

A problem with wh-questions in Modern Standard Arabic

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Abstract

Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) shows two main word orders; VSO and SVO. However, wh-movement in these languages applies only to VSO word order, and not to SVO. A problem arises when the non-subject wh-phrases move over the SV order. Therefore, we assume that the preverbal NP in SVO is base generated as a topic in Spec-TopP. Under this respect, the preverbal NP must be analysed under base-generation account.¹

1. Introduction

This paper deals with the derivation of wh-questions in MSA within the minimalist framework (Chomsky 1998, 2000, 2008). In order to account the impossibility of SV word order in wh-questions I will assume that the preverbal NP in SVO is base generated as a topic, and not a subject. The moved wh-non-subject moves to Spec-FocP and wh-subject is base generated in Spec-TopP. I will assume that, further, the rich agreement on the verb in T is a result of the agreement between T and pro.

This paper is organised as follows. The second section discusses word order in wh-questions in MSA. Sections three and four describe and discuss wh-questions in MSA in relation to VSO and SVO word orders respectively. The conclusion will be drawn in section five.

2. The preverbal NP position

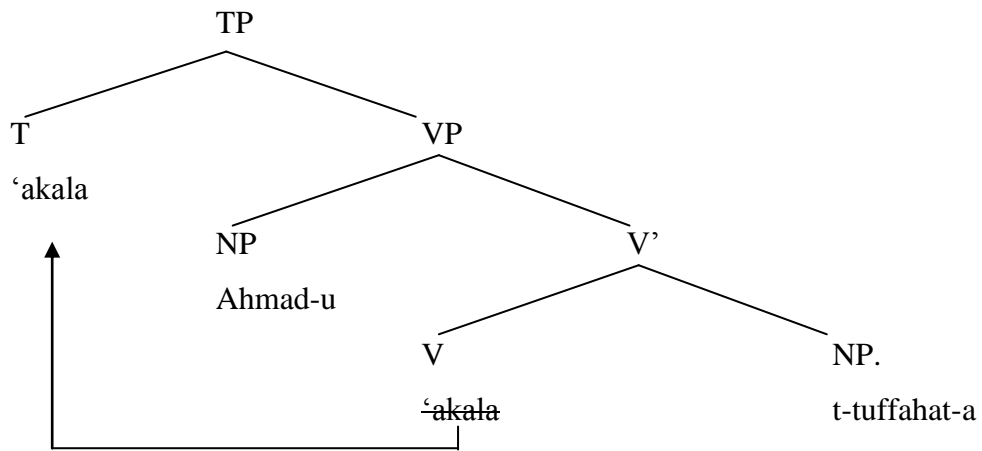
The most common word orders in MSA in verbal sentences are VSO and SVO. Subject verb agreement is only full, i.e. in person, number and gender with the SVO order, otherwise the partial agreement occurs.

The VSO word order is derived by raising the verb from VP to T (Fassi Fehri 1993, Aoun et al 1994 and Benmaoun 2000) as in the example (1a) which will have the simplified structure (1b)

- 1a. 'akala Ahmad-u t-tuffahat-a MSA
ate.3sm Ahmad-NOM the-apple-ACC
'Ahmad ate the apple'

* I am grateful to my supervisor, Bob Borsley, for his valuable comments and discussions. I would like also to thank the reviewers for their helpful comments.

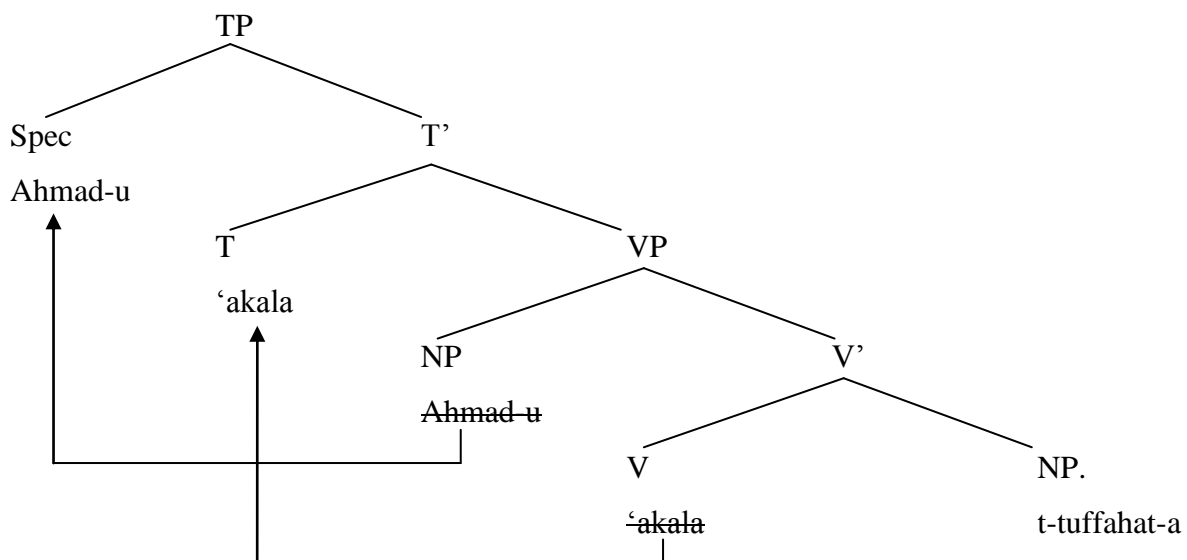
b.



One possible analysis of SVO word order, on the other hand, is derived by raising the subject to Spec-TP (Fassi Fehri 1993, Aoun et al 1994 and Benmamoun 2000).² The subject raises to this position in order to satisfy an optional EPP feature on T (Chomsky 2000), so the SVO order in the example (2a) below can be derived as in the structure (2b):

- 2a. Ahmad-u 'akala t-tuffahat-a MSA
 Ahmad-NOM ate.3sm the-apple-ACC
 'Ahmad ate the apple'

b.



² Note that pre-minimalist accounts such as Fassi-Fehri (1993) claims that the verb moves to I, which is taken now to be T. Also in relation to subject which traditionally moves to Spec-IP, now is taken to move to Spec-TP

As can be seen from the above two structures (1b) and (2b), the verb raises to T in both word orders while the subject raises to Spec-TP only in SVO word order and remains in-situ in VSO. Following Chomsky (1995, Chapter 4), this word order variation can be attributed to whether T features are strong or weak, when they are strong SVO word order is derived and VSO order is derived when these features are weak. Further, this word order variation is attributed to whether T has an EPP feature or not, a T-EPP will attract the subject to spec-TP, when T does not carry this feature, the subject remains in situ (Chomsky 2000).

However, Akkal (1996), Khiri (1996) and Ouhalla (1997) argue that the preverbal NP in SVO is a topic expression. Khiri (1996: 191) proposes that the SVO has full agreement because of an Agreement pro which functions as a subject and therefore the preverbal NP cannot be interpreted as a subject given it is base-generated in A-bar position. Based on this assumption we will explore the interaction and implication of both VSO and SVO word orders with the derivation of wh-questions. Thus, the verb assigns full agreement with a pro and partial agreement with the real subject.

3. Wh-questions with the VSO order

MSA allows derivation of wh-questions to occur with VSO word order. Other word orders do not permit wh-movement. The contrast is between SVO and VSO word orders illustrated below:

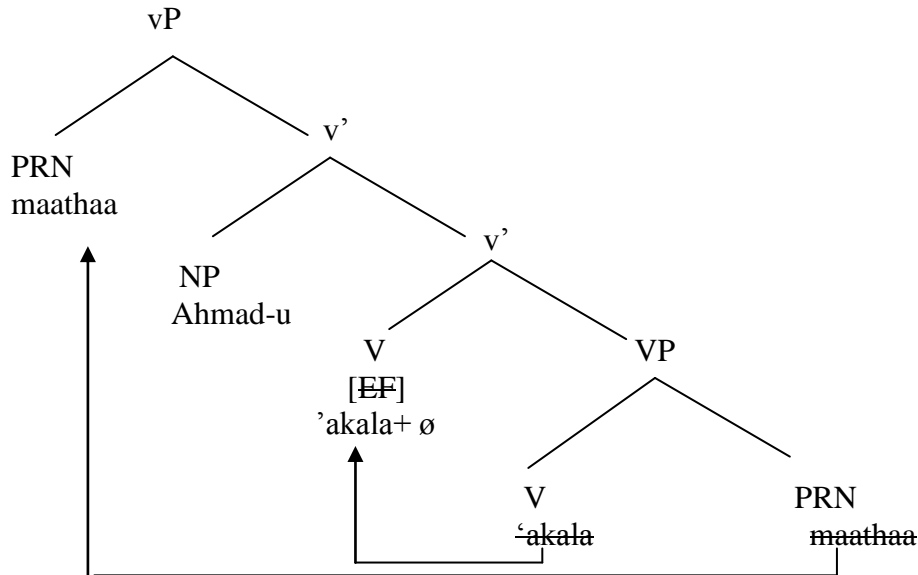
- 3a. Ahmad-u 'akala t-tuffahat-a
 Ahmad-NOM ate.3sm the-apple-ACC
 'Ahmad ate the apple'
- b. *maathaa Ahmad-u 'akala?
 What Ahmad-NOM ate.3sm
- 4a. 'akala Ahmad-u t-tuffahat-a
 ate.3sm Ahmad-NOM the-apple-ACC
 'Ahmad ate the apple'
- b. maathaa 'akala Ahmad-u ?
 What Ahmad-NOM ate.3sm

