the situation where one prepositional phrase marks several notions is practically a norm (Asbury et al. 2008). Another standard property of prepositional phrases is the denotation of one notion by a number of prepositional constructions (which are often alternate with nominal phrases) (Nikitina 2008). Despite these cross-linguistic commonalities one finds instances of imbalances in prepositional semantic space divisions. For example, in Classical Armenian the source notion 'out of' can be expressed by *i+Abl*, *artak'oy+Gen*, *aṙi+Abl*, *artak'oy k'an z+Acc*, *artak's k'an z+Acc* (as well as by such nominal phrases as the genitive, the ablative). On the other hand, the notion of the location 'before' lacks such a variety in means of expression and is marked by *aṙaji+Gen* only. Similarly, in Old Church Slavic the spatial concept 'on, on the surface' is designated by either *na+Loc*, *na+Acc*, *vŭ(n)+Acc*, *po+Dat*, *o/obŭ+Loc*, *o/obŭ+Acc*, *nadŭ+Ins*, or *vřxu+Gen*, but another spatial notion – location 'under, beneath' – exclusively by the phrase *podŭ+Ins*. Parallel examples of such imbalances are found in Gothic and Biblical Greek. The concept 'around' presents a peculiar cross-linguistic imbalance in semantic division: this notion is indicated only by *περί+Acc* in Greek and *bi+Acc* in Gothic, however, in Classical Armenian it can be expressed by a range of prepositional constructions: *ənd+Acc*, *z+Abl*, *z+Ins*, *ənd mēj+Gen*, *šowrj z+Ins*. This presentation will present a thorough analysis of different types of imbalances found in semantic division inside of each language and/or across languages in question and will discuss possible reasons for such discrepancies which are of morphological, semantic and pragmatic character. For example, the richness in the expression of the direction 'after' in the passages involving the verb 'follow' in Old Church Slavic could be explained partially by a pragmatic complexity of the motion being designated. *Za+Ins*, *po+Dat*, or by *vŭ slědŭ+Gen* are interchangeably used to mark this activity because translators attempt to capture all the intricacies that are connected with the relations between a landmark and a trajectory as well as with the notions of contact, plexity and continuity: idi za mŭnoi 'follow me' (Mk 8:33), grędęta po mŭnĕ (Codex Marianus), grędęta vŭ slědŭ mene (Savvina kniga) 'follow me' (M 4:19).

Asbury, A., Gehrke, B., van Riemsdijk, H. & Zwarts, J. 2008. Introduction: Syntax and Semantics of Prepositions. In *Syntax and Semantics of Spatial P*, A. Asbury, J. Dotlačil, B. Gehrke, R. Nouwen (eds.), 1-32.: Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Nikitina, Tatiana. 2008. Variation in the Expression of Spatial Goals. In *Syntax and Semantics of Spatial P*, A. Asbury, J. Dotlačil, B. Gehrke, R. Nouwen (eds.), 175-95.: Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

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The grammar of parts and wholes in Yucatec: volumes, surfaces, and curvature extremes

25.02.2010, 9.00-9.30 Uhr, Raum 1.103

This presentation examines the strategies employed by speakers of Yucatec Maya in reference to object parts. Yucatec, like Tzeltal Maya (Levinson 1994) and Ayoquesco Zapotec (MacLaury 1989) - and unlike Indo-European languages such as English and Spanish - has a productive strategy for labeling object parts on the basis of their shape and position in the object's axial structure. MacLaury describes meronymic

labeling in the Zapotec system as based on a global analogical mapping of the structure of the human body into that of the object. This mapping is orientation-sensitive: the human body is mapped onto the object so that the highest part becomes the metaphorical 'head' and the lowest part the 'buttocks' or 'feet', depending on its shape. The assignment of 'front', 'back', and 'side' terms appears to depend both on the shapes of the parts of the object and on the perspective of the observer. In contrast, the Tzeltal system described by Levinson is in first approximation orientation-free. Levinson argues that Tzeltal meronym assignment is not metaphorical at all. Rather, it is based on an algorithm that operates directly on the output of visual processing and governs the assignment of body part and object part terms alike. The Yucatec system combines traits of Tzeltal and Zapotec meronymy, but is best described as a third type of system. Yucatec meronymy involves a critical distinction between three semi-autonomous subsystems which does not appear to exist in the other two languages: there are subsystems for the labeling of surfaces, volumes, and curvature extremes (edges, corners, tips, etc.). Evidence from a referential communication task involving 'novel' objects culturally unfamiliar to Mayan people and Westerners alike, conducted with five pairs of adult native speakers, shows that only the subsystems for surface and curvature extreme naming are fully productive. Volume naming shares many traits with the algorithm described by Levinson: volume meronyms are assigned independently of the object's canonical or actual orientation, independently of its overall structure except for the determination of the largest volume (a flashlight can be viewed as a 'leg' with a 'head' on one end and an 'asshole' on the other), and non-uniquely (objects can have multiple 'heads' etc.). Yet, strikingly, volume labeling is not only much more restricted with unfamiliar objects as compared to surface and 'extreme' labeling, but is also frequently explicitly metaphorical, which surface and extreme labeling never is. Surface labeling, unlike volume and extreme labeling, is orientation-dependent. The assignment of 'top' and 'bottom' surfaces depends on the object's canonical orientation, not on its actual orientation as in Zapotec. The evidence from Yucatec supports the view that global analogical mapping as in Zapotec and assignment based on shape-analytical algorithms as in Tzeltal are not incompatible, contrary to Levinson 1994.

