

Book of abstracts

Morfologiedagen / Morphology Days in the Low Countries

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[Table of contents](#) (sorted alphabetically by surname of the first author)

Fenna Bergsma & Anne Merkuur: <i>Weak and strong determiners in Frisian</i>	3
Michael Bilynsky : <i>Feeding lexical data into morphological paradigms: multiple de-verbal thesauri in English</i>	5
Kristel Van Goethem : <i>Complementation or competition between syntax and morphology? The case of Dutch binominal constructions expressing positive evaluation</i>	6
Lydsson Agostinho Gonçalves & Paula Roberta Gabbai Armelin: <i>The structure of the passive voice and the role of participles: a relationship between argument structure and aspect</i>	8
Camiel Hamans : <i>Recognition and non-morphemic word formation</i>	10
Matthias Hüning : <i>Morfologisering. Over de mogelijkheden van woordvorming met -isering</i> . 13	
Matthias Hüning & Truus De Wilde: <i>Het belang van het marginale</i>	13
Andra Kalnača & Ilze Lokmane: <i>The Latvian vocative – morphology and agreement</i>	15
Dietha Koster , Lukas Urbanek, Jens Bölte, Marco Chiarandini: <i>Gender in the eye of the bilingual beholder - Perception of human referents and TFS in German-Dutch speakers</i>	18
Maria Mazzoli & Margaux Dubuis: <i>Shades of grammar: The cognitive basis of morphological productivity in polysynthetic languages</i>	19
Dimitra Melissaropoulou : <i>Investigating derivational borrowability in the Cappadocian Greek dialectal landscape: the emergence of allo-morphemes</i>	20
Julie Nijs , Freek Van de Velde, Hubert Cuyckens: <i>Morphological complexity as cause and effect</i>	22
Constanza Quinteros Ortiz : <i>Metacognition and multilingual learning: Preliminary results of a scoping review and reflections about strategic grammar learning</i>	25
Emanuel Souza de Quadros : <i>Probabilistic morphology in an exemplar-driven categorial grammar</i>	27
Anne Renzel : <i>Experimenteel clusteren: gebruik en verwerking van volgordevariatie in werkwoordelijke eindgroepen in het Nederlands</i>	29
Marjolein Talsma & Jan-Wouter Zwart: <i>Rethinking her-. Dutch verbal prefixation and rule-ordering</i>	30
Natalie Verelst : <i>Undoing gender in the morphological domain: Patterns and use of neutral(izing) person nouns in Dutch and German</i>	32
Arjen Versloot : <i>The remarkable fate of a nominal declensional class: i-stems in Old Frisian</i> 33	
David Wirthmüller : <i>The role of pronouns in the acquisition of grammatical gender. An elicitation study on L1 German</i>	35
Ton van der Wouden : <i>Tal van observaties over formaties met -tal</i>	36

Fenna Bergsma & Anne Merkuur: *Weak and strong determiners in Frisian*

Frisian has two grammatical genders: common and neuter. Generally, common nouns combine with the determiner *de* and neuter nouns with the determiner *it*, as illustrated in (1).

(1) Frisian

- a. **de** *dyk*
 the.C road(C)

- b. **it** *hus*
 the.N house(N)

When the noun phrase follows a monosyllabic preposition that ends in a non-continuant, the determiners *de* and *it* can be replaced with 'e (Hoekstra & Visser 1996; Popkema 2006: 155).

(2) Frisian

- a. *in* *gat* *yn* **de'e** *dyk*
 a hole in the.C road(C)

- b. *skimmel* *yn* **it'e** *hus*
 mold in the.N house(N)

In the case of *de*, the alternation can be argued to be phonology: 'e is the phonologically reduced form of *de*. In the case of *it* this explanation does not hold. Also, the observation that the alternation only appears after prepositions cannot be accounted for by phonology alone. Hoekstra and Visser (1996) discussed the possibility that the 'e is a remnant of the Old Frisian dative construction.

Interestingly, there also is a difference in interpretation between the two variants of the determiners. In this paper we argue that the difference in Frisian between *de* and *it* on the one hand and 'e on the other hand resembles a similar difference described for German (Schwarz 2009): the one between weak and strong determiners. In the example in (3), the weak determiner *m* is used to express uniqueness, whereas the strong determiner *dem* is used anaphorically. A similar distribution between weak and strong determiners has also been described for the North Frisian dialect of the island Fering by Ebert (1971a; 1971b).

(3) German

Hans ging zum/zu **dem** Haus.

Hans went to the.WK/to the.STR house

'Hans went to the house.'

(Schwarz 2007: 7)

In this paper we demonstrate that, similarly, in Frisian *de* or *it* is used anaphorically when referring to a specific road or house, and *'e* is used when the road or house is the only unique road or house that can be referred to in a given context. This is illustrated by the fact that noun phrases with *de* and *it* can be modified with for instance a prepositional phrase but noun phrases with *'e* cannot, as shown in (4).

(4) Frisian

a. *Der siet in gat yn de/*'e dyk fan De Jouwer nei Snits.*

there sat a hole in the road of De Jouwer to Sneek

'There was a hole in road from De Jouwer to Snits.'

b. *Der siet skimmel yn it/*'e hus fan de buorlju.*

there sat mold in the house of the neighbours

'There was mold in the house of the neighbours.'

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Michael Bilynsky: Feeding lexical data into morphological paradigms: multiple de-verbal thesauri in English

The proposal consists in presenting a framework for the study of de-verbal families and verb synonymy in English. When verbs prove sense-conjoint (synonymous) their same-status coinages appear sense-related as well. In the existing thesauri, the coverage of the reflection of verbs synonymy in same-stem derivatives is quite incomplete and not always morphologically homogeneous. This calls for a more sensitive and multifaceted account of lexical evidence in de-verbal morphology.

We have examined over 30.000 derivatives in -ING, -AGE, -AL, (-A/-E)NCE, -ERY, -MENT, (-T/-S)ION, (T/-S)URE, -ANT, -ER, -IVE, -OR, -EE, (-A/-E)NT, -FUL, -IVE, -ORY, -OUS, -Y, (-A/-I)BLE, -ED and second order coinages in -LY, -NESS, -ITY from over 17,700 verbs. We distinguish action nouns, result nouns, agent/instrument nouns, patient/object nouns, adjectives, present participles, modal adjectives and past participles as well as adverbs and nouns from adjectives and participles. Variant suffixal coinages are substitutable in the framework together with their OED-attestations. Ready-made suffixed borrowings are counted in as coinages.

A string is a set of synonyms initiated by a dominant adduced in a thesaurus or reconstructed on the basis of deverbal families. A paradigm of stringed derivatives of the corresponding categories in a default suffix or in a given variant suffix is determined by the realized suffix sensitivity of a verb.

Stem wise strings of verbs and strings of deverbal coinages sometimes coincide. More often though the categories of morphological coinages are subjected to somewhat varying constraints. Also, additional filters on certain shared-root derivatives may be imposed by some polysemous verbs.

The reversal of strings is applicable to intuitively (non-alphabetically) placed synonymous verbs and their respective derivatives. Then an arbitrary lexeme from the right-hand side of the thesaurus entry becomes the reverse string dominant. And the dominants to which it referred enter the right-hand side of the construed string in an uneven distribution of the respective, sometimes even coincident, proximity factor values. The metrics takes into account the string length and the ordinal position of a constituent with respect to the dominant.