Assuming that the subject moves to Spec-TP, movement of the wh-phrase to spec-CP is not allowed. This however is allowed when the subject remains in situ as in (4b). The question that follows then is: why is wh-movement restricted to VSO word order? It is not clear what prevents the direct object of the verb in (3) from moving to spec-CP. The notable answer is to assume that the head T in MSA does not have an EPP feature, which means that the subject does not move to Spec-TP. The following derivation of sentence (4b) will make the idea clear. So consider

The verb 'akala 'ate' merges with its complement maathaa 'what' forming VP which is merged with a light verb v which agrees with and assigns accusative case to maathaa 'what'. By virtue of being affixal in nature, it triggers raising of the verb 'akala 'ate' from V

to v.³ Also being a transitive verb, v is merged with its external argument the subject Ahmad forming a vP. Also the v being a phase head carries an edge feature (EF) triggering the wh-phrase to move to become the second specifier or the outer edge of vP while the subject Ahmad-u is placed in its inner specifier, as in the following:

c.



Since transitive vP is a phase, the complement of the phase head v will undergo Transfer and will be no longer accessible to further operations. Copies of the moved elements (~~'akala maathaa~~) contained within will have a null spell out. On the other hand the verb 'akala 'ate' in v and its both inner and outer specifier (Ahmad-u and maathaa 'what' respectively) are accessible to further operations, by virtue of being at the edge of the vP phase.⁴

The derivation then continues by merging vP with T forming TP. Since, the T does not carry an EPP feature, the subject does not move out of vP. Being finite, the T carries necessary agreement features, and being affixal, it attracts the verb to raise from v to T.⁵

The T having unvalued uninterpretable phi-features such as person, number and gender serves as a probe.⁶ These uninterpretable features are valued and deleted via agreement with the goal subject Ahmad-u and value its Case feature. Noting that the edge of the phase head v hosts two constituents, the wh-phrase maathaa 'what' occupies the outer edge while the subject Ahmad-u the inner edge, the former cannot serve as the goal for the probe T-phi-

³ Chomsky (2008) proposes that all uninterpretable features within a phase enter the derivation on the phase head and then get handed over to the non-phase head within the phase. I will not assume the feature inheritance hypothesis of Chomsky (2008), and I will assume that lexical V does not get involved in an agreement relation with the object, and it does not assign the accusative case to it. The phase head v does.

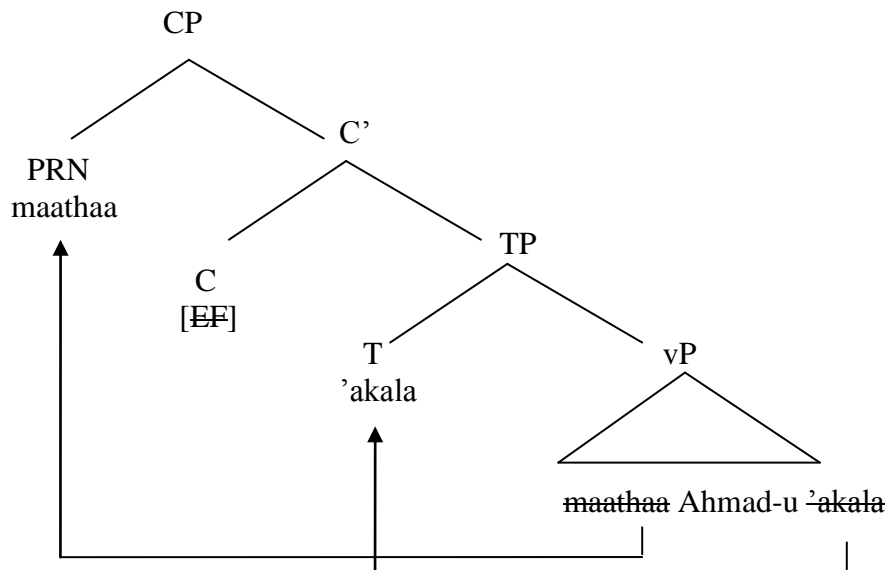
⁵ In other accounts, Benmamoun (2008) who based his proposal on Chomsky (1995), argues that T has a strong V [+V] feature in Arabic which attracts the verb to move to T.

⁶ For Radford (2009), a lexical item might be considered a probe with all its uninterpretable features. But for Chomsky (2000), an uninterpretable feature is a probe, which opens the door for multiple probes. I will not consider Chomsky's view.

features as seemingly *maatha* has its case already valued and thus inactive for Agree relation with the probe T⁷.

The derivation proceeds by merging the resulting structure TP with a null interrogative complementizer C which bears an EF, given it is a phase head. It attracts the wh-object *maathaa* ‘what’ to move from Spec-vP to Spec-CP as in the following structure:

d.



The complement of the phase head C which is TP is undergone Transfer, i.e. is sent to PF and LF. All copies in vP except for the subject *Ahmad-u* receive a null spellout, deriving the final wh-question in (4b) *maatha ʔakala Ahmad-u?* ‘what did Ahmad eat?’

Wh-movement in MSA cannot apply to SVO structures. If EPP feature attracts the subject to raise to the specifier of T-EPP, sentences like (3b) are expected to be ungrammatical. A way to explain this ungrammaticality is to assume with Chomsky (1999:9) that EPP feature can attract the subject only if T is ϕ -complete (i.e. carries a complete set of agreement features: number, person and gender). In VSO structures, T is taken to be ϕ -incomplete (i.e. lacks number agreement) and so the subject does not raise to its specifier, but this will wrongly predict that sentences like (5) below to be grammatical.

5. * *maathaa* *Ahmad-u* *akal?*
 what Ahmad-Nom ate.3sm
 ‘what did Ahmad eat?’

⁷ In a different account, Richards (2001) claims under the “tucking in” hypothesis that wh-objects are tucked in the inner edge of the phase head v while the subject occupies the outer edge. This way, there will be no intervening category that would prevent the probe T from agreeing with the subject and value its Case.

As an alternative explanation, Mohammad (2000:115) assumes that Arabic sentences with VSO order have two subjects: the first one is “the real subject” which occupies the Spec-VP, while the second subject is an expletive subject merged in Spec-TP, which then satisfies the EPP feature of T. Therefore, maintaining the view that the real subject does not raise to Spec-TP, resulting in the following sentence⁸.

6. maathaa akala Ahmad-u?
what ate.3sm Ahmad-Nom
'what did Ahmad eat?'

4. Wh-question with the SVO order

So far we discussed wh-movement taking place in VSO word order. Now we will turn to discuss the interrogative sentences in relation to SVO order (i.e. whether the preverbal NP is subject or topic). Consider the following example when the extracted wh-phrase is a direct object:

- 7a. Ahmad-u ‘akala t-tuffahat-a.
Ahmad-NOM ate.3sm the-apple-ACC
‘Ahmad ate the apple’
- b. * maathaa Ahmad-u ‘akala?
What Ahmad-NOM ate.3sm

Let us first assume that the preverbal NP is a subject which is raised from vP to TP in order to satisfy the EPP feature. The wh-phrase *maathaa* ‘what’ (corresponding to the object *t-tuffahat-a* ‘the apple’ in (7a)) moves to CP to satisfy the edge feature on the interrogative phase head C. After movement, the resulting structure is expected to be wh-phrase-SV similar to (3b) which is ungrammatical because a wh-phrase in MSA cannot be followed by a noun in the verbal environment, of course, as in the following structure:

- c. *_{[CP maathaa [Ø _[EF]] [TP Ahmad-u_{[T} 'akala][_{VP} ~~maathaa~~_{[V, 'Ahmad-u]_{[V, 'akala} +Ø][_{VP} [_V'akala] [~~maathaa~~]]]]]}}

From the above discussion we can see that it is not possible for wh-phrases to occur in Spec-CP when there is a constituent in Spec-TP, thus the wh-phrases cannot move over preverbal NP in MSA. So, how can we get in the declarative sentence the word order SVO while we cannot get it in the interrogative sentences? as in (7). In order to account for the contrast in (7) we will assume that the preverbal NP Ahmad-u in (7a) is base-generated as a Topic. Empirical evidence to support this claim is the fact that Topics are always definite expressions in Arabic (Ouhalla 1994: 66-68) while the subject can either be definite or indefinite consider the following examples:

- 8a. 'akala rajul-un t-tuffata. MSA

⁸ However, Prof. Borsly pointed out the following comments: this approach doesn't fit very easily into mature Minimalism. T does not c-command Spec TP, so it can only agree with a constituent in Spec TP if it originates in a lower position.

ate.3sm man-NOM the-apple-ACC
A man ate the apple

b.* rajul-un 'akala t-tuffahat-a.
man-NOM ate.3sm the-apple-ACC

c. r-rajul-u 'akala t-tuffahat-a
the-man-NOM ate.3sm the-apple
'the man ate the apple'

If we assume that that subject *rajul-un* 'the man' moves to Spec-TP we will predict the sentence (8b) to be grammatical, but it is not. Due to this fact we can say that the preverbal NP is a topic since it is must be definite as in (8c). Therefore, The point is that the assumption that preverbal subjects are topics explains why they must be definite whereas if they were just subjects in Spec TP this would be unexplained.