The finding that Yucatec has a productive geometric meronymy like Tenejapa Tzeltal and Ayoquesco Zapotec supports the hypothesis that such meronymies are an areal feature of Mesoamerican languages. At the same time, Yucatec meronymy has traits not attested in the previously studied systems. In particular, the division into subsystems for volumes, surfaces, and curvature extremes seems to be unique and indicates that there are more than those previously recognized two types of productive geometric meronymies. Levinson's (1994) non-metaphorical analysis of Tzeltal meronymy is supported by the finding that the (fully productive) surface terms of Yucatec are not (used as) body part terms (with the exception of *pàach* 'back'). At the same time, however, even though volume labeling in Yucatec has all the signature traits of the algorithm Levinson described for Tzeltal, it is not fully productive and frequently involves hedges and similes, suggesting algorithmic mapping is not necessarily non-metaphorical. These findings have important potential implications for the theory of analogical domain mappings in cognition.

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On virtual grounds: Distances and durations as objects of prepositions

25.02.2010, 9.30-10.00 Uhr, Raum 1.103

Prepositions typically express relations between a figure (trajector, theme) and a ground (landmark, reference object). The ground is realized as the object of the preposition, as in the following examples:

- (1) a. The cat is on the mat.
b. The quick brown fox jumps over the lazy dog.

Svenonius (2007) hypothesizes that the object of the preposition is always the ground of a spatial relation. If true, this would suggest a strong isomorphism between a cognitively motivated structuring of spatial relations (Figure – Relation - Ground) and the grammatical articulation of those relations into prepositional phrases (Subject – Preposition - Object). However, Talmy (2000) already points that there are cases in which the prepositional object can be the figure. In the following example the underlined phrase refers to the figure of the relation (the thing that moves), while the subject expresses the ground:

- (2) The room slowly filled with smoke.
(cf. Smoke slowly filled the room.)

Are there other elements besides ground and figure occurring as prepositional objects? And if there are other non-ground object, then how do these fit in a general theory of the compositional semantics of prepositional phrases?

In order to investigate this question I will analyze spatial relations in terms of vectors pointing from the ground to the figure (O'Keefe 1996, Zwarts 1997, Zwarts and Winter 2000). Two other important elements of spatial relations can then be seen: the figure – ground distance (represented by the length of the vector) and its direction (represented by the vector's direction). There are constructions in which the prepositional object actually relates to these elements:

- (3) a. There is smoke in the distance.
b. There is a cloud of dust coming from the south.

In both cases the underlined object does not refer to the origin of the vectors, but to its length and direction, respectively. I will work this out in more detail by comparing the type of compass construction in (3b) that involves reference to a geographical region (i.e. the South as a region of the United States). Both constructions can be analyzed in an adequate and compositional way in terms of vectors only if we do not take the underlined phrases to be grounds.

Interestingly, similar deviations from the object = ground pattern can be found in the temporal domain, when we turn to constructions like the following (and similar PPs in German like *vor/nach/seit zwei Tagen*):

- (4) a. There will not be enough water in the future. (direction)
b. He came back after/within two days. (length)

Again, using a model with vectors representing directed stretches of time, a simple semantic analysis of these cases is only possible when the future and two days specify the direction and length, respectively, of a temporal relation between events.

My conclusion is that even though there is a strong connection between objects (in syntax) and grounds (in spatial and temporal semantics), there are some clear ‘leaks’ in this connection, pointing to the need to take a flexible view on the way our conceptualization of space is expressed in grammatical terms.

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Landmarks in event semantics
 25.02.2010, 10.00-10.30 Uhr, Raum 1.103

Landmarks, or figures in figure-ground partitions, are an important component in the analysis of spatial relations, especially in Cognitive approaches subscribing to the basic insights of Langacker (1987) and Talmy (1985, 2001). Given the central status of landmarks in cognitive linguistics, and in grammars of space independently of research traditions, it is surprising to note that the landmark notion is largely left undefined in linguistics; the relevant parts of foundational books and articles typically delegate the elucidation of the landmark notion to diagrams with undefined symbolic conventions, or to the psychology of perception. In psychology the figure-ground partition, or the landmark notion, likewise lacks an analysis (Goldstein 1997: 178-81). Moreover, Dowty’s (1991) verdict against landmarks or the figureground partition as a thematic role primitive has proven influential.

In this context I argue that the landmark notion does have a role to play in the formal explication of the natural language expression of spatial relations, and I present an event-semantic implementation of landmarks, using German free datives as in (1) as an empirical domain (Hole 2008).

- (1) *Ihm klebt ein Kaugummi unter der Sohle.*
 him.DAT sticks a chewing-gum under the sole
 ‘He:DAT has a chewing-gum sticking under his sole.’