The derivational constraints on some verbs are responsible for the shifts on an uneven reverse scale in the values of proximity of coinages to the derived string dominant. Morphologically homogeneous strings are bound into paradigms. Within these as well as

when they are considered separately strings appear comparable by their length and uneven distributions of the proximity of coinages to the dominant.

The framework examines reflexivity and (a)symmetry within synonymous pairs of verbs and also pairs of derivatives. It shows these features inside the entire strings and provides computed vectors of expansion patterns of present-day and OED-reconstructed strings.

As there are over thirty printed and electronic thesauri the overall evidence for the cross-sections of de-verbal morphology and synonymy is quite significant.

The procedure brings to light *mother-sister* (vertical vs. horizontal) relatedness (Audring 2022) and *cell finding problem* (Boyé & Schalchli. 2019) in morphology. It is also conducive to *paradigm function* description of morphology (Stump 2019). The queries may be set with respect to etymological, chronological and sense-sensitive stratifications of verbs.

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Kristel Van **Goethem**: *Complementation or competition between syntax and morphology? The case of Dutch binominal constructions expressing positive evaluation*

The Dutch *een-schat van-een-kind*-construction (lit. ‘a treasure of a child’; ‘a sweet child’) has captured the attention of various linguists for decades (e.g., Paardekooper 1956, Everaert 1992, Foolen 2004, Verhagen 2005). Although *een schat van een kind* is a common expression in Dutch, recent examples such as *dat monster van een virus* ‘that monster of a virus’ show the existence of a semi-schematic pattern [Det N1 *van (een)* N2] that is subject to considerable variation.

The central aims of this study are the following:

- i. To re-examine this Expressive Binominal Construction (EBC) by means of an in-depth corpus study, with a focus on four positively-connotated N1s (*schat* 'treasure', *droom* 'dream', *pracht* 'beauty' and *wonder* 'wonder');
- ii. To compare the EBC with a potential morphological counterpart in the form of a [N1 N2]_{N2} compound.

The examples (1-3) indeed show that the EBC often has a morphological counterpart in Dutch, although this correspondence is not systematic (4).

- (1) *een droom van een huis* (lit. 'a dream of a house') vs *een droomhuis* (lit. 'a dream house')
- (2) *een pracht van een dochter* (lit. 'a beauty of a daughter') vs *een prachtdochter* (lit. 'a beauty daughter')
- (3) *een wonder van een vrouw* (lit. 'a wonder of a woman') vs *een wondervrouw* (lit. 'a wonder woman')
- (4) *een schat van een kind* (lit. 'a treasure of a child') vs **een schatkind* (lit. 'a treasure child')

The differences and similarities between the various patterns are determined by a corpus analysis of their semantic and formal properties, as well as their productivity in terms of type-token ratio and hapax legomena-token ratio. The corpus study is based on 1000 relevant examples of each construction randomly extracted from the nITenTen20 web corpus on the SketchEngine (Kilgarriff et al. 2014).

The results reveal in the first place that the syntactic pattern is overall more productive than the morphological pattern. From the semantic point of view, the syntactic pattern attracts significantly more animate N2s (e.g., *een pracht van een vrouw* 'lit. a beauty of a woman') than the morphological pattern which shows a preference for N2s referring to places and concepts (e.g. *een droomvakantie* 'a dream holiday'). At the formal level, finally, the data indicate that the syntactic pattern allows for more complex N2s, such as compounds and even noun phrases (e.g., *een pracht van een basis voor het verdere arbeidsleven* 'lit. a beauty of a basis for further working life'). This higher degree of formal variation may be related to the higher degree of productivity of the construction.

On the theoretical level, the case study will allow us to address the question whether the syntactic and morphological patterns are complementary or in competition with each other. We will show that some subpatterns form good alternates (e.g. [*een pracht van een N2*] vs [*een*

pracht-N2]), while others are used in quite divergent ways ([*een droom van een N2*] vs [*een droom-N2*]).

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Lydsson Agostinho **Gonçalves** & Paula Roberta Gabbai Armelin: *The structure of the passive voice and the role of participles: a relationship between argument structure and aspect*

This study investigates the constitution of the analytic passive voice, which is formed by an auxiliary verb and a participle, such as in "The man was attacked". In particular, we seek to elucidate the nature of its components, proposing a derivation that is capable of motivating their presence. The research is carried out under the theoretical framework of Distributed Morphology (HALLE & MARANTZ, 1993; MARANTZ, 1997; and subsequent works). The passive voice is commonly regarded as a counterpart of the active voice in which there is a reconfiguration of syntactic relations: the external argument, normally the subject in the active voice, becomes unessential, and the internal argument, usually the direct object in the active voice, becomes the syntactic subject. It is not unusual to see the passive being described as an operation derived from the active voice, performed in order to bring focus to the object/patient of the action (KULIKOV, 2011). However, this perspective has been questioned,

since there are several other focus strategies available in languages, and a passive construction is not always a perfect periphrasis of an active one (KEENAN & DRYER, 2007). Moreover, such a perspective does not immediately explain the need for the substitution of a finite verb for the auxiliary + participle pair. In this debate, a salient issue is the nature of the participle; although it is constantly called "passive participle" or "past participle", it can also be a part of: (i) active tenses (such as German's *Perfekt* and Italian's *passato prossimo*); and (ii) non-past tenses (such as in "The project will be studied" or "The project is being studied"). Having that in mind, Abraham (2006) proposes that the participle does not entail a passive or a temporal sense, but rather simply denotes a state, and its interaction with the syntactic structure generates different interpretations. Based on this view, we recover the works of Gonçalves (2021) and Gonçalves and Armelin (2021a, 2021b), in which the authors argue that passives are the result of a syntactic mismatch: they are formed by transitive verbal bases, but have no external argument. That incongruity leads to different mechanisms being used in order to save the derivation. Combining this view on passives with Abraham's (2006) observations, we propose that the participle is a stative operator, which enters this structure to free it from the need of an external argument – since, as stative elements have the same status of adjectives in syntax (ABRAHAM, 2006), they do not require such an argument. The incongruity is then resolved; however, this now being a formally nominal structure, in order to resume the verb construction, a new verbal layer must be introduced, which is realized as the auxiliary. Thus, the form of the passive structure is actually an epiphenomenon of underlying syntactic operations.

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Camiel Hamans: *Recognition and non-morphemic word formation*

1. The aim of this contribution is to draw attention to an underexposed cause of language change: recognition. Analysis of some non-morphemic word-formation processes shows that (false) recognition must be considered a possible cause for language change.
2. The processes discussed here are suffix reinterpretation, clipping and (pseudo-) embellished clipping, and libfixing.
3. Also, the question will be answered what the difference is between the notion of recognition presented here and more accepted concepts such as analogy and reanalysis/reinterpretation.
4. In order to make the concept of recognition concrete, the concept of confusivum, common segment (Zabrocki 1962, 1969) will be used.
5. Suffix reinterpretation (Hamans 2021: 29-88)

(1) **Suffix -cide**
homicide

(2) **Suffix -icide**
aborticide

(3) **Suffix -ticide**
hospiticide

suicide

Sparticide

scabieticide

Common segment **-icide**

Common segment **-ticide**

The language user recognizes a common segment *-icide* in the data presented in (1), although *-icide* does not have any morphological status. As a result of this recognition, speakers assume that this segment must have a certain status and subsequently introduce it as a new suffix or as an allomorph. A similar development takes place in the change from (2) to (3).