So, the assumption that the preverbal subject moves to Spec-TP is questionable as it causes ungrammatical structures. So I will assume that the preverbal NP is a Topic and is not a real subject and I will assume that following Rizzi (1997) that the wh-phrase⁹ can occur in Spec-FocP which is below TopP. This is in line with the observation made in Fassi-Fehri (1981, 1993) that no constituents can move over a Topic expression, which denotes that wh-phrase are place in a position below Topic expressions in MSA. thus we will get the right word order as in (9a) having the structure (9b).

9a. Ahmad-u, maathaa 'akala?
Ahmad-NOM, what ate.3sm
Ahmad, what did he eat?

b. [_{TopP} Ahmad-u [_{Top'} ∅] [_{FocP} maathaa [_{Foc'} ∅] [_{TP} 'akala [_{VP} ~~maathaa~~ [_{V'} pro] [_{V'} 'akala [_{VP} 'akala ~~maathaa~~]]]]]]]

5. Conclusion

This paper has showed that investigates one phenomenon of Modern Standard Arabic at the syntax, providing an analysis for the preverbal NP position in Arabic within the assumption of the Minimalist approach. This paper shows that the SVO order is formed via base-generation and not via movement. Empirical evidence shows that the A'-movement effects in the SVO order.

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Computer - Assisted Language Learning and Effectiveness at the CLCS Language Modules in Trinity College Dublin

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Abstract

This paper discusses computer-assisted language learning through the prism of learner autonomy. It describes the first evaluative study that was conducted at the Centre for Language and Communication Studies (CLCS) at Trinity College in 2011 regarding the potential of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) to promote learner autonomy, based on the incorporation of computer work in the language courses offered by CLCS. The methodology used for this research is presented along with a brief questionnaire and interview *data account to offer an overall view of the students' and teachers' opinions of computer work* and how this affected their learning process. Finally, conclusions are drawn along with suggestions for future improvement.

1. Introduction

The multitude of technological applications for language teaching and learning has been one of the most amply researched topics in language pedagogy in recent years (Chapelle, 2008; Levy, 1997). However, the nature of these developments in the fields of language teaching and learning has encouraged Oliver and Harvey (2002) to formulate a proposal, which by taking into consideration the combination of factors involved in the learning environment, focuses on the analysis of the teachers, learners and resources interaction in these environments. In this respect, they offer a view of the way higher education students rapidly proceed through the various stages of learning when Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL) is introduced.

The evening language modules, an institution-wide language programme offered at the CLCS at Trinity College in Dublin have been running in College since 1993, with the aims of increasing student mobility, giving added value and enhancing career prospects. The primary emphasis in the modules is on communication since it “is the main goal, and also the principal means of learning” (CLCS Language Modules Course Booklet, 2010, p. 4). Within this communicative framework of seeking opportunities for exposure to linguistic input in order to enhance language learning, the CLCS has explored ways of supplementing the hours of classroom interaction and instruction and to provide students with opportunities to acquire language skills beyond the traditional classroom setting and by continuing their tradition in encouraging autonomous language learning. Introducing though a variety of digital resources is not the key to achieving higher rates of learning. The effective use of technological language resources by the students is ensured by motivating them to concentrate on their learning needs and to monitor their own learning process. The application of the principles of learner autonomy to curriculum design (Little, 1997, p. 56), along with the need to exploit the benefits of learning technologies, have been identified as priorities of an institutional basis. This is obvious in the use of the European Language portfolio, collaborative learning, project work and

presentations, native speaker instructors and as much use of the target language as possible, even at A1 proficiency level.

2. Computer-Assisted Language Learning and Autonomy

CALL has been defined by Davies as the “academic field that explores the role of information and communication technologies in language learning and teaching” (2001, p. 13). Technology offers opportunities for enabling interactions which would otherwise be impossible to occur in the traditional classroom, and as Benson (2001, p. 8). states, this supports learner autonomy. However, CALL technologies and language learner autonomy are characterised by complexity in their interdependence and the potential for learner autonomy development often depends on the context variety of the technological applications.

The Council of Europe’s Modern Language Project placed autonomous adult life-long learning at the forefront. Holec has defined learner autonomy as “the ability to take charge of one’s own learning” in his 1981 project report to the Council of Europe (p. 3). Moreover, Little (1991, p. 3), inspired by constructivist theories of language learning, reinterpreted the concept of autonomy by emphasizing on effective self-directed learning and, through his rich literature production on this subject, he clearly contends that successful second language teaching “is governed by three interacting principles: learner involvement, learner reflection and target language use” (Little, 2007, p. 23). A brief analysis of the theoretical framework of the three pillars of learner autonomy that constitute the basis of the CLCS language courses follows.

2.1 Learner Involvement

Learner involvement has been interpreted as the learner’s engagement with and responsibility for all aspects of his/her learning process. Therefore, the widely known inspiring phrase of “learning how to learn” has emerged and has been inextricably related to learner autonomy. The basic parameters of learner involvement centre on the learners’ responsibility for planning, monitoring and assessing their own learning. The advantage of using technologies towards this direction is, according to Beatty (2003, p. 145), their provision of “more opportunities for learners using the same CALL program to study different things or study the same things in different ways”. Moreover, web based technologies can offer students a variety of online information gap exercises, opportunities for experiential learning and publishing of student work on e-learning platforms or even online collaboration and communication with native speakers (Felix, 2002, p. 8). The use of technology can increase the opportunities for collaborative learning as well “when two or more learners sit at a computer and discuss process and content in the target language” (Beatty, 2003, p. 99) and this is a classroom organisation pattern widely used at the CLCS.

However, Murray’s (2005) article stresses the need for learners to possess a solid language background for the learning technologies to be implemented and exploited in a successful way. Relevant research which advocates that second language learners have difficulty evaluating the reliability of online texts is cited by her in support of the previous statement (Murray & McPherson, 2004; Walz, 2001).

2.2 Reflection

Regarding this principle, Little (2007, p. 24-25), relying on socio-cultural theories of language learning, recognises the reflection that emerges in instances of social speech, like the

collaborative reflection between the teacher and learners in the form of negotiations, that eventually develop into an alternative type of learner thinking.

Commenting on the applications of technology in the field of language learning, Skehan (2003, p. 392) asserts that a careful planning and administration of introductory and follow-up activities is required to raise the students' language awareness and to enable them to view computer-based interaction as an opportunity for reflecting on language (p. 407). Finally, Levy and Stockwell (2006, p. 91), relying on the research of Tudini (2003) and Lee (2002), advocate that "CALL sessions without focus tend to be quite brief and superficial in content, so setting the topics encourages more goal oriented, cross-cultural, useful and lengthy discussions" and this is offered by the webquests and projects that are completed during the CLCS courses.

2.3 Target Language Use

According to the principle of target language use, all classroom activities should take place through the medium of the target language (Little, 2007, p. 25). The ability to use the target language to perform communicative functions constitutes a basic characteristic of autonomous learning. In combination with the use of the Internet network, a wealth of authentic materials is offered. In a study of the students' interaction in computer assisted class discussion (CADC), Chun (1994) discovered the students' tendency to consult their fellow students, to engage in peer-evaluation, and to monitor their discussions at a higher rate compared to that in their class context. Likewise, computer generated second language communities provide ideal environments for learners to perform a number of activities along with providing researchers "with opportunities to observe identity, affect and personal autonomy at work" (Murray, 1999, pp. 306-307).

2.4 The role of Technology

In a large part of the CALL literature, the role of the computer is discussed and associated to the role of CALL technologies. The relation of these digital technological applications to teaching and learning practices are discussed by Stevenson (2008). According to his views, technology appears to assume different roles, including those of a resource, a tool and an environment. In the cases where technology assumes the role of a resource it mostly encourages teaching because the curriculum content and institutional policy place its control at the teacher's discretion (Stevenson, 2008, p. 845-7). When technology is conceived of as a tool then its functional nature is prioritized. Stevenson's research revealed the tendency of the teachers to introduce learning activities that targeted skill combinations and which offered the students the opportunity to use digital technologies at their own time (2008, p. 847-9). Finally, technology in her role as environment offers a focus on the student-learners: "Actively engaged in building their own meanings as they work with digital technologies, learners control their own trajectory through exploration, experiment and personal creativity" (p. 849). However, within this framework of the student focused language learning Murray (2005, p. 196) underlines that "the teachers need to scaffold instruction using technology".