I propose that the semantics of landmarks has the main ingredients in (i)-(iv).

- (i) Landmarks are individuals and wholes.
- (ii) The spatial neighborhood regions of a landmark in an eventuality define the space within which another eventuality with another individual as part of it is located. (In (1) the dative referent’s neighborhood space defines the location of the state of the chewing-gum sticking under the sole.)
- (iii) The location of the landmark in space is presupposed (in a sense to be made explicit).
- (iv) The location of the spatially dependent individual may be (part of) the assertion.

In a nutshell, landmarks are themselves figures of a special kind: they project a spatial frame of reference for an eventuality with another figure in it.

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Pleonastic directionals in German: A Cognitive Grammar analysis

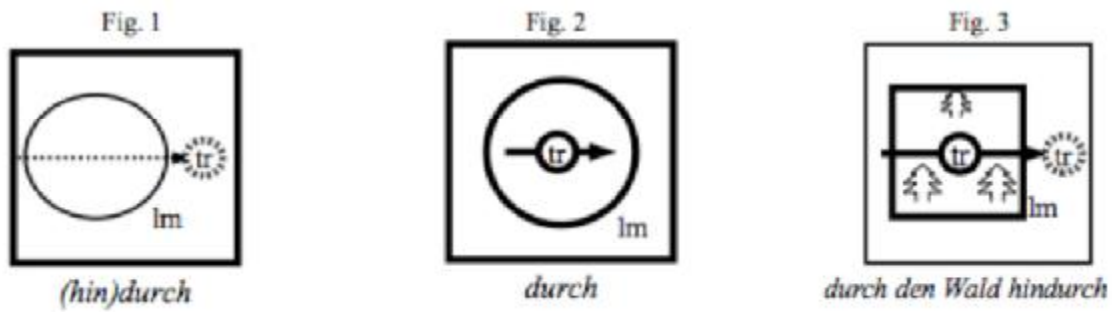
25.02.2010, 10.30-11.00 Uhr, Raum 1.103

German "pleonastic directionals" (Olsen 1996) such as those in (1a) present an unsolved problem for grammatical theory:

- (1)
- a. *Ronald lief durch den Wald (hin)durch.*
Ronald ran through the forest through
 - b. *[Durch den Wald (hin)durch] ist Ronald schon oft gelaufen.*
Through the forest through is Ronald already often run.
 - c. *[Durch den Wald] ist Ronald schon oft (hin)durchgelaufen.*
Through the forest is Ronald already often through-run.
 - d. *Ronald lief durch den Wald.*
Ronald ran through the forest.

The syntactic and semantic status of elements like *(hin)durch* ("through") in (1a) remains contested. Traditionally, they are treated as *separable prefixes* (Wunderlich 1983) or *verb particles* (Abraham 2003), which makes *durch den Wald* an adjunct of the particle verb *(hin)dürchlaufen*. However, this does not explain why the particle and the PP can jointly occupy the *Vorfeld* in sentences like (1b), a position usually restricted to a single constituent. Alternatively, elements like *(hin)durch* are treated as postpositions that take a PP as a complement (Olsen 1999). This accounts for (1b), but fails to explain why the PP can be separated from its postpositional head (1c). Both accounts leave open the semantic contribution of the particle/postposition: it seems to encode redundantly the path information already contained in the preposition, thus (1a) and (1d) should be identical in meaning.

Our analysis takes up an earlier suggestion by Olsen (1996) that such elements can be either verb particles or postpositions depending on their grammatical context. Unlike Olsen, however, we characterize these elements semantically in the framework *Cognitive Grammar* (Langacker 2008). We analyze *(hin)durch* as specifying a position at the end of a non-elaborated path (Fig. 1). This path can be elaborated by a motion verb or by a directional PP. In the first case the integrated structure will behave like a particle verb, in the second case like a simple verb with a complex postpositional phrase, yielding slightly different construals of the same semantic structure.



This analysis enables us to capture the semantic contribution of the elements in question: the preposition *durch* refers to motion within a bounded area (Fig. 2). Thus, (1d) does not entail that *Ronald* was outside the forest at any point. The addition of the particle/postposition *(hin)durch* in (1a) changes the interpretation to one where *Ronald* is outside the forest at the end of the event described (Fig. 3). Thus, the syntactic status of *hin(durch)* and similar elements can be determined only for a given syntactic context – changes in constituent order have a small but noticeable impact on the construal of the event expressed. Thus, we argue that a systematic but primarily semantic description of pleonastic directionals is more adequate than a purely syntactic one.