6. Clipping (Alber and Arndt-Lappe 2012, Lappe 2007, Hamans 2012, 2014, 2018, 2020, 2021: 89-155)

(4) **Clipping**

Clipping with final **-o**
psycho < psychopath
homo < homosexual

(5) **Embellished clipping**

Clipping + **-o**
Afro < African
lesbo < lesbian

(6) **Pseudo embellished clipping**

Monosyllabic word + **-o**
sicko < sick
creepo < creep

The language user recognizes in the series of clipped nouns in (4) a common final element *-o*. In addition, he also notices a common metric pattern (disyllabic, trochaic forms). Moreover, he recognizes that these forms share an informal register and a pejorative meaning.

Subsequently, the language user assigns morphological status to this common element, introduces it as a sort of a suffix and starts to use it productively after words clipped to monosyllabic forms, resulting in trochees as in (5). Finally, he even may use it without clipping the base words as long as the final result is a recognizable trochee, which means that the base word can only be monosyllabic as in (6).

7. Libfixing (Zwicky 2010)

(7) apocalypse > **-(p)ocalypse**

snowpocalypse
heatpocalypse

(8) anniversary > **-iversary**

monthiversary
blogiversary

Libfixing differs from suffix reinterpretation and clipping in two ways. Libfixing is a conscious process and it is not based on a series of similar forms. However, the data in (7) and (8) show that the language user appears to recognize or to remind the original form in the libfix. The newly produced forms share the same meaning. In addition, the new forms follow the syllabic and metric template of the 'model'. The underlying cognitive process here is the same as with suffix reinterpretation and (pseudo-) embellished clipping: recognition of

a segment, followed by assignment of morphological status to this segment and finally followed by productive use.

8. In the phenomena discussed here, recognition comes in the first place, is followed by reinterpretation and subsequently the segment becomes productive.

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Matthias Hüning: *Morfologisering. Over de mogelijkheden van woordvorming met -isering*

In een recente tweet (van 29 juni 2023) heeft de Duitse CDU-politicus Mario Czaja het over de “Klingbeilisierung des politischen Diskurses”. Hij verwijst daarmee naar Lars Klingbeil, voorzitter van de Duitse sociaaldemocraten. Zoals ik heb beweerd in Hüning (2018) kunnen nieuwvormingen van het type *Klingbeilisierung* het best worden gezien als resultaat van een proces dat door Booij (2010: 41–50) ‘schema unification’ is genoemd. Ze zijn direct gevormd, zonder dat daarvoor een werkwoord als *klingbeilisieren* als tussenstap moet worden aangenomen.

Ook in het Nederlands komen afleidingen van het type *poetinisering*, *amsterdamisering* of *madurodamisering* voor. In mijn lezing wil ik dit soort afleidingen onder de vergelijkende loep nemen en de overeenkomsten en de verschillen tussen het Duits (*-isierung*) en het Nederlands (*-isering*) laten zien. Ik zal een corpusgebaseerde studie presenteren naar de morfologische eigenschappen en de discursieve functies van dergelijke afleidingen.

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Matthias Hüning & Truus De Wilde: *Het belang van het marginale*

In onze lezing willen we een paar gedachten presenteren over het belang van ‘marginale morfologie’. Daarmee bedoelen we zowel het communicatieve en functionele belang voor de taalgebruiker als ook het theoretische en methodologische belang voor de taalkunde.

Achtergrond

Met het begrip ‘marginale morfologie’ sluiten we aan bij Meesters (2002) die in zijn proefschrift een aantal procedés onder de loep nam die in het morfologisch onderzoek meestal als randverschijnselen werden behandeld of genegeerd: paradigmatische samenstellingen, neoklassieke composita en splintercomposita.

Ook op het vlak van de derivationele morfologie zijn er patronen die buiten de aandacht vallen van een morfologie die vooral gericht is op de systematische en productieve mogelijkheden tot uitbreiding van de woordenschat. Camiel Hamans heeft hier herhaaldelijk op gewezen. In zijn proefschrift (Hamans 2021) analyseert hij processen van suffix-herinterpretatie, clipping en blending. Het gaat hem om “non-morphemic word formation” en (dus) om “borderline cases in morphology” (zo de titel van het proefschrift).

Een taalkundige die wel altijd oog had voor de randgebieden was Maarten van den Toorn. Met zijn artikel over commerciële naamgeving betrad hij “morfologisch niemandsland” (Van den Toorn 1987). Hij verzette zich expliciet tegen een “linguïstische preutsheid” in het morfologisch onderzoek dat in zijn tijd vooral gericht was op de beschrijving van onopzettelijke en productieve morfologische procedés.

Het meeste onderzoek naar zeldzame, vreemde of gekke nieuwe woorden is gericht op de structurele eigenschappen ervan. Vaak gaat het om de morfemische status van de betrokken elementen: hebben we überhaupt te maken met een morfeem? Is het een affix of een affixoid? Spreken we over confixen of splinters of libfixen? Wat is de theoretische status van dergelijke elementen? Kunnen we constructionele schema’s formuleren voor dergelijke complexe woorden?

Doelstelling

In onze presentatie willen wij twee andere aspecten centraal stellen. Aan de hand van ons project over deadjectivische diminutieven (type *oudje* of *dikske*) willen we gaan nadenken over de functies van zo’n marginaal woordvormingspatroon. Waarvoor en in welke contexten worden nieuwe deadjectivische diminutieven gevormd en gebruikt? Welke expressieve functie hebben ze en wat is hun socio-indexicale waarde? De bedoeling is om morfologie en sociolinguïstiek dichter bij elkaar te brengen en discursieve en de maatschappelijke functie v

De voorbeelden die wij zullen bespreken hebben ook in grote corpora een zeer lage frequentie, ze zijn moeilijk te vinden en (daarom) moeilijk te onderzoeken. Corpustaalkundige methodes en productiviteitsmaten zijn moeilijk of niet toepasbaar, vaak gaat het om eendagsvliegen en

het lijkt aannemelijk dat ze vooral voorkomen in informele gesproken taal. Dit plaatst ons voor grote methodologische problemen, die wij zullen illustreren aan de hand van onze deadjectivische diminutieven. De moeilijkheden die wij zijn tegengekomen zijn ons inziens kenmerkend voor veel onderzoek naar laagfrequente talige verschijnselen en we willen daarom een discussie entameren over de mogelijkheden en de beperkingen van dergelijk onderzoek.

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Andra Kalnača & Ilze Lokmane: *The Latvian vocative – morphology and agreement*

The objectives of this study are threefold: to catalogue the different kinds of vocative forms found in Latvian; to provide an analysis of Latvian vocative constructions and their underlying models; to examine the relationships between the vocative, nominative and accusative forms within vocative expressions.

Latvian vocative forms are complicated in that they lack homogeneity across declension classes (Table 1) and in addition to the morphological vocative case (1)-(3) there are also syntactic vocatives, i.e. nominative (4a) and, less frequently, accusative (4b) forms functioning as vocatives (Nītiņa, Grigorjevs 2013; on vocative–nominative and accusative syncretism also see Blake 1997; Baerman 2009).