3. Research Context

The evening language modules offered at CLCS are attended by approximately 300 students and the languages covered include: French, German, Irish, Italian, Spanish, Turkish and Korean. The Language Modules use the Council of Europe Common Reference Levels as a guide to the proficiency level of each class. The Common Reference Levels are a useful and

transparent way of describing what a language learner can do in the languages she/he speaks. There are six levels, from A1 (beginner) to C2 (advanced).

The general ideology of the modules lies in the communicative approach and target language use as a means of language learning. More specifically, the weekly sessions are designed to engage students in regular active use of the target language, since it is through using the language that one learns, develops and practises his/her target language skills. B1 and B2 levels are conducted entirely in the target language by native-speaker teachers. A1 and A2 level classes use the target language as much as possible as the medium of instruction and interaction and apart from the teachers, native teaching assistants participate during the tasks.

Communicating though, also means participating and one of the main working methods during the sessions is group work (CLCS Language Modules Course Booklet, 2010 p. 7). This Language Modules' approach requires students to take an active part in the business of communicating in the target language, working collaboratively with peers on projects and tasks, and interacting with one another and with native-speaker student assistants assigned as helpers to the groups. This method of working is both important and valuable for the students to be aware of their own strengths and weaknesses in working in collaborative groups and to learn how to assign, and adhere to roles in group projects.

3.1 Integration of Course Blended Learning

The courses combine the traditional type of lecture with CALL. The assumptions followed by the instructors of CLCS when blending traditional lectures with the use of Internet are emphasis on learner guidance, access to different styles of language used for different purposes and teacher guidance for selecting and structuring the appropriate CALL activities. In the first case, the guidance of students in what to learn cultivates their autonomy as learners; access to different types of language and the structuring of activities are succeeded, according to Chapelle (2001), when the instructor favours approaching languages on the Internet, since their main styles are reflected on different occasions to accomplish a variety of purposes (p. 3). The teacher's role comes into view when suggesting links to be visited online that include the target language of the learners but also have a level of difficulty that is appropriate for the learner's level. Consequently, at CLCS, the instructors that involve students in the creation of projects, encourage the access of students to online information by ordering the learning activities and providing clear instructions on the sites to be visited by the students to facilitate the process of language learning online. Such an approach includes oral and communicative tasks in classroom (i.e. role-plays, discussions, etc.) as well as grammatical and more traditional work along with guided practice and autonomous "language exploration" on-line.

3.2 Project work and the Internet

Within the framework of the CLCS language modules, students need to take responsibility for organizing their learning and managing their time and resources outside class. The project work requires that they spend time on their own, researching materials, exploring the Internet, consulting dictionaries and reference grammars, editing and fine-tuning their text, shaping their contribution to the project, and so on. A1 and A2 level classes prepare a group-based project like a short interactive presentation (in the language they are learning) over a period of three weeks by researching on the internet, and perform their presentation in the fourth week of the project cycle (CLCS Language Modules Course Booklet, 2010, p. 8). Examples of beginners' presentations include scenes in a pub or restaurant, mock TV shows, etc. The B1 and B2 level classes are based on successive cycles of project work. During the year, students engage in a

range of class projects and each generates group-based tasks leading to a class presentation in the final week of the cycle. As an example, during the introductory phase, students engage in a mini-project, the main purpose of which is to familiarize them with the experience of working through the medium of the target language; collaborative learning approaches; effective use of multimedia facilities and resources.

The Internet is a treasure trove of information for the students and the language teacher since it gives virtual access to the country of the target language. Web quests, when the learners are set a project on a topic and complete it by surfing for information on the Internet, are a task-based approach to learning. Though these can be carried out individually or collaboratively, it is the learner who controls and constructs the learning experience. Lots of self-directed learning resources are employed during the process like, online translators which are tools that can be used as dictionaries for single words even though their accuracy is often a bit uneven.

4. Method

To provide an overview of the participants of the study that took place during the spring term of 2011, a group of 37 students from a total of 200 responded to the questionnaires, coming from a variety of fields of study and having attended the CLCS evening language modules. The languages studied were some of the following: French, German, Irish, Italian, Spanish, Turkish or Korean at levels ranging from beginners A1 to B2 according to CEFR. The number of the teachers that participated was five out of a total of eight. Participation in interviews reduced to eleven students and five teachers. The teachers were native speakers of the languages they were teaching and their teaching experience ranged from three to eight years.

4.1. Research Objectives

The general purpose of the research is to understand the implications of using computers in language courses. More specifically, the research focuses on the attitudes of students towards computer use during the courses as well as on the effectiveness of using this medium. Through these research findings, evaluation of the whole lesson procedure is attempted that could eventually contribute to the improvement of the course but also offer significant insight into the use of computers in the educational process.

4.2. Research Tools

In our case, research was preceded by classroom observations, based on completing an observation template with categorised notes. These informed the design of the student and teacher questionnaires that were later on distributed on-line in order to gain an understanding of both parties' views regarding the effectiveness of computers in the language courses and their contribution to motivational learning. Finally, while the questionnaires were collected, interviews of volunteers were taken to exemplify aspects of the quantitative questionnaire study that could not be quantified.

5. Student and Teacher Questionnaire and Interview Data

The findings from the student and teacher questionnaires outline the relationship and the attitudes of both towards the use and language learning effectiveness of the CLCS computer room integration to the language courses. In terms of computer familiarity 70% of the students

that responded to the questionnaire characterised themselves as very computer literate, with only 30% being close to having no previous computer experience. All teachers on the other hand have stated that they are very comfortable with using computers.

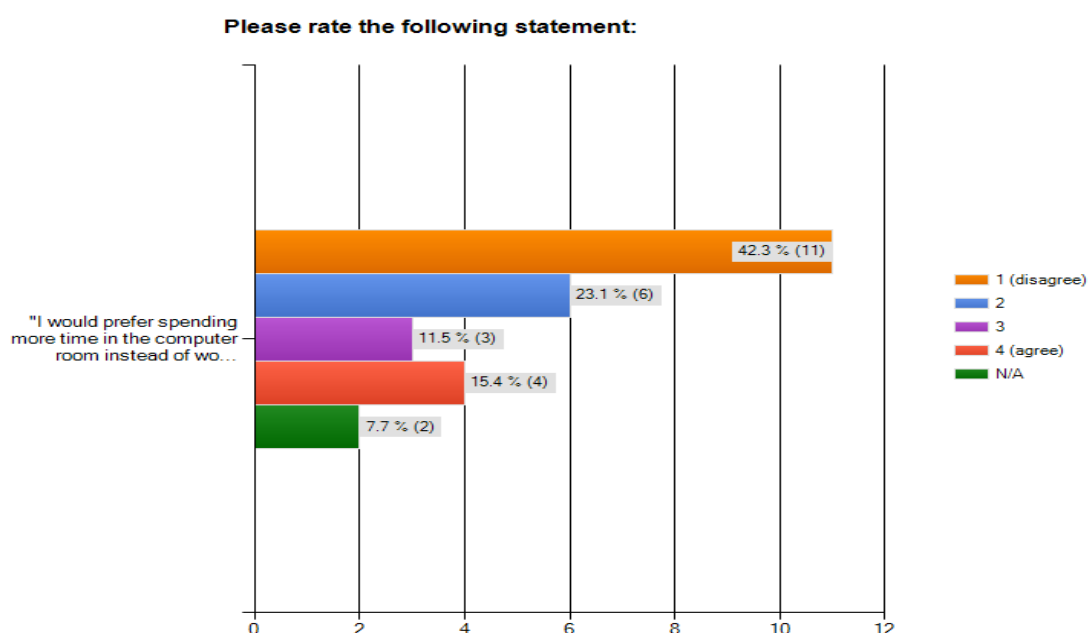
When requested to indicate the best part of their chosen CLCS language module the students indicated group work, with a high percentage (29.4%), as the most favoured feature with their classmates and project work following. However, the computer rooms were allocated a 5 or 6 in a scale from 1-10 (10 being the best). On the other hand, the teachers mentioned that the best part of their language course is the interactive participation of students and the project group work conducted in the computer labs.

The majority of students agreed that the introduction of computers in their language learning courses has contributed to the enrichment of their language vocabulary (39.3%) and has hence increased their learning gains. Only 14.3% though, agrees that they can relate language to real life experience when visiting the computer rooms during the CLCS language modules.