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**Kreolisierung des Raumkonzepts:
wenn Afrika und Europa in der Karibik aufeinandertreffen**
25.02.2010, 11.30-12.00 Uhr, Raum 1.103

Die Untersuchung der räumlichen Ausdrucksmittel in Sprachen, die unter den speziellen Bedingungen der Kreolisierung entstanden sind, kann wertvolle Erkenntnisse über Transferprozesse und universale Raumkonzepte ergeben. In diesem Beitrag soll im Bereich der räumlichen Ausdrucksmittel das Resultat des Kontakts europäischer und westafrikanischer Sprachen während der Kreolisierung untersucht werden. Die topologischen Relationsmarker werden im Zusammenspiel mit den Bewegungsverben untersucht, teilweise in seriellen Verbkonstruktionen. Dazu sollen die Kreolsprachen Sranan (SN) und Saramaccan (SM), welche auf dem Englischen, Holländischen und Portugiesischen basieren, mit den Frankokreolsprachen der Karibik (FKDK) verglichen werden. Beide Gruppen haben ein ähnliches westafrikanisches Substrat und eine europäische Lexifiersprache mit

vielen Präpositionen. Auffälliger Unterschied zwischen beiden Gruppen ist, dass die FKDK nur zwei Präpositionen (*nan/an* ‚in‘ (< *dan* < frz. *dans*), *sou* ‚auf [sic!]‘ (frz. *sous* ‚unter‘) mit einem reichen Set an direktionalen Verben/V2 kombinieren (cf. Beispiele (1) und (2)), während SN und SM mehr Prä- und zudem auch Postpositionen (*na/a*, *tappo*, *ini*) und ein noch reichhaltigeres Set an direktionalen Verben/V2 (z. B. *komopo* ‚come from‘, *komoto* ‚come out‘) aufweisen.

(1) Li bwote tout tè al **nan** lanmè. (M-L 1982: 10) Haitianisch
‘Er [der Regen] transportiert alle Erde gehen in Meer.’

(2) Kou deblozay pete, maren kouri desann **sou** lans la. (M-L 1982: 44) Haitianisch
‘Als der Sturm losging, rennen runtergehen die Fischer auf den Strand.’

In Westafrika findet man oft ein ähnliches Zusammenspiel von direktionalen Verben/V2 und Postpositionen, die von lokativen Nomen abstammen. Auch wenn Levinson & Meira (2003) die bisher angenommenen semantischen Primitive hinterfragen, stellt sich die Frage, ob in den FKDK nicht doch der (minimale) Ausdruck der universalen konzeptuellen Primitiven der topologischen Relationen vorliegt, dessen Sprachmaterial unter Reanalyseprozessen aus der Lexifiersprache übernommen worden ist. Wird hingegen im SN/SM hauptsächlich das Resultat des Substrattransfers sichtbar? Welche Arten von Transferprozessen sollen für die spatialen Relatoren angesetzt werden? Es ist äusserst schwierig, Substrateinfluss oder Superstrateinfluss von universalen Wandelprozessen oder universalen konzeptionellen Primitiven zu unterscheiden. Als Prüfstein dazu können besonders die Frankokreolsprachen dienen, denn sie treten sowohl in der amerikanisch-karibischen Zone (mit westafrikanischem Substrat) als auch auf verschiedenen Inseln im Indischen Ozean (mit ostafrikanischem und madagassischem Substrat) auf.

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Spatial relators in Vietnamese
25.02.2010, 12.00-12.30 Uhr, Raum 1.103

Vietnamese provides different construction types for the expression of prototypical and less prototypical locative scenes (cf. Levinson/Wilkins 2006, Ameka/Levinson 2007). The Basic Locative Construction and serial verb constructions with a stative verb in V2 position cover scenes with a movable figure object, clothing/adornment and firm attachment (cf. (1) and (2)). Piercing and encirclement scenes, however, are

expressed by serial verb constructions with dynamic verbs in V2 position, being more alike to general motion constructions (cf. (3)). Scenes where the figure is damaged or negative space or where the figure is part of the ground are expressed by non-locative constructions, such as possessive constructions.

Locative constructions in the narrow sense			
(1)	Tách trà ở trên bàn. cup tee be.at RN table 'The tee-cup is on the table.'	BLC: Figure V R(elator) N Ground	movable object clothing/adornment firm attachment
(2)	Cái bút nằm ở trên bàn. CL pen lie be.at RN table 'The pen is lying on the table.'	SVC: Figure V1 V2stative (R(elator) N) Ground	
Locative construction in the broad sense			
(3)	Mũi tên xuyên qua quả táo. CL arrow skewer cross CL apple 'The arrow is stuck into the apple.'	SVC: Figure V1 V2dynamic Ground	piercing, encirclement

An analysis of the semantics and syntax of the locative constructions and their causative alternations, namely the caused change of location constructions, is presented with special focus on the semantics of spatial relators (relator nouns, second verbs in serial verb constructions). It is argued that the spatial relators have an aspectual function beside their function as markers of spatial configurations.

Locative

Caused Change of Location

Stative

Imperfective

- (4) Cái thang dựng ở / *vào bức tường.
CL ladder lean be.at enter CL wall
'The ladder is leaning against the wall.'
- (5) Ông dựng cái thang vào bức tường.
he erect CL ladder enter CL wall
'He is leaning the ladder against the wall.'
- Perfect
- (6) Ông dựng cái thang ở bức tường.
he erect CL ladder be.at CL wall
'He has leaned the ladder against the wall.'