- (1) declension classes 1, 4, 5: -∅
Labvakar, tēv-∅!
good_evening **father-voc.sg**
'Good evening, father!' (A.Eglītis)

(2) declension class 2: *-i* or its truncation *-∅* (e.g., Holvoet 2012)

a. *Jā, mans brāl-i, [..]*
 yes my.NOM.SG brother-VOC.SG
 ‘Yes, my brother, [..]’ (LVK2018)

b. *Esmu atnācis, brāl-∅!*
 have.AUX.PRS.1SG come.PTCP.NOM.SG brother-VOC.SG
 ‘I have come, brother!’ (LVK2018)

(3) declension class 3: *-u*

Ak, Jēz-u, glāb mani!
 oh Jesus-VOC.SG save.IMP.2SG 1.ACC.SG
 ‘Oh, Jesus, save me!’ (I.Ābele)

(4) a. *Dēl-s, tu dzirdi mani?*
 son-NOM.SG 2.NOM.SG hear.PRS.2SG 1.ACC
 ‘Son, do you hear me?’ (G.Priede)

b. *Mamm-u, kur mums stāv putekļsūcējs?*
 mum-ACC.SG where 1.DAT.PL keep.PRS.3 vacuum_cleaner.NOM.SG
 ‘Mum, where do we keep the vacuum cleaner?’ (leva)

SG	1	2	3	4	5	6
VOC	<i>-∅,</i>	<i>-ī, -∅</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-∅,</i>	<i>-∅,</i>	<i>-</i>
+NOM, ACC	<i>-s, -š,</i> <i>-u</i>			<i>-a,</i> <i>-u</i>	<i>-e</i> <i>-u</i>	<i>-s</i>
PL	1, 2, 3			4	5	6
NOM	<i>-i</i>			<i>-as</i>	<i>-es</i>	<i>-īs</i>

Table 1. Case endings: the vocative case and other forms functioning as vocatives

Typologically, Latvian falls within the group of languages having a distinct vocative case (morphologically marked by means of an ending) used for direct address (e.g., Moro 2003; Daniel, Spencer 2009; Parrot, 2010).

It might be expected that in agreement-based vocative-headed phrases an agreeing attribute expressed by an adjective, a numeral, a declinable participle or a possessive pronoun would also be in the vocative case, since the above parts of speech, which require gender, number and case agreement with a noun, are the so-called morphological controllers symmetrically mirroring the forms of the head (typologically see Hill 2013, 2014). This is not, however, the case: Latvian vocative phrases headed by a noun in the vocative case usually have nominative dependents (Nītiņa, Grigorjevs 2013):

(5) *“Mīļ-ais Fīlip-∅!”*

dear-NOM.SG Philip-VOC.SG

“Dear Philip!” (A.Eglītis)

The accusative case is also possible, with the same meaning (Nītiņa, Grigorjevs op. cit.):

(6) **Miļ-o,** **dārg-o** *māsiņ-ø!*
beloved-ACC.SG **dear-ACC.SG** sister-VOC.SG

‘Beloved, dear sister!’ (LVK2018)

In vocative phrases headed by a noun in the nominative case the dependents are in the nominative:

(7) *Cienīt-ā kundz-e!*
dear-NOM.SG madam-NOM.SG

‘Dear Madam!’ (A.Eglītis)

Less common are vocative phrases with an accusative agreement where both the head and the dependent are in the accusative case. Accusative agreement often occurs with the word *mamma* ‘mum’:

(8) *Miļ-o* *mamm-u!*
dear-ACC.SG mum-ACC.SG

‘Dear mum!’ (LVK2018)

Hence, true agreement is only found in examples (7), (8). The rest involve an adjective (or a word of another declinable part of speech) in the nominative or accusative case which is subordinate to a noun in the vocative case, (5), (6). Thus, morphological agreement is found in vocative phrases headed by nouns in the nominative or accusative case functioning as vocatives. Vocative phrases headed by nouns in the vocative case lack phonological and morphological agreement.

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Dietha Koster, Lukas Urbanek, Jens Bölte, Marco Chiarandini: *Gender in the eye of the bilingual beholder - Perception of human referents and TFS in German-Dutch speakers*

Can one's native language (L1) affect perception of gender while comprehending one's foreign language (L2)? The present study addressed this question related to the thinking-for-speaking (TFS) debate (Slobin, 1996) applied to bilingualism (Bassetti & Nicoladis, 2016) and embodiment (Kemmerer, 2022). We also aimed to contribute to debates on gender neutralization strategies in different languages (Gabriel, Gygax & Kuhn, 2018). Through a visual-world eye-tracking paradigm, we presented adult, bidirectional German-Dutch bilinguals with short stories containing interlingual homophones and gender-neutral roles (e.g., student). German stories contained grammatically fe/male articles (e.g., der, die), whereas in Dutch stories, gender-neutral articles and demonstratives (e.g., de, die) preceded roles. During listening, we presented participants with pictures of wo/men and tracking eye movements. We analyzed the proportion of fixations to fe/male referents. Results suggest no effect of (a lack of) grammatical gender in the L1 while listening to the L2, and we find no support for TFS. Instead, participants shifted gaze behavior towards female referents while hearing L1/L2 German die; to male referents while hearing German der; and showed no preference for either female or male upon hearing L1/L2 Dutch die/de. Fixation preferences appeared no earlier than 1000 ms after onset of critical language items, which leads to discussions of un/conscious gaze behavior. We also discuss our findings' potential for gender-fair language policies.

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Maria **Mazzoli** & Margaux Dubuis: *Shades of grammar: The cognitive basis of morphological productivity in polysynthetic languages*

In this contribution, we will present the plan for an empirical study on the morphological productivity of two polysynthetic languages, Plains Cree (Algonquian, Canada) and Mapudungun (isolate, Chile/Argentina), and some preliminary results of the corpus analysis of Plains Cree lexical affixation.

The potential of polysynthetic word formation includes:

- multiple derivational strategies,
- affixation of noun-like components of non-core arguments to verbs, as in the so-called “medial” -*âskwa*- (‘wooden tool’) in the Plains Cree example in (1), and
- the morphological expression of basic syntactic relationships, as in the direct object -*acaskw*- (‘the muskrat’) incorporated into the verb *nôc*- (‘hunt’) in the Plains Cree word in (2) (Mattissen 2004; Mazzoli 2023 for Algonquian languages).

(1) *ôhpâskwaham* ‘s/he lifts it up with a stick’

(2) *nôcacaskwêw* ‘s/he hunts muskrats’

Our team will study the relationship between the **perceived productivity** of polysynthetic schemas (how likely they are to form new types - measured via acceptability ratings of nonce words) in relation to measurements of **morphological motivation**, such as semantic transparency and frequency corpus-based measures, and also in relation to the **cognitive availability** of those schemas (level of activation in language processing - measured via a

morphological priming test). Thanks to the triangulation of these three measurements on two highly synthetic languages, we will test the coherence of the concept of “morphological productivity” at the three different levels of language use, competence and representation.

This work develops within the framework of Relational Morphology (Jackendoff & Audring 2020), and within a probabilistic and emergent view of morphology (Hay & Baayen 2005), and will use both corpus analysis and a psycholinguistic experimental approach aimed at measuring entrenchment. We’ll test:

- a) the hypothesis of a measurable (psycho)linguistic difference between productive (generative) and non-productive (relational) schemas, as well as between syntactically-motivated and non-syntactically-motivated morphological patterns,
- b) the coherence of the concept of “morphological productivity” among the three levels (use, competence and representation), intra- and interspeakers and interlanguages.

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Dimitra Melissaropoulou: *Investigating derivational borrowability in the Cappadocian Greek dialectal landscape: the emergence of allo-morphemes*

In linguistic theory and more specifically in contact studies, the different morphological domains are not considered to be equally susceptible to contact-induced change. One of the widely accepted assumptions is that derivation is subject to transfer more frequently than inflection (see Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Weinreich 1953 among others), drawing a distinction between these two components. Nevertheless, even though contact research has worked intensively on inflection, no comparable amount of work exists as regards derivation.