When the questionnaire centres on the difficulties and least favourite course parts, the students focus on “not being able to use the language very well”, with the project work coming second in both questions. As a result, most of the students (42.3%) have stated that they do not experience feelings of confusion while working in the computer rooms, with only 7.7% agreeing to this statement and indicating the use of target language and unclear instructions as a possible source of confusion in the computer rooms. Half of the teachers though, (50%) mentioned that the students do not like using their target language but also commented on the work load that influences student study. The potential confusion created in the computer rooms is attributed, according to teachers, to the inability of the students for target language use (66.7%).

Regarding the students preference to spend more time in the classroom or the computer room, only 15.4% in the following chart answered that it would indeed prefer to spend more time in the computer room, with 11.5% partly agreeing to this, as shown in Graph 1:

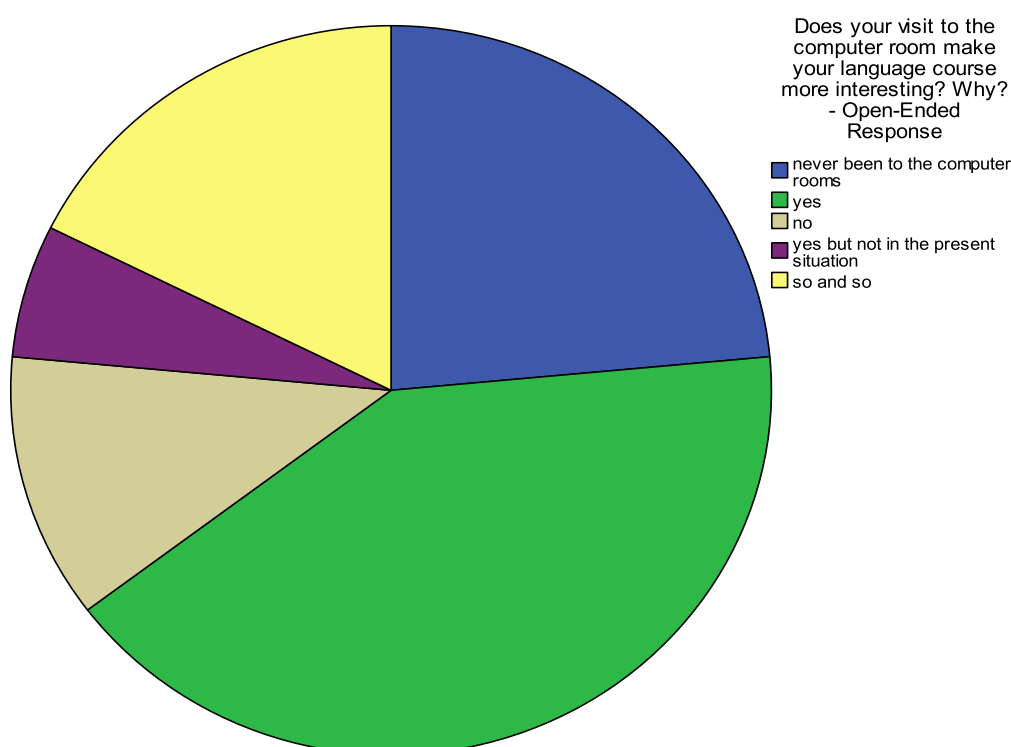
Graph 1: Student attitudes – Duration of computer room work



From these 11 students that disagreed above, the justification of their choice included their interest in computers (45.5%) and the usefulness of searching the web (27.3%).

Regarding the crucial question of whether the visit to the computer rooms provides any additional motivation for language learning in terms of initiating student interest a large proportion of students appears to agree with this, as shown in Graph 2:

Graph 2: Student attitudes – Motivation



Forty percent of the teachers, though, disagree to the motivation and interest the computer rooms can provide, with only 40% of them agreeing to the computers motivational contribution and 20% partly agreeing. The teachers also commented on the time they spend organising students in groups in the classroom and the computer room. Student group organisation in the classroom was very often (80%) and then sometimes in the computer rooms (50%) or always in the computer rooms (50%).

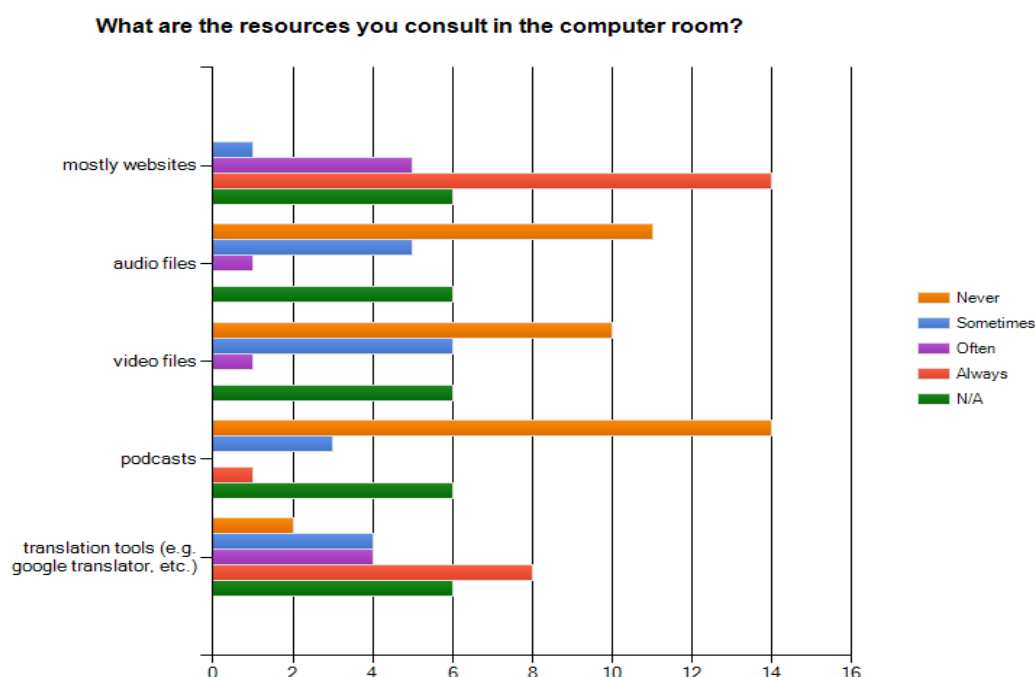
The sites visited by the students are mainly chosen on their initiative (42.3%) and only 4.5% mentions cases of teacher suggestions or a type of negotiation between students and teachers (8.3%). The classroom activities included grammatical or vocabulary structures, oral work in pairs and project preparation and in the computer rooms more collaborative project preparation and fundamental group support existed. Additionally, the proportion of time spent in the classroom and the compute rooms for each lesson was the following:

Table 1: Organisation of the course time in the Classroom and the Computer rooms

Classroom Work	Computer Room work
60 % of time	40 % of time
50 % of time	50 % of time
90 % of time	10 % of time
80 % of time	20 % of time
90 % of time	10 % of time

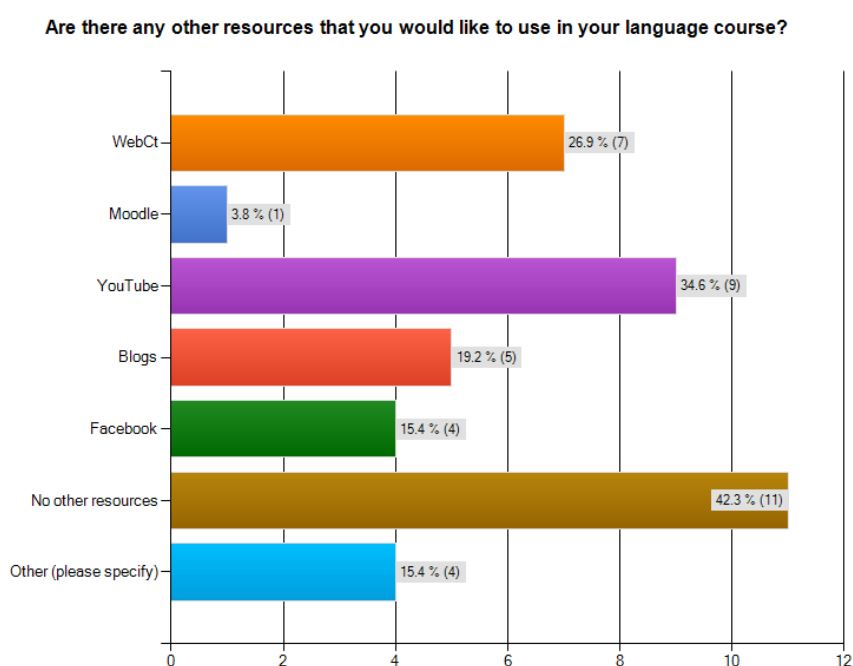
Regarding the resources consulted, the student preferences were visiting websites and translation tools as presented below:

Graph 3: Resources consulted by students



The student suggestions for additional helpful language learning resources brought YouTube and WebCt first but others suggested that no additional resources would have been useful (42.3%). Suggestions in the following chart also included online subscription dictionaries, clips of TV programs or radio shows, songs or taught classes online:

Graph 4: Student suggestions for additional resources



Finally, the teacher suggestions for additional useful resources to consult in the computer rooms brought blogs first, followed by the option that no more resources would have been beneficial.