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Spatial adpositions in sign languages
25.02.2010, 12.30-13.00 Uhr, Raum 1.103

In the literature, it is commonly assumed that sign languages (SLs) lack spatial adpositions and that information about the spatial location of referents is encoded in the predicate by means of spatial modulation of the predicate sign (sometimes referred to as "preposition incorporation"). In (1), from SL of the Netherlands, the feature [location] of the predicate BELOCATED expresses the location of the figure CUP in relation to the ground TABLE (note that the right (dominant) and the left (non-dominant) hand are glossed on different lines).

(1)

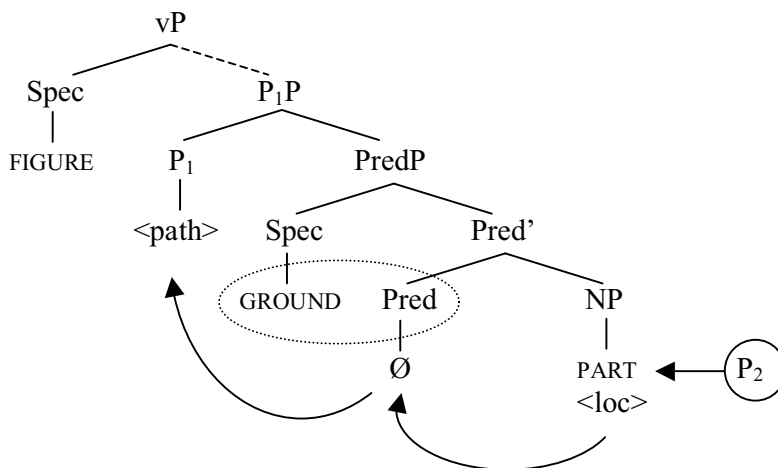


rh: TABLE_{loc(x)} MILK BE-LOCATED_{top-of-loc(x)}
 lh: TABLE_{loc(x)} MILK

‘A glass of milk is on (top of) the table.’

We suggest that such structures, despite their apparent modality-specific properties, exploit modality-independent structural possibilities. In particular, we will argue that the clauses in (1) involve the structure in (2). Following Talmy’s (2000) theory of cognitive semantics, we assume that a preposition establishes a relation between a ground and its part. Moreover, we adopt Aboh’s (in press) idea that spatial expressions involve a complex predicate phrase embedded under a preposition P₁ which encodes path (direction/goal). Cross-linguistically, it has been shown that P₁ often derives from verbs. In (1), P₁ is part of the predicates. In contrast, the PART-NP within PredP encodes location and may grammaticalize into P₂.

(2)



In the syntax, the head of the PART-NP raises to the (zero) predicate head, where spatial agreement with the GROUND is established under Spec-head agreement. Subsequently, PART adjoins to P₁. In (1), PART (P₂) will be spelled out by a hold-morpheme, while P₁ is realized by a zero (or default) movement. Occasionally, PART may be spelled out by a lexeme (e.g. SURFACE, SIDE) which is articulated simultaneously by the non-dominant hand, as illustrated in (3). Finally, as is commonly the case in SLs, the GROUND topicalizes to SpecTopP.

(3) a. rh: TABLE_{loc(x)} BOY BE-LOCATED_{top-of-loc(x)}
 lh: TABLE_{loc(x)} SURFACE_(x)
 ‘A boy is standing on a/the table.’

In our presentation, we will add to the picture other spatial relations such as *next to* and *inside (of)*. In addition, the discussion of SL examples will be supplemented by comparative data from typologically diverse spoken languages. As a way of illustration, the following examples from Sranan (a Surinamese Creole) exemplify

different steps in the derivation. In (4a), P_2 remains in situ, while in (4b), P_2 raises past the ground *tobbo* via the predicate head, where it picks up the genitive marker. This movement then produces the sequence $P_1 > P_2 > \text{POSS}$, also found in English (e.g. *in front of*) (Aboh, in press).

- (4) a. Sinsi a kamm **na** hosso **inni** [Bruyn 2001]
 since 3.SG come P_1 house P_2
 ‘Since she entered the house ...’
- b. A trueh watra **na** **inni** vo wan tobbo
 3.SG throw water P_1 P_2 POSS DET tub
 ‘He threw water into a tub.’

Note finally that we assume that in SL, movement of P_2 to P_1 is obligatory for articulatory reasons.

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**Dynamic conceptual model of the linguistic structuring of space:
 Georgian preverbs**

26.02.2010, 11.30-12.00 Uhr, Raum 1.103

For structuring of space relations in the Georgian language three dimensions are valuable:

1. Point of View (PV) - Speaker’s and/or Teller’s Position: The ‘teller’ usually coincides with the ‘speaker’, but this is not always the case: Sometimes the ‘teller’ differs from the speaker and the space is structuralized according to the teller’s and not the speaker’s PV; e. g. “Nino says that she is going up”. Although the place where Nino is going to could not be “up” for the speaker who is located geographically higher than Nino, the speaker can still structure the space according to the teller’s, e.g., Nino’s, point of view.