This paper addresses matter borrowability emphasizing the domain of derivational suffixation, using as its empirical testbed the relatively well-documented case study of Cappadocian Greek. Data are drawn from all available sources systematized within the frame of the [DiCaDLanD](#) project (see among others, Karasimos et al. 2020).

What our data show is that all borrowed suffixal markers do not diverge significantly compared to those attested in other Modern Greek varieties, the standard form included. Moreover, they all belong to the same wide grammatical domain, that is the nominal domain. Our findings align, by and large, with the results produced by the Seifart's (2013) *AfBo* database, according to which, nominalizers and adjectivizers are more prone to contact-induced transfer. On the contrary, the hypothesis on the proneness of prototypical affixes to transfer vs. the non-prototypical ones (see Gardani 2020), does not seem to be verified. The occurring asymmetry is accounted in terms of the idiosyncratic divergence between nominal vs. verbal categories.

Moreover, a thorough analysis of the data reveals that, even though in the verbal domain no pure borrowed suffixes are attested, there occur elements of verbal nature, such as the *-la(n)di-* element which has been detached from the borrowed verbal stems and expanded to a. other native bases (1) and b. to non-verbal bases of Turkish origin (2) combined with the verbalizer *-izo* or the marker *-o/u* (marker of a specific inflection class, Ralli 2022):

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| (1) [mi'arla'dizo] | < | [mi'far] |
| 'to be half-empty' | | 'half, unfinished' |
| (2) [yonksçula'dizu] Misti | < | [yon'ksçu] < Dial. Turk. goñşu |
| 'to be adjacent/neighbour to' | | 'neighbour' |

This process is not so peculiar and finds corroborative evidence in other Asia Minor Greek dialects (i.e., Pontic). What we claim here is that under the operations of reanalysis and allogeous exaptation, new loan-blend verbal markers may emerge. As regards the status of this type of elements, we propose that since they do not seem to add a distinct meaning or function, when attached to native verbalizers, they should be accounted for as morphemes or, better put, in our view, as *allo-morphemes* (our proposal). Morphemes may arise through different pathways and contact may be one of them (Herce 2023).

Our proposal, on the notion of *allo-morphemes*, aligns with the generalizations asserting that exaptation of foreign formatives is a frequently attested phenomenon in the adaptation of verbs (Wohlgemuth 2009). In our view, this a direct result of the different grammatical morphemes the verbal root may be accompanied with, when accommodated in a replica system apart from the agreement markers, which due their paradigmatic nature, are taken off more easily.

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Julie Nijs, Freek Van de Velde, Hubert Cuyckens: *Morphological complexity as cause and effect*

In this paper we test two hypotheses:

1. Changes in the morphological complexity of a language cause changes in the syntactic complexity of a language.
2. Population changes cause changes in the morphological and/or syntactic complexity of a language.

We test these hypotheses on C-CLAMP, a corpus of Dutch texts from 1837 till 1999 (Piersoul, De Troij & Van de Velde 2021). The corpus contains excerpts from cultural and literary magazines written in Belgium and The Netherlands, and metadata of the birthplace of the authors. Because we work with comparable data instead of parallel data, equally big samples of 1000 sentences were taken from each text.

Following Juola (2008) and Ehret (2017), we use Kolmogorov complexity (1968) to assess morphological and syntactic complexity. To calculate the morphological complexity of a text, 10% of the characters are randomly deleted and the text is then compressed with gzip. This deletion distorts the morphology of the text, increases the number of unique tokens and worsens compressibility. Morphologically complex texts have a higher token diversity even before deletion and are therefore less affected. Syntactic complexity is calculated similarly, but with word deletion impacting word order rules and increasing unique lexical n-grams. Complex texts with rigid word order suffer more distortion, while simple texts with free word order are less affected.

The morphological complexity ratio is calculated as $\frac{\text{compressed file size after morphological distortion}}{\text{compressed file size}}$. The syntactic complexity ratio or the word order rigidity ratio is calculated as $\frac{\text{compressed file size after syntactic distortion}}{\text{compressed file size}}$. In order to mitigate the aleatoric effect of the randomization, for each text the mean morphological and syntactic complexity was calculated over 100 iterations.

We analyze the data through Granger causality (Rosemeyer & Van de Velde 2021), a technique that aims to determine the causal precedence between two time series A and B. It tries to forecast time series A using time series B, and vice versa, to evaluate their forecasting capability. Forecasting entails regressing time series B on its own past values (autoregression) and the past values of A. The question is if incorporating A in B improves predictions compared to autoregression alone. An improvement in the prediction indicates added value. The underlying assumption is that if time series A causes time series B, the dynamics of A can help reduce residuals in B.

For the first hypothesis we apply Granger causality on a time series comprised of the mean morphological complexity ratio per decade and a time series comprised of the mean syntactic complexity ratio per decade. As expected, changes in the morphological complexity Granger-cause changes in the syntactic complexity, but not the other way around (figure 1). For the second hypothesis, we construct a third time series comprised of the mean population size per decade, based on the birthplaces of the authors. We conclude that population size is indeed predictive of changes in morphological complexity (figure 2).

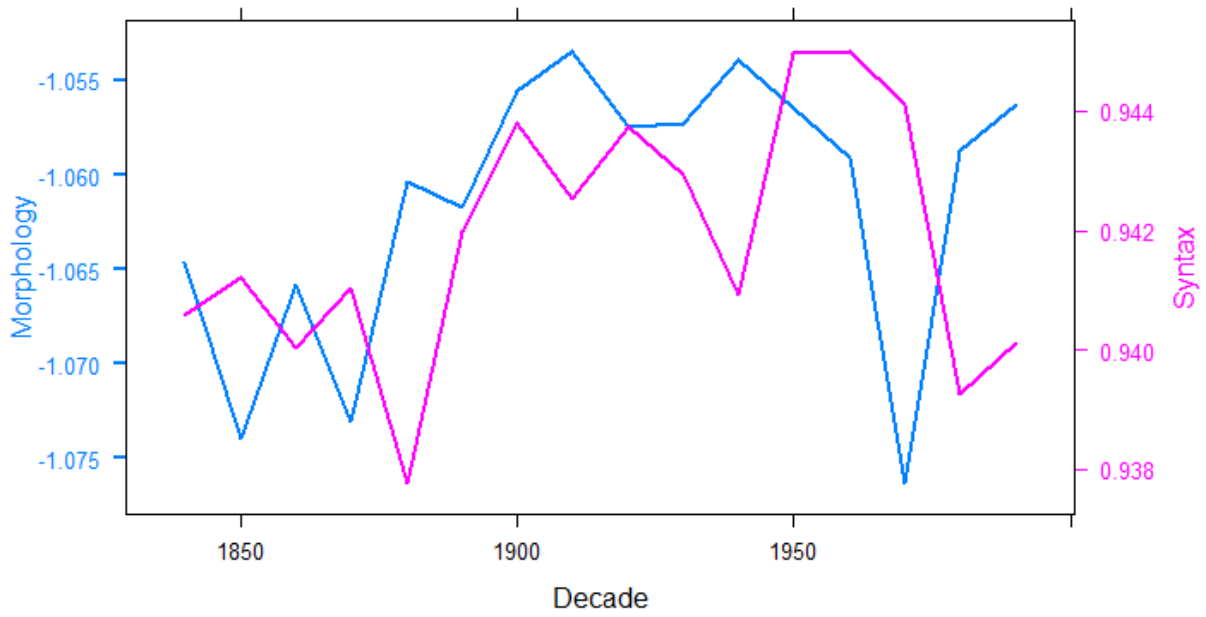


Figure 1: Evolution of the mean morphological complexity and mean syntactic complexity