6. Data Analysis

Upon completing the detailed description of the collected research data the following section focuses on five categories addressing issues like computer room work, computer familiarity, target language use and learner support in the computer rooms along with suggestions for further improvement.

6.1 Computer room work

The class observation revealed the basic structure of the CLCS courses, especially regarding the activities in the computer rooms. After the first part in the classroom, where the students discuss and decide on the vocabulary to be used for their project topic, the lists of keywords are drawn that will drive the students' research in the computer rooms. There, the activities are at times suggested by the instructor who offers links for online practice of grammar and vocabulary or alternatively the students are devoted to web browsing of the list of keywords to discover documents useful for the writing up of their assigned topic. This process actively exposes the students to an attempt of reading and comprehension of advanced target language input that cultivates their interest in the language and the relevant culture. Comprehension is facilitated by the occasional presence of the teaching staff or the online consultation of dictionaries or translating software.

6.2 Computer familiarity

In order to evaluate the effectiveness of the use of computers in the language courses of CLCS, it is a prerequisite that the teachers possess the necessary technological literacy and that the students are equally able of using software and possess web browsing experience. The student and teacher questionnaires and interviews have clearly shown that the majority feels comfortable with the use of computers. The contradictions found at times are a result of other intervening factors (i.e. target language use, group member distraction, unclear instructions, etc.).

6.3 Use of the target language in the computer rooms

Whether computer room work offers students a chance of using the target language is a controversial issue. Although initially the students identified themselves as comfortable when using the target language, most of the students also revealed in the questionnaires their tendency to use English whenever opportunities for interaction appeared. This preference could be a result of the students' low linguistic level in the case of beginners that did not allow them or offer them the confidence to interact in the target language for fear of communication breakdowns. It could also be a consequence of lack of structure for the computer room work; The teachers though insist that the students use the target language but this is largely dependent on their presence and on the students' disposition for doing so. Consequently, the suggestions were that more encouragement in language use would be needed by establishing class rules that encourage students to apply already acquired knowledge in opportunities for interaction in the computer rooms.

6.4 Learning independence through project work and group work in the computer rooms

Regarding the levels of interaction and group work in the computer rooms, the students felt that this environment favored group work since they recognized the need to negotiate while searching the net in order to follow a common pattern for their searches, depending on the group's goals. They mostly favored working both ways though. This combination allows for consulting a group member for explanations or understanding instructions. The student resources consulted for project work would be checked by the instructors to ensure their reliability and appropriateness but the majority of choices in the computer room research was student dependent. However, at times, especially when the level of the students was low, the teachers provided sheets with suggested links as a means of guidance and instruction. The independent work of the students was enhanced by their individual work but also by their internet related homework; this required personal contribution, regarding the duration and the intensity of research, and student initiative of appropriate site selection.

Nevertheless, a large number of teachers disagreed to the fact that their students have more interaction opportunities while being in the computer rooms, although they recognized the computers' contribution to meaningful interaction. Generally, the teacher and student views about individual and collaborative work in the computer rooms coincide, since, apart from the group work that takes place in the classroom, sometimes students are organised in groups in the computer rooms as well.

6.5 Learner support: Instructions

The students mostly mentioned that a degree of more detailed instructions for searching online was needed (as students were occasionally completely free on conducting their research) although some observed that there were suggestions of keywords and links that guided the online search on the project topic. This periodical freedom, especially for beginner levels that were not confident in target language use, was intimidating as it resulted in browsing pages with a huge amount of unknown structures and vocabulary. A more careful selection of sites to be consulted should have been developed according to topic, with links mediated for the students' level and accompanied by detailed and comprehensive instructions without excluding the opportunity for students to consult what works best for them.

6.6 Learner support: Software

The students' preference for visiting websites and translation tools was often a result of the previous structure of their visits to the computer room for research. The students have indeed suggested additional resources that would have been helpful in the language learning process like YouTube and WebCt but there were also those who suggested that no other resources would have been useful. The first two suggestions were probably within the framework of creating a course structure through WebCt where the modules' requirements, projects and instructions would be clearly outlined along with audiovisual materials to enhance student support. Contrarily, the teachers' views brought websites, audio files and podcasts to the forefront.

6.7 Learner Support: Activities

Most of the activities suggested by the students indicated their need for more grammar, vocabulary and listening practice in the computer rooms; these were introduced by doing online exercises on websites but were not adequately maintained throughout the year. According to them, this suggestion would be more rewarding than unstructured project topic research and it justifies their preference for creating a catalogue of the available computer room resources in

order to organise their visit there. Some of them also stated that referring to a grammar or course book would have covered these weaknesses. In order to address these student needs, the teachers suggested an increase of the course duration or omitting parts of the project work.

6.8 Learner Support: Staff role and assistance

The support required by the students was partly satisfied by the presence of the language assistant in the computer rooms. However, the presence of the teachers could act as a positive pressure towards achieving fluency. The teachers supported the view that assistance in the computer room was offered by them and the language assistants. They shared student surveillance but also contributed to corrections of materials there interchangeably, since big classes were divided in groups before visiting the computer rooms.

7. Suggestions for Future Improvement

The following measures constitute the ultimate suggestions that were officially proposed as a means of improving the teaching and learning process at CLCS. Despite the fact that teachers appeared to favor classroom work as a solution to the problems faced by the students and in order to devote more time for exemplifying problems with grammar, vocabulary and project work they were also willing to do the following: increase the time allocated for the whole duration of the course in a way that the course parts could equally develop different aspects of the language and leave sufficient time for computer room practice and research.

The questionnaire and interview findings indicated potentials for these three elements to develop in the computer rooms of language modules, depending on a better structured visit to the computer rooms and continuous consultation of the teachers for unknown vocabulary when visiting links tailored for the language level of the students. The motivation for language learning is also dependent on the choice of project topics that address the interests and language level of the students but also on the software in the computer room and the link suggestions of the teaching staff. Moreover, better outlined goals for each group project in collaboration with the contribution of the instructor could lead to a more coordinated group computer room research where the assigned roles would be clear and the collected information non-duplicated.

Finally, another measure for improving the computer room work would be to attempt to increase the time spent there by working both on practice exercises and web-quests for the project. It would also be helpful if the instructor organized the visits there by exhibiting the type of research that students should do, being present to offer support and provide a sheet with guiding information and continuous suggestions for research without eliminating the students' personal interests and contribution when they offer suggestions for resources and topics. Hence, decisions should be negotiated so a correspondence between level and effectiveness of the projects exists to satisfy the goals of the students. The negotiation would combine the teachers' experience in terms of cases where a project topic could not be suitable for a beginners' level with the students' contributions to achieve autonomous learning. An effective way of implementing this would be to upload all necessary links, sheets with information, topic suggestions and translation tools or online dictionaries on a learning platform like WebCt where, before each activity in the computer room, the students could visit it and follow the research or practice the steps outlined for their course. Moreover, the gap between the taught course contents and the final assessment should be bridged so that the students could be validly evaluated on structures they have been taught. A correspondence between course activities and assessment exercises should also be effectuated.

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Global Trends in Teaching English to Young Learners

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Abstract

At present, there appears to be a consensus among governments and parents that foreign language learning (FLL) is ‘a good thing’ and that English Language Learning (ELL) is a particularly good thing. This seems to have resulted in a global trend in English Language Teaching (ELT) towards teaching English to ever-younger learners. This trend has significant implications for providers of English Language Teaching (ELT) and this paper discusses some of those implications. It considers how the public and private sectors of ELT differ and offers some explanations for the growth of ‘weekend learning’. It reflects on and identifies some limitations on some recent research and outlines this writer’s own planned investigation into the experience of Teaching English to Young Learners (TEYL), its aims, anticipated outcomes and potential impacts. Young Learners are defined here as aged between five and sixteen.

1. Younger is Better?

Emery (2012: 3-4) notes that “With the progress and demands of globalisation...foreign language programmes in schools are starting at an increasingly early age around the world and English has become the most popular second or foreign language to study”. Enever and Moon (2009: 6) report that “While there are strong downward international pressures on governments, at the same time there is also a strong upward pressure from parents nationally on governments for their children to learn English from an earlier age because of perceived social and economic benefits”. Knowledge of English, it is believed, leads to better jobs, better opportunities, better prospects, international travel and study abroad. English has, as a result, “crept almost unnoticed” into the primary curriculum (Enever and Moon 2009: 5) and, because there is a belief that ‘younger is better’, the age at which English is introduced has got earlier and earlier. For example, according to a forthcoming report by Rixon cited by Ellis and Knagg (2012: 7), twenty-two (36%) of the sixty-one countries she investigated which have English as a compulsory school subject introduce it at Grade 1 (aged five or six). In 2000, she surveyed thirty-nine countries. Only nine (23%) introduced English to children as young as six. As Ellis and Knagg remark “There’s a lot (more) of it about” (2012: 8).