2. Geographic Space (GS) - Various Directions and Distance Dichotomy: GS is structuralized due to the abstract relations that have concrete interpretation only on the basis of the point of view of a ‘teller’. Abstract geographic relations are represented in the linguistic structures of the Georgian language by the so-called simple preverbs (SP). The relations can be described by the following conceptual structures:

a- ‘from down to up’
cha- ‘from up to down’

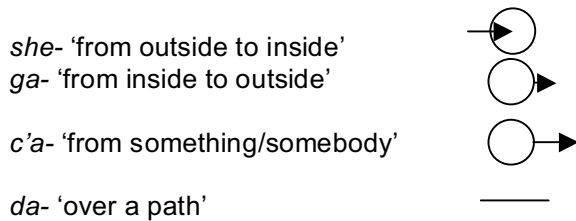


mi- ‘from speaker/listener’
mo- ‘to speaker/listener’



gada- ‘overcoming, across’





3. Communicational Space (CS) - Ego and Alter Spaces: Communicational space is further divided into 'Ego Space' and 'Alter Space'. Differences between ES and AS are represented in linguistic structures of Georgian by the formal opposition _ Complex Preverbs([SP + *mo-*]) : Simple Preverbs (all SP except *mo-*). The opposition distinguishes the orientation of an action according to the dichotomy: I/II [action directed/oriented to I/II person (ES)]: III [action directed/oriented to III person (AS)]. Thus, the addition of *mo-* changes the orientation of an action. ES does not always confirm with the semantics of 'Proximal' : 'Distal', which is an important feature for structuring of GS according to the concept of 'Distance'. The 'distance', like the ES, is relative and is defined by speaker's or teller's attitude, which is different from the opposition ES : AS. Objects near to us are not obligatorily included into ES and vice versa: 'Near' does not always mean 'to us' and 'Far' does not always mean 'from us'. 'Point of View', 'Ego Space' and 'Distance dichotomy' are flexible: They can be changed according to the speaker's (or teller's) attitude, while abstract relations of 'Geographic Space' are stable. Various combinations of the dimensions are represented in Georgian by 9 simple and 7 complex preverbs.

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Spatial adpositions in Indo-European and Mande:
A case study in diachronic typology
26.02.2010, 12.00-12.30 Uhr, Raum 1.103

Languages vary widely in their means of expressing spatial concepts. In Indo-European languages, notions related to localization in space are typically encoded by spatial adpositions (most commonly, prepositions), whose principal function is to characterize the Figure's position with respect to a Ground. Such adpositions express a wide range of meanings, both configurational (e.g., *in* vs. *on*) and directional (e.g., *to* vs. *from*; cf. Heine, Claudi & Hünemeyer 1991: 144), and appear in a large number of syntactic configurations (e.g., both within noun phrases and verb phrases).

This paper is a survey of characteristics of spatial postpositions of Mande languages, which belong to a strikingly different type of adpositional system. Unlike prepositions in Indo-European languages, spatial postpositions in Mande are complemented by a set of relational nouns with spatial meaning. While postpositional phrases can only adjoin to clauses, relational nouns are used to express spatial concepts within noun phrases (e.g., "the cup of the top of the table", instead of "the cup on the table"). The complimentary use of nouns and postpositions to encode spatial meanings is related to a number of other properties that distinguish Mande adpositional systems from those of Indo-European languages.

Most importantly, compared to Indo-European prepositions, postpositions in Mande encode a relatively small number of semantic distinctions. The same postposition tends to be used independently of whether a Figure is located in contact with the Ground or in the Ground's proximity. In Wan (Southeastern Mande), the postposition *tā* corresponds to English *on*, *over*, and *above*; the postposition *trāgá*, to *between*, *among*, and *in the middle of*, etc. Even more strikingly, Mande postpositions do not distinguish between static locations, goals, and sources of motion, cf. the three English translations of the Wan sentence in (1).

- (1) è siā yrē é gó
 s/he fell tree DEF in
 'He fell from the tree' or 'He fell into the tree' or 'He fell [while] on the tree'

I contrast the characteristics of spatial adpositions in Mande and in Indo-European languages and suggest that the difference stems from a difference in the adpositions' origin and their path of development. While Indo-European prepositions derive from a large number of heterogeneous sources, including nouns, verbs, adverbs, and adjectives (Kortmann & König 1992; Maling 1983), Mande postpositions are almost exclusively of nominal origin. Due to the unusual S-O-V-X word order, Mande languages do not favor the development of adpositions from adverbs, adjectives or verbs to the same degree as Indo-European languages. The difference in word order and, consequently, in preferred types of grammaticalization and reanalysis, could explain the difference in the inventories of adpositions attested at the synchronic level.

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Development of spatial markers in Indo-Aryan languages

26.02.2010, 12.30-13.00 Uhr, Raum 1.103

We provide a brief survey of modern Indo-Aryan spatial markers and their path of development from Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) via Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) to the modern New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages. Our historical investigations reveals an interesting asymmetry between the evolution of markers expressing the relation 'with' (broadly: co-location) and 'in' (basically, inclusion). While the 'with' markers tend to acquire a range of non-spatial meanings (i.e., comitative, instrumental, source/ablative), the 'in' markers are restricted to spatial/location functions across long periods of time (Bloch 1975; Kellogg 1893; Beames 1966, a.o.).