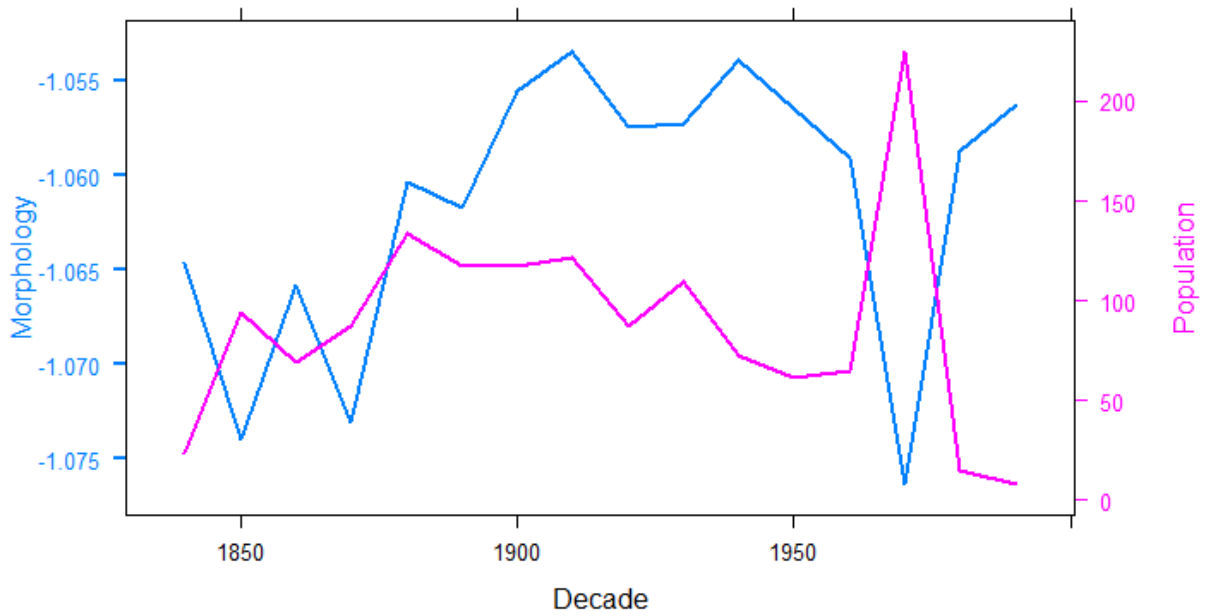


Figure 2: Evolution of the mean morphological complexity and mean city population

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Constanza Quinteros **Ortiz**: *Metacognition and multilingual learning: Preliminary results of a scoping review and reflections about strategic grammar learning*

Metacognition and self-regulation have attracted considerable interest in second language learning in recent decades, becoming indicators of good practice and learning success (Valenzuela, 2019; Vandergrift & Goh, 2012). Metacognition is often lauded as an exceptional trait that promotes enhanced learning, “a seventh sense” (Tuncer & Doğan, 2017, p.298), “an essential tool for lifelong learning in all contexts” (Teng, 2023a, p.175), and “one of the foremost cardinal factors of achievement in the 21st century” (Drigas & Mitsea, 2021, p.115). People with developed metacognition are said to exhibit behaviors that enhance their learning experiences because they understand their challenges, have beliefs about the processes they undertake, and use self-initiated actions to achieve their goals (Teng, 2023a). Furthermore, metacognition allows learners to improve and enhance their decision-making processes, maximizing their learning potential (Hernberg, 2020). On the other hand, Self-Regulation or Self-Regulated Learning refers to cognitive, motivational, and emotional engagement (Teng, 2023b). Engagement involves an individual's active participation in achieving a learning goal, which requires learners to control personal and environmental factors involved in the process.

Although these two constructs are often observed as domain-general skills, research often focuses on their interactions with specific linguistics skills (reading, listening, writing) and strata

(phonology, morphology, vocabulary). Thus, it is essential to note the extent of applications that these constructs have, especially considering the complexity of language learning.

Despite its widespread use in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) studies, the presence of metacognitive development and self-regulation in multilingual (L3+) populations is relatively new, and no reviews have been conducted analyzing this specific segment of language learners. This presentation focuses on an undergoing scoping review aimed at tracking and analyzing how the literature has addressed the role of metacognition and self-regulation in the acquisition of languages beyond a second language.

In this presentation, I offer preliminary results of analyzing some of these selected texts. Some reflections are proposed on how the current literature has addressed the issue of strategic grammar learning, within which morphology plays a fundamental role. The literature on the mediation of metacognition and self-regulation in learning and developing L3+ morphology is quite scarce, and the foci and background assumptions of these studies do not follow a clear line. Hence, this presentation offers some questions on how the constructs of metacognition and self-regulation may converse with the development of morphology in multilingual subjects and how this opens a field for future research.

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Emanuel Souza de **Quadros**: *Probabilistic morphology in an exemplar-driven categorial grammar*

This talk is focused on the problem of explaining probabilistic behavior in the domain of morphology. The field has an extensive tradition of examining morphosyntactic variation, morphological rivalry, and clines of productivity, uncovering constraints that affect the statistical distributions of competing variants. There is considerably less success, however, in characterizing the mechanisms by which we learn to match these statistical distributions to the extent that we do, as well as the mechanism driving the choice between variants in language use. To address these questions, I introduce an exemplar-driven categorial grammar, where lexical selection is governed by memory activation, item similarity and episodic connections in associative memory.

In introducing this model, I propose a reappraisal of exemplar models in linguistic theory. Earlier attempts to introduce exemplar theory to the field have used it as a theoretical tool to eliminate linguistic categories and abstractions (Skousen 1989; Ambridge 2020). I argue against such eliminativist accounts both on historical and on empirical grounds: exemplar theory in the psychology of categorization is not eliminativist (Medin and Schaffer 1978), and there is a wealth of phenomena requiring linguistic abstractions (Pierrehumbert 2016). What exemplar theory affords us is a theory of learning capable of generating probabilistic behavior without encoding numerical probabilities in the grammar, and the possibility of accounting for the interaction of social meaning and morphological variation (Baayen and Renouf 1996; Säily 2014), again without mixing information of different natures in lexical entries.

Although the architecture of the model is compatible with any lexicalist theory of morphosyntax, my implementation is based on Combinatory Categorial Grammar (Steedman and Baldridge 2011), bringing a fresh perspective to the tradition of categorial morphology (Hoeksema 1984; Hoeksema and Janda 1988). I provide a computational implementation of the model that can be used to learn a grammar from a corpus and can be integrated into agent-based simulations modeling generations of learners.

I compare my exemplar-driven model to the Minimal Generalization Learner of Albright and Hayes (2003), testing both on a data set of nominalizations formed by the competing suffixes *-ção* and *-mento*, extracted from a corpus of Brazilian Portuguese. This is an interesting data set because both nominalizers are productive and have been in competition since the earliest Portuguese records. The stability of this rivalry suggests the existence of niches guaranteeing the survival of the least productive suffix (Lindsay and Aronoff 2013), a position that both affixes have occupied in different periods. Indeed, I show that both models are able to uncover phonological contexts favoring each competitor that up to this point had gone unnoticed in the literature. Despite the comparable performance of the models in predicting the nominalization of out-of-sample verbs, I suggest that the exemplar-driven model should be preferred for several theoretical reasons, including its ability to integrate factors at different levels of linguistic structure, as well as social and stylistic factors affecting suffix choice; its stepwise learning process that does not require the computation of probabilities by the learner; and its generalization to probabilistic phenomena outside morphological learning.