The British Council estimates that there are between four and five hundred million primary young learners (PYLs) around the world, with around six million people teaching them (Ellis and Knagg 2012: 6). In addition, Emery reports a 2011 survey by Papp for Cambridge ESOL in which 42% of respondents said that English was introduced into formal education in their institution at the age of five or younger. Of the remainder, 25% started learning English at age six and 16% by the age of seven (Emery 2012: 4). She writes that “children who start to learn English after the age of seven [appear to be] the exception” (2012:4). It appears, therefore, that there is a significant and growing world-wide trend to introduce ELL in the very first years of compulsory schooling. However, there is little evidence that younger is better (Pinter 2006: 29). Cook (2010: 9) suggests that both older children and adults are ‘better’ than young children at learning a second language, but, as he indicates, it is not clear what ‘better’ means anyway.

Factors other than age which might influence successful second language acquisition

(SLA) include the level of parental involvement and out of school experiences such as foreign visits, subtitled television and the Internet. Lightbown and Spada (1999: 61) suggest that older learners seem “more efficient” at processing new language than younger learners, “at least in the early stages of SL development”, perhaps because they are more aware of their own cognitive processes and learning strategies and their conceptual view of the world is more sophisticated (Johnstone 2009: 34). In addition, “learners who began learning a second language at the primary school level did not fare [significantly] better... than those who began in early adolescence” (Lightbown and Spada 1999: 61). Global FLL policies seem, therefore, based on an unfounded assumption that the SLA process must be similar to that of first language acquisition (Lightbown and Spada 1999: 32) and that younger children must therefore be ‘better’ language learners than older children or adults. Notions of Critical Periods (Lenneberg 1967), Natural Approaches (Krashen and Terrell 1983) and Language Acquisition Devices (Chomsky 1965) have fuelled a belief that at some stage in a child’s development something happens to prevent them fully acquiring additional languages as naturally or as easily as they did their first language, and that they will consequently never master a new language in the same way. The primary school years become a narrow window of opportunity which, once closed, will be closed forever. Of course, some primary age children (five to ten) are not masters of their first languages and some older learners and adults do become proficient second language users despite starting their learning later in life but this does not seem to deter the proponents of ‘younger is better’ for there is still a “widespread public faith in the ‘Younger = Better’ equation [and] faith, rather than experience, seems to be a strong factor in the decision in many countries to lower the age at which English or another foreign language is taught.” (Rixon 2000: 1). However, an “uncritical acceptance of the view that ‘early is [always] better’...can lead to hasty policy decisions...with huge implications for national resources” (Enever and Moon 2009: 6) and significant implications for the whole ELT profession. Some of these implications will be considered further in Section Three below.

2. Two types of Teaching English to Young Learners

It may be valuable at this point to differentiate two TEYL contexts, those of official, compulsory, core education and unofficial, voluntary, supplementary education, in order to locate the on-going and recently published research discussed in Section Four.

‘Official’ education is usually provided through government-funded schools, colleges and universities. They may still follow a national curriculum, offer nationally recognised assessments and qualifications, operate for several hours each day and provide education in a range of subjects in classes consisting of same-age students. These schools will be registered, licensed, accredited, inspected and regulated by a Ministry of Education and operate within nationally agreed parameters. However, as Rixon’s report from 2000 indicates, the number of hours children attend, curriculum content, teaching qualifications required, subjects studied, assessment methods and quality of education vary widely from country to country.

Some children in some countries may be educated in privately owned, privately resourced schools. Even where these need to fulfil Ministry requirements (and not all of them do), and even when teachers are required to hold recognised and appropriate professional qualifications, the quality and level of education provided may be variable. However, this, for the vast majority of children, will be their main educational experience since school attendance is now compulsory in most countries, even if only at primary level (Rixon 2000).

‘Unofficial’ education is generally provided outside school hours, in the evenings or at weekends by, for example, private tutors and specialist language schools. It supplements, complements or supports but does not replace ‘official’ compulsory education. Participation is voluntary, and will be experienced by a minority of children whose families can afford the

fees. Private language schools (PLS), like private tutors, may devise their own curricula, select and sometimes write their own materials, develop their own assessment methods, select their own teachers and determine the qualifications required and issue certificates that may or may not be meaningful beyond the company that awards them. Providing they abide by the law of the land, they may teach what they like. Some are locally based and locally owned, but others, such as the British Council and International House, are UK-based, have a global presence through a network of teaching centres and recruit, train and dispatch people to their centres in other countries to teach English as a Foreign Language to their customers.

The distinction between core and supplementary ELT is important. At present in the literature, 'YL' seems to refer to all learners of school age, regardless of the sector they are learning in, but the demands, opportunities, challenges and requirements are different because the learning contexts are different. Whilst this may not matter to the children, it matters to parents and to teachers. At present, 'YL teacher' seems to refer to all teachers of young learners, but clearly the demands, opportunities, challenges and requirements may also be different because the teaching contexts are different. Essentially, in school, English is one of many subjects to be studied. In a PLS, English is the only subject studied.

Although some schools in some countries employ 'native speakers', for example schools in Japan via the Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme (JET) and several international schools in Egypt, the majority of teachers in the first category may be locally recruited, probably non-native speakers of English, probably share both nationality and first language with the students, may have family and other support networks in-country (Rixon 2000, Enever et al. 2009, Garton et al. 2011, Emery 2012) and, even though they may not have chosen to teach English have probably chosen to teach children.

A number of teachers in the second category may not be local. They may be UK-recruited, are probably 'native speakers', and may be without their family and usual support networks. Living and working in a foreign country, they could be experiencing culture shock and, although they have chosen to teach English, they may not have chosen to teach children. They may not even be in a country primarily as teachers (Senior 2006: 37), although they can impact significantly on the children in their care.

Some parents clearly feel that state schools do not help their children to achieve a reasonable standard of English and believe additional classes in a PLS can, leading to "a thriving private sector of language schools...[which] run parallel to state...programmes...[because] parents believe that attending two courses will be more effective in the long run" (Pinter 2006: 42). In 1999, 15-20% of Bahraini children attended PLSs, 5% in Bangladesh where "English has a high market value and public primary schools are perceived to be poor at teaching it" (Rixon 2000: 19), 20% in the Czech Republic, 10% in Colombia, 80% in Greece, where "English is regarded as essential to future education and employment, [the] goal is Cambridge FCE (First Certificate in English) by age fourteen, CPE (Certificate of Proficiency in English) by age sixteen [and]...parents do not think highly of public sector provision" (Rixon 2000: 52). Her 2012 survey apparently shows significant increases in these percentages (Rixon, personal communication, March 20 2012) as more and more parents turn to the private sector to address perceived deficiencies in the public sector.

PLSs can offer "more advanced classes, have a different methodology and use materials imported from the UK" (Rixon 2000: 8). Classes are smaller in size, perhaps sixteen or fewer as opposed to thirty-five or more, often better resourced and consist of students related by levels of competence rather than by age. They can also tailor their courses to satisfy market demands in a way a state school, bound as it is by national curriculum, national assessments and Ministry requirements, cannot. In addition, access to state-provided ELL within a country can also vary, with possible differences between rural and urban areas, within urban areas themselves or between coastal and inland areas (Garton et al. 2011: 5),

because of resource availability or levels of investment. “The result in many countries has been a huge increase in the private sector, which in turn increases the gap between rich and poor, as wealthier parents are able to send their children to private school or for private English lessons” (Garton et al. 2011: 5) since the PLSs, despite their commercial orientation, are perceived by customers to offer the ‘best’ ELL experience available.

Enever and Moon (2009) argue that it is this growth in the private sector that might have prompted some governments into taking action. By responding to global trends and parental demands, private schools have identified lucrative business opportunities. Whilst this may have widened a gap between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots’, “private schools are viewed as providing ‘quality’ education in contrast to underfunded mass education in the state sector with large classes and poorly qualified teachers”. This in turn may force governments to address standards in their public sectors in order to compete and in response to parental pressure (Enever and Moon 2009: 8). In addition “global trends have made people believe that communicative skills, and oral communicative skills in particular, are very important” (Butler 2009: 26). Consequently a PLS might invest in native English speaker teachers (NESTs) who might be perceived as models of fluent, natural communication and accurate pronunciation. NESTs could also bring prestige to the school who might advertise the employment of a NEST as an advantage over competitor schools. Whether they are better teachers than non-NESTs is another matter but parents and administrators seem to prefer NESTs to non-NESTs (Butler 2009: 26). Anecdotal evidence seems to support this view. This writer spent some time trying to convince parents in Egypt that the non-NEST female teacher from Sudan with twelve years’ experience and a specialist YL teaching certificate was as qualified to teach their children as the native speaking male teacher from the UK with six months’ classroom experience and no interest in teaching YLs at all, with limited success.