Synchronically, we provide comparative evidence from the range of spatial meanings that can be expressed by these markers ('with' and 'in') and their current distribution across several closely related NIA languages: Gujarati, Marathi, Nepali, Punjabi, Urdu/Hindi, Sindhi, Siraiki. We show that although the languages are closely related and although the lexical material is often diachronically shared, the spatial systems that emerge differ significantly from one another (Ahmed 2009). In particular, while we observe interesting variability with respect to the 'with' markers, the range of expression and distribution is much more restricted for the 'in' markers. A subset of the relevant data is illustrated in Table (1), where the spatial meanings are boldfaced.

(1)

Language	<i>madbye</i> 'in'		<i>sawige</i> 'with'			
	in	on	co-location	accompaniment	instrument	source
OIA	✓		✓	✓		
MIA	✓		✓	✓		
Sindhi (NIA)	✓		✓	✓		✓
Hindi (NIA)	✓		✓			✓
Nepali (NIA)	✓	✓	✓	✓		

We posit that the reason for this difference in variability and range of expressivity is semantic and pragmatic in nature. The 'with' forms express a vague relationship of co-location that allows for non-spatial interpretation in accordance with a particular discourse or sentence context, for instance, animate and/or sentient arguments, and thus give rise to a range of new meanings that are open to subsequent grammaticalization. On the other hand, the 'in' forms are semantically more specific in that they express an inclusion relation (Zwarts & Winter 2000; Kracht 2002). The path of change in these forms is strictly tied to spatial meanings and may not extend - to the non-spatial domain. We thus account for the observed asymmetry in the patterns of evolution and synchronic crosslinguistic distribution of the 'with' vs. 'in' markers in terms of the relative vagueness of the semantics and the non-spatial interpretational possibilities available to the vague form in context.

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Vom Adverb zur Adposition im Hethitischen - oder doch nicht?

26.02.2010, 13.00-13.30 Uhr, Raum 1.103

Unter den Lokaladverbien des Hethitischen, einer indogermanischen Sprache, die im 2. Jtsd. v.u.Z. in Zentralanatolien gesprochen wurde und in Keilschrift überliefert ist, zeichnet sich eine Gruppe wegen ihrer besonderen Beziehung zu Substantiven und Verben ab. Obwohl diese sog. Place Words anscheinend erstarrte Kasusformen von Substantiven darstellen, können sie etymologisch nicht weiter auf Appellativa zurückgeführt, aber zumindest mit Lokaladverbien und Adpositionen in verwandten Sprachen verglichen werden. In der deutschen Übersetzung entsprechen sie sowohl Adverbien als auch Adpositionen als auch Präverbien.

Es ist eine offene Frage, ob die Place Words auch im Hethitischen in diese drei Kategorien einzuteilen sind, wie traditionell gelehrt wird (s. z.B. Hoffner/Melchert 2008: 294-301), oder ob es sich um eine weitgehend einheitliche Klasse handelt, wie die formale Einheitlichkeit und die (ab der mittelheth. Zeit) die einheitliche Wortstellung zwischen Adverbial(en) und Prädikat nahe legen. Unstrittig ist ihre Funktion als deiktische (Pronominal-)Adverbien:

mā[n]=e

CONN-3.PL.NOM.C

kattan=na

unten-CONN

huyantes¹

laufen.PTC.NOM.PL.C

Sie verbinden sich aber auch mit Substantiven im Ablativ, Dativ-Lokativ und Allativ, in der älteren Sprache konkurrierend auch im Genetiv (die beiden letzteren Konstruktionen fallen in der nachaltheth. Zeit zugunsten des Dat.-Lok. weg), vgl.

<i>k[uis</i>	<i>amm]el</i>	<i>āppan</i> LUGAL- <i>us</i>	<i>kīsar[ij]</i> ²
REL.NOM.SG.C	ich.GEN	hinter König.NOM.SG	werden.PRS.3.SG.MP

Eine besonders enge Verbindung mit Verben wird sichtbar in Lexikalisierungen und deverbalen Nomina, die Place Words enthalten, obwohl Hethitisch keine Zusammenbildungen kennt; z.B. *prā handandātar* 'gute (göttliche) Leitung' (*prā handae-zi* wörtlich „voran-ordnen“), *pēran huyatalla-* 'Führer' (*pēran huwai-/hui-i* wörtlich „vorne laufen“). Es kommt aber zu keiner morphologischen Verschmelzung, da Place Word und Verb durch andere Satzglieder getrennt werden können.