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Anne Renzel: *Experimenteel clusteren: gebruik en verwerking van volgordevariatie in werkwoordelijke eindgroepen in het Nederlands*

Deze studie presenteert een psycholinguïstische benadering van het complexe verschijnsel van woordvolgordevariatie in het Nederlands waarbij sprekers de positie van het voltooid deelwoord en het hulpwerkwoord in tweeledige werkwoordelijke eindgroepen vrij kunnen kiezen.

- (1) Jeroen beweert dat Bregje de hele middag *heeft geslapen*.
- (2) Jeroen beweert dat Bregje de hele middag *geslapen heeft*.

Uit eerder corpusonderzoek is gebleken dat een reeks factoren die met de variatie correleren, in verband gebracht kunnen worden met de verwerkingscomplexiteit van de context van het werkwoordscluster. Meer bepaald wordt beweerd dat een van de volgordes de *default*-woordvolgorde is die makkelijker te verwerken is, en die gebruikt wordt in omstandigheden van zware verwerkingskosten (De Sutter 2007; Bloem et al. 2017). Welke van de twee volgordes de default-volgorde is, is echter onduidelijk gebleven.

In een self-paced reading experiment en een 'puzzel'-productie-experiment, uitgevoerd met 60 moedertaalsprekers van het Nederlands, testen we (i) een aantal morfo-syntactische factoren die hoge of lage verwerkingscomplexiteit impliceren om (ii) de default-kwestie te verhelderen. Uit het self-paced reading experiment komt naar voren dat zowel de lengte van het middenstuk voor het cluster en plaatsing van voorzetselvoorwerpen naar extrapositie effect heeft op processing van de twee volgordes. Gezien het feit dat dit effect alleen bij factoren zichtbaar wordt die de structuur en de lengte van de zin veranderen en uitblijft als het gaat over definietheid en inherentie van preverbale constituenten, wordt geargumenteed dat

verwerkingscomplexiteit een minder significante invloed heeft dan wordt betoogd, en dat er niet noodzakelijkerwijs een default-volgorde is. Bovendien wijzen de resultaten erop dat perceptie van de volgordes op een hele andere manier wordt beïnvloed dan productie waarop inderdaad alle geteste factoren impact uitoefenen.

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Marjolein Talsma & Jan-Wouter Zwart: *Rethinking her-. Dutch verbal prefixation and rule-ordering*

With his *a-morphous morphology*, Anderson (1992) argued that the internal structure of a word cannot play a role in further morphological processes. In this talk, we will consider the interaction between the Dutch prefix *her-* ‘re-’ and *ge*-prefixation, used in past participle formation and show that the *ge*-prefixation pattern with verbs starting with *her-* proves that the internal structure of these verbs determines the distribution of *ge-*.

Anderson (1992:283) discussed the importance of *ge*-prefixation for his *a-morphous morphology* and argued that the stress pattern of the entire verb determines whether *ge*-prefixation is possible. Crucially, this discussion did not include verbs that have undergone *her*-prefixation. Booij (2002:73-73; 2019:69) applies this stress-based approach to prefixed verbs and claims that verbs resist *ge*-prefixation if they begin with an unstressed prefix. Hence, verbs beginning with the prefixes *ver-*, *be-* and *ont-*, which never bear stress, never occur with *ge-*. The prefix *her-*, on the other hand, sometimes bears stress. Thus, a verb such as *hér-analyseren*¹ ‘to reanalyze’ has a past participle *ge-her-analyseerd*, while a verb such as *her-stárten*, ‘to restart’ has a past participle *her-start* (see also Schultink, 1964).

¹ The acute accent is used to indicate stress in these examples.

We show that this stress-based approach makes an incorrect prediction in a number of cases and cannot be maintained. Specifically, for particle verbs, verbs prefixed with one of the prefixes *ver-*, *be-* or *ont-*, prefixed particle verbs, verbs suffixed with *-eren* and inseparable complex verbs, we see that the stress of *her-* is not the determining factor for *ge*-prefixation. For example, a verb such as *h er-be-bossen* ‘to reforest’ has a stressed prefix *her-*, yet disallows *ge*-prefixation (*her-be-bost* **ge-her-be-bost*).

We argue that Booij crucially missed two important facts:

- 1) Verbs with *her-* often show a variability in their stress pattern, yet *ge*-prefixation does not covary. Stress thus cannot be the determining factor for *ge*-prefixation.
- 2) There are two groups of *her*-verbs, reflecting the two separate strata in which *her-* was introduced into Dutch. The *her-* from the first stratum, represented by the *her-* found in *herstarten*, is a member of the group of prefixes *ver-*, *be-* and *ont-*. This explains its inability to undergo *ge*-prefixation. The *her-* from the second stratum, found in all other types of *her-* verbs, does not belong to this group of prefixes and therefore does not disallow *ge*-prefixation as a rule. In contrast with the *her-* from the first stratum, this *her-* forms its own prosodic word (as Booij 2002:170 argues is a characteristic of prefixes). For verbs with a *her-* from the second stratum, it is the base verb without *her-* that is the determining factor for *ge*-prefixation. In other words, for this *her-*, the internal structure of the verb governs a morphological process applied to the whole verb.

Contra Anderson and Booij, we show that the internal structure of a word can affect further morphological processes. This holds important implications for the theory of morphology and word-formation.

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Natalie Verelst: *Undoing gender in the morphological domain: Patterns and use of neutral(izing) person nouns in Dutch and German*

In both Dutch and German, linguistic strategies of *undoing gender* (Hirschauer 1994) are reflected in certain morphological patterns, which in turn yield person nouns that are semantically gender-neutral. A first class of these so-called epicenes (cf. Klein 2022) are nouns such as *leerkracht/Lehrkraft* and *verpleegkundige/Pflegekraft*, which can serve as neutralizing alternatives to binary noun pairs (*leraar-lerares* and *Lehrer-Lehrerin*; *verpleger-verpleegster* and *Pfleger-Pflegerin*) (de Caluwe & van Santen 2001: 61–63). Next to these nouns stands a class of nouns that lacks binary counterparts. They have in common that they are [-human] nouns, many of which are exocentric compounds with a [-human] compositional head, which are metaphorically mapped onto human beings, e.g., *ster/Star*, *domkop/Dummkopf*, *coryfee/Koryphäe*.

In this paper, the two abovementioned classes of epicene person nouns will be investigated through a corpus linguistic lens. Using the nlTenTen20 and deTenTen20 corpora from the SketchEngine, the paper deals with the contexts in which neutralized alternatives to binary pairs occur, as well as specific uses of primarily [-human] person nouns. It is demonstrated that nouns of the first class (*leerkracht/Lehrkraft*) lack contextual specificity. They preferably occur in generic contexts that are characterized by the absence of a concrete referent (1), rather than serving as an alternative gender-neutral noun in the linguistic *undoing gender* of specific referents. As opposed to their parallel binary person-noun pairs, the more frequent forms in which they occur is the plural, which is consistent with their preference for generic contexts.

- (1) Bij herhaaldelijke ruzie/pestgedrag neemt de **leerkracht** duidelijk stelling en keurt in een gesprek met betreffende leerling het gedrag af.

(nlTenTen20; schoolsunited.eu)

The second class of metaphoric person nouns, for a lack of gender-marked alternatives, behaves more like the class of binary noun pairs: They are specialized onto specific referents (2).

- (2) Der 18-jährige Deutsch-Türke ist der große **Star** im Team von Ex-Hertha-Profi und Nationalspieler Michael Hartmann.

(deTenTen20; sport1.de)

Following the tendency to avoid neutralization as a means of gender-fair language use and the accompanying indexical value that the German feminizing suffix *-in* has gained from consistent

linguistic sex/gender differentiation within certain communities of practice (Kotthoff 2017: 103; Kotthoff 2020: 121), the German corpus data, unlike the Dutch data, contain gender-marked forms of the second class (3).

(3) Jetzt ist die **Starin** bei dem absolvieren einer auf sie zugeschnittenen Promotion-Tour [...].

(deTenTen20; kultura-extra.de)

This is in line with the fact that, in the wake of gender-fair language use, German person nouns follow the differentiation rule (i.e., explicit gender marking in any [+human] context), and this feature is further indexically expanded in the above context. Such instances do not occur in the Dutch data, in accordance with speakers' tendencies to neutralize person nouns as a gender-fair linguistic strategy.

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Arjen **Versloot**: *The remarkable fate of a nominal declensional class: i-stems in Old Frisian*

Out of a fairly transparent Proto-Indo European (PIE) morphological system with semantically and morpho-phonologically motivated stem suffixes followed by uniform inflectional endings

grew the complex configuration of Old Germanic nominal declensional classes, with their highly idiosyncratic and non-iconic inflectional endings. For example: the Old Frisian ending *-a* could represent: NGDAs as well as NAp of masc. *n*-stems, GDAS and NAp of fem. *n*-stems, the GSs of masculine and feminine *u*-stems, the NAp of feminine *ō*-stems and also Gp of all non-*n*-stem nouns; not really an ending with high iconicity. The ‘track record’ of the ending *-e* was even more dubious. Such a system was prone to be targeted by functional reshufflings and analogical levelling.

The class of so-called *i*-stems with a dominant ending *-e* in early-Old Frisian, was such an obvious victim of restructuring. The ending *-e*, marking the GDs and NAp of nouns in this class, alternating with a zero-ending, was the result of Proto-Frisian **-i* and **-ī*, which were as a matter of fact the remnants of the PIE stem suffixes, promoted to the function of inflectional endings after the apocope of the latter ones.

Most historical grammars of Frisian describe the class as being (nearly) obsolete, a description also applied to the parallel class in Old English, with an identical set of endings. Closer scrutiny of the – mostly feminine – nouns that etymologically belong(ed) to this class in some of the most archaic Old Frisian texts reveal, however, a remarkable resilience and alternative behaviour. Instead of a full and unambiguous merger with the dominant declensional class of feminine *ō*-stems, many words maintain historically defined inflectional patterns or develop a new, diverging pattern. The singular of feminine nouns saw a restructuring towards a uniform paradigm either in *-e* or *-∅* on the basis of a combination of phonological factors and the semantic-syntactically driven frequency of occurrence in particular paradigm cells. The Old Frisian of Rūstringen demonstrates vowel harmony on the basis of the historical quantity of the ending. The NAp ending *-e* was fairly persistent in a couple of *pluralia tantum*, and whether sprung from Proto-Frisian **-u* or **-ī*, the ending *-e* as a plural marker even gained some new momentum in Old Frisian nouns referring to persons.

As a consequence of all these local developments, a uniform declensional class of *i*-stems was hardly synchronically recognisable in Old Frisian, but its demise was curvy and bumpy. The late-mediaeval general apocope of word final OFri. *-e* marked the end of all these non-default forms.

The paper will present some insight in the mechanisms and morphological ‘forces’ involved in this restructuring process.

Further reading:

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David Wirthmüller: *The role of pronouns in the acquisition of grammatical gender. An elicitation study on L1 German*

In acquisition research, the definite article is analyzed as the main and only entrance point for children acquiring grammatical gender in German. However, recent work on L2 German (Binanzer 2017) and closely related languages like Dutch (De Vogelaer/Klom 2013) argues that the acquisition of pronouns is an important extra step in acquisition: Children employ distinct forms for animate and inanimate referents, even if they already use definite articles in line with the gender assignment in the target language. This poster presents an elicitation study that investigates pronominal gender forms in first language acquisition (N = 35, age: 03;02 to 06;04). The results presented are preliminary because the analysis employing inferential statistics hasn't been completed yet.

Children are presented with pictorial stimuli accompanied by nonce and real words in contexts clearly marked for neuter gender (*Guck mal, dieses-NEUT Tiku-NONCE arbeitet in einer großen Fabrik!*, 'Look, this Tiku works at the factory!'). Children are tasked with completing the story. Afterwards it was analyzed whether the gender forms of pronouns produced by children were neuter or another gender form. Because of the input given by the experimenter, all items should be pronominalized as neuter according to the rules of the target language.

In line with the hypothesis, however, results showed that children pronominalized inanimate stimuli with neuter forms and animate stimuli with non-neuter forms. This was true for nonce and real words. To elicit more pronouns and to rule out the nonce words themselves as a confounding variable, children were tested again a couple of days later with new stories. This

time, the nonce words were presented with other pictorial stimuli (*Tiku*, for example, was presented as an animate in the first task and as an inanimate in the second task). Still, children pronominalized the same nonce word differently depending on the pictorial stimulus.

The findings indicate that children use different gender forms for animate and inanimate referents. In addition, gender acquisition is not yet fully completed even at the age of six years. In conclusion, research should analyze both pronouns and definite articles to get a clearer picture of the acquisition process.

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Binanzer, Anja (2017): *Genus – Kongruenz und Klassifikation. Evidenzen aus dem Zweitspracherwerb des Deutschen*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter.

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Ton van der Wouden: *Tal van observaties over formaties met -tal*

Het Nederlands heeft een aantal zelfstandige naamwoorden die eindigen op *-tal*:

aantal (een ontleding uit het Duits volgens het *WNT* en de etymologiebank),

Kindertal

Dodental

Overtal

Tweetal

Elftal

enzovoorts. Alleen met hoofdtelwoorden kunnen nieuwe vormen gemaakt worden. De literatuur (o.a. ANS) suggereert dat het om samenstellingen met *tal* gaat.

Probleem met deze analyse is dat het vermeende rechter lid een defectief zelfstandig naamwoord is, dat alleen gebruikt kan worden in de constructies *tal van N_{mv}* en (archaïsch) *zonder tal*.

In mijn voordacht wil ik onderzoeken of een andere analyse wellicht mogelijk is, en zo ja, of we kunnen beargumenteren welke de voorkeur verdient. Een mogelijk cruciaal argument is de observatie dat veel *-tal-woorden* input kunnen vormen voor suffigering met *-ig*:

Tweetallig

Meertallig

Overtallig

Opvallend genoeg kan *-ig* daarentegen niet aangehecht worden aan *kindertal* (**kindertallig*) en *odental* (**odentallig*). Bovendien is *elftallig* weliswaar mogelijk, maar alleen parallel aan *tweetallig* en *meertallig*, en niet in de betekenis 'betrekking hebbende op een sportteam van elf personen'.