In Anbetracht der klassischen Definitionen für Adverbien (Modifikatoren bei allem außer Substantiven, prädikativ verwendbar) und Adpositionen (adnominal, nicht satzgliedfähig, Rektion, drücken Relationen zwischen Elementen aus) scheint eine Trennung nach funktionalen Kriterien also klar, auch wenn „some attested examples are ambiguous and open to competing interpretations“ (Hoffner/Melchert l.c. 294). Aber auf den zweiten Blick eröffnen sich hierbei theoretische wie praktische Probleme: So ist die Bedeutung von *peran* z.B. in *ga[lgal]tūri EGIR-an peran=na huyan[zi]* 'Tamburine laufen hinten und vorne.', LUGAL-*as pēran* 'vor dem König' und *peran huinut* 'er ließ vorgehen' essenziell die gleiche (Lokalisierung in einem intrinsischen oder deiktischem Vor-Bereich), eine Dreiteilung aufgrund der Übersetzung verdeckt die phonetisch-morphologisch-syntaktische Identität der drei Belege. Auch verbinden sich die Lokalkasus nicht willkürlich mit den Place Words, sondern werden gemäß der intendierten Bewegungsrichtung verwendet, die Place Words präzisieren also nur die lokale Relation, so dass nach Starke (1977: 127-130) von Rektion, dem zentralen Definitionskriterium für Adpositionen, keine Rede sein kann.

Im Rahmen des Vortrags sollen daher die Schwierigkeiten dargestellt werden, für diese tote Sprache, bei der viele der modernen Methoden der empirischen Sprachwissenschaft nicht anwendbar sind, zu einem Ergebnis bezüglich des Status der sog. Place Words zu gelangen.

Hoffner, Harry A./H. Craig Melchert. 2008. *A Grammar of the Hittite Language. Part 1: Reference Grammar*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns (Languages of the Ancient Near East 1).

Starke, Frank. 1977. *Die Funktionen der dimensionalen Kasus und Adverbien im Althethitischen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (StBoT 23).

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¹ 'Und wenn sie unten laufen, ...' (KUB XXXII 117+ II 13; altheth.)

² 'Wer nach mir König wird, ...' (KBo III 22, 49; altheth.).

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Syntax und Funktion der Lokalpartikeln im Vedischen
26.02.2010, 13.30-14.00 Uhr, Raum 1.103

Als "Lokalpartikeln" werden die Mitglieder einer Klasse von Partikeln bezeichnet, die unter die Wortklassen Adverb, Adposition oder Präverb fallen können. Ihrer Grundbedeutung nach bezeichnen sie lokale Relationen zwischen einem lokalisierten Begriff (locatum) und einem die Lokalisierung festlegenden Bezugspunkt (relatum), entweder als gerichtete Bewegung (konkret oder metaphorisch) oder - seltener - als lokale Befindlichkeit. Sie dienen dadurch der Präzisierung einer lokalen

Relation, die durch das Prädikatsverb, häufig in Verbindung mit einer NP in einem obliquen Kasus bezeichnet wird. Diese NP kann der Lokalpartikel semantisch oder auch syntaktisch (durch Kontaktstellung der Partikel) als Bezugsnomen zugeordnet sein.

In den ältesten indogermanischen Sprachen (Altindisch, Altiranisch, Hethitisch, Griechisch) ist die Bindung dieser Lokalpartikeln an das Verb oder Bezugsnomen noch sehr lose. Außerdem treten sie z.T. noch als selbständige Adverbien auf. Da diese Autonomie in den jüngeren Sprachen abnimmt bzw. verloren geht, wird gewöhnlich angenommen, dass eine Entwicklung von Adverbien im Indogermanischen zu den drei getrennten Wortarten Adverb, Adposition und Präverb führt.

Im Rahmen eines DFG-Projektes werden z.Z. die Lokalpartikeln des Vedischen, einer altindischen Sprache aus dem 1. Jt. v.Chr., unter semantischen und syntaktischen Gesichtspunkten untersucht. In dieser Sprache scheint es sich bei den Lokalpartikeln nach Ausweis der bisherigen Untersuchungen noch überwiegend um Adverbien zu handeln mit vereinzelt Übergängen zu Adpositionen bzw. Lexikalisierungsprozessen der Kombination aus Lokalpartikel und Prädikatsverb in unterschiedlichen Entwicklungsstadien, in denen die Partikel als Präverb fungiert. Besonders interessant ist hier daher die Frage nach dem syntaktischen und semantischen Verhältnis, in dem die Lokalpartikeln zu den Kasus begleitender Nomina und zu Prädikatsverben während dieser Entwicklung stehen sowie die Frage, ob sich die einzelnen Partikeln in dieser Übergangsphase bereits eindeutigen Wort- oder Morphemklassen zuordnen lassen. Dabei stehen folgende Themenkomplexe im Vordergrund:

- 1) Feststellung der Grundbedeutung und Wortart
- 2) Ermittlung des Ausgangspunktes für die semantische Referenz der Lokalpartikel: Bezugsnomen, Sprecherposition oder andere Komponenten des Kontextes
- 3) Syntaktische Relation zwischen Lokalpartikel und Bezugsnomen: adnominal – adverbial – selbständiges Adverb; syntaktische vs. lexikalische Komposition
- 4) Interner Aufbau der Lokalpartikel-Konstruktion: z.B. attributiv vs. appositiv
- 5) Adnominales Syntagma als Aktant oder Zirkumstant
- 6) Kombination mehrerer Lokalpartikeln
- 7) Lexikalisierungen von Lokalpartikel und Verb