3. Teaching YLs

An initial language teaching qualification commonly recognised by UK-based PLSs is the CELTA (Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults). Trainees learn techniques for teaching adults, not children. They learn about lesson planning and undertake observed teaching practice, with adults. They do not learn how to plan and manage the learning of five to eleven year olds or how to motivate a class of teenagers who have been forced by their parents to exchange Saturday afternoon football for extra English lessons, yet that is exactly what many of these CELTA-qualified teachers are asked to do by their PLS. When this writer, working in Russia, was timetabled for a mixed-ability, mixed-age class (the youngest children were five, the oldest eleven), he sought advice from his Director of Studies, for nothing in the CELTA had prepared him for such a class. He was advised to learn the guitar, make some hand-puppets and do lots of colouring. Nothing was taught, little was learned, but all the children re-enrolled so the company judged the class a success. This writer believes that his experience is common to many native speaker English language teachers in the private sector. Cameron suggests a ‘how hard can it be?’ mentality is at work-

Teaching English is a straightforward process that can be undertaken by anyone with a basic training in ELT. The language taught to children only needs to be simple as, cognitively, they are not as developed as adult or teenage learners.

(Cameron 2001: xii, in Emery 2012:5, and in Ellis and Knagg 2012: 18).

In other words, YLs’ needs are so simple anyone can teach them. However, as Cameron points out, “although children...have a less complicated view of the world...this does not imply that teaching children is simple...The teacher of children needs to be highly skilled to reach into [their] worlds” (2001: xii). In addition, the topics that interest YLs such as machines, dinosaurs and the environment might require both technical language and complex structures (Cameron 2001: xiii). The Director of Studies described above assumed that all

these Russian children, because they were children, were capable only of learning “colours and numbers, nursery rhymes and songs” (Cameron 2001: xii) and thus limited their learning potential. This writer believes that this attitude is fairly common in the private language sector. Because YLs’ do not need to learn anything complicated, YL teachers need neither specialist training nor specialist knowledge – after all, how hard can it be? It seems to undervalue YLs and their potential when the teacher lacks the skills and sometimes the interest to help them progress, and whilst there are a number of Masters’ degree courses, a YL extension to the CELTA and other YL-oriented training programmes, few appear to be required for teaching YLs in the way that a Postgraduate Certificate of Education (PGCE) is required for teaching children in UK schools. They are essentially optional extras for interested teachers. Given the investment of time and money, it does not seem unreasonable for parents, and children, to expect their teacher “to have the knowledge, skills and sensitivities of a teacher of children and of a teacher of language and to be able to balance and combine the two successfully” (Brewster, Ellis and Girard 2002: 269). Pinter even suggests teachers of children “need to be familiar with the Piagetian framework” (2006: 6) of child development. This is not covered in the CELTA, nor in its YL extension.

4. Current Research into TEYL

In response to the explosion in YL teaching, four surveys into the extent and nature of international YLT provision have been carried out since 2000, three for the British Council, one for the Council of Europe. All four have focused on Primary ELT (PELT) and principally on state-funded, ‘official’ education. Enever’s Early Language Learning in Europe (ELLiE) report from 2011 considers seven European Union countries and their Foreign Language Learning provision as a whole rather than solely the teaching of English. Garton, Copland and Burns’ report, also from 2011, focuses on YLs aged between seven and eleven and mostly on urban state schools in a range of countries. Emery’s 2012 report focuses on the training, qualifications and professional development opportunities for primary school teachers in nine countries (2012: 2). Rixon’s 2000 global survey focused on provision for under elevens in thirty-nine countries and, whilst she also looked at private sector language schools and private tuition, most of the data is about public sector primary schools. The questionnaires on public schools, for example, are more comprehensive and detailed with fourteen questions as opposed to four general questions for private language schools. Her forthcoming 2012 survey increases the number of countries to sixty-one but it still focuses on state primary provision (Ellis and Knagg 2012 and S. Rixon, personal communication, March 20 2012). There is an evident gap in the research concerning private sector language schools and a lack of published research into the experiences of untrained native speakers teaching English to YLs. The project outlined in Section Five below aims to address that gap.

5. Research project and potential impact

YL teachers’ anxieties include “large class sizes and discipline issues.... Mixed level classes in which there were both complete beginners and students whose English was of a good standard..... working with children with learning difficulties and disabilities ...[and] ...how to motivate children who could see no immediate use for the language they were learning.” (Garton et al. 2011: 14). Some of these anxieties might be addressed through appropriate pre-service training but, in the absence of this, some teachers are left to devise their own strategies. This writer’s research investigates how they themselves address and overcome their anxieties and survive the YL classroom. It looks at the availability and access to professional development, further study and in-service training. TEYL practitioners are invited to consider and reflect on their experiences through surveys, interviews, informal

discussion and written narratives, and common themes, links, gaps and overlaps will be identified. The research is built around the following strands:

- Challenges (at different career stages)
- Motivation and aspirations (and how they change over time)
- Opportunities and choices (and how/why they are pursued).

Appropriately experienced colleagues both past and present (i.e. people who teach or have taught YLs in private language schools) will be contacted by email and invited to participate in the initial scoping survey. They will also be asked to forward the invitation to people they think might be interested (a 'snowball' survey). A second, more detailed survey will be sent as a follow-up whilst a small number of participants will be interviewed. Participant selection will be based on how 'generalizable' teachers' experiences are. The project is informative and illuminative in nature and aims to establish a shared, common narrative of EYL teachers' experiences across a range of countries and employers.

In the absence of much sustained or funded research into the teaching of English to Young Learners, this research focuses on real teachers in real situations. How they manage, for many of them do, should be of interest to anyone working with, training or mentoring them. The impact on the ELT community should be a greater awareness of the need and importance of including a YL element in pre-service training courses like CELTA, of delivering appropriate in-service training, enabling appropriate continuing professional development and providing appropriate and ongoing support, and an acknowledgement from the ELT industry that YLs, their parents and their teachers are not just a lucrative new business stream or an expensive child-minding service but a serious educational pursuit where quality matters.

According to the British Council nearly 70% of English language learners worldwide are under eighteen years old, 50% being under eleven (Ellis and Knagg 2012). The result is an increased demand for YL teachers but it is a demand that appears to outstrip supply. This may result in undertrained, under-qualified teachers reluctantly and disinterestedly working with children whose parents' and perhaps countries' aspirations might rest on their success as learners of English. This seems unfair and perhaps even dishonest and it is hoped that this research might suggest some ways to address at least some of these issues.

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Gender Differences in Translating Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*: The Greek Paradigm

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Abstract

In recent years, we have witnessed a growing interest in issues pertaining to language and gender. The differences in language between men and women have been widely discussed, and various suggestions concerning gender differences in language have been made by a number of linguists (e.g. Coates 2004, Holmes 1993, Swallowe 2003, Tannen 1990). The present paper attempts to address the question of gender differences from a translational perspective. In particular, its main aim is to explore whether male translators use different linguistic forms from female translators. To this end, two Greek translations of *Jane Austen's Pride and Prejudice*, one done by a male translator and the other one by a female, were chosen as the object of research. Particular focus was given to famous quotes that deal with the issues of courtship and marriage that seem to be the dominant themes in the novel. It is observed that the female translator has the tendency to overreport by using more detailed descriptions of emotions and hedging devices whereas the male translator shows a preference for formal vocabulary and more sophisticated language. It is concluded that the differences between the male and the female translator in their use of lexis influence the target text but further research is required in order to find out the extent and impact of such influence.

1. Introduction

The study of gender differences in language has attracted increasing attention from a number of linguists in the past decades. In particular, the relationship between language and gender which "is concerned with how gender affects the ways in which we use language and others use language with us" (Wray et al., 1998:139) has been extensively investigated from different perspectives and a number of academic treatises have been published on this topic.

In an attempt to provide a backdrop to early approaches to gender and language, it should be mentioned that the terms sex and gender were used interchangeably very frequently. However, sex refers to the biological differences between men and women whereas gender is a more complex and dynamic term that refers to the identity of the individual that is constantly being constructed and shaped by choosing from a range of gender styles available in the society. Past approaches were mainly centred on the study of differences between male and female speech and the two dominant theoretical positions that have emerged from the gendered language debate are theories of dominance and theories of difference. The former attribute such differences to the fact that women are considered as the subordinate group and men as the dominant one whereas the latter explain differences as a result of the differences in the cultures of men and women. In both approaches, women's language is seen as something different but in theories of dominance women's language is negatively valued as something deviant from the norm whereas in theories of difference women's language is positively valued since women's and men's styles reflect different preconceptions and different cultures. More recent theorizations of gender and language have moved away from this binary opposition and have viewed gender "as a contextualized and shifting practice, rather than a relatively fixed social category" (Litosseliti, 2006:4).

2. Gender-based differences in language use

The issue of gender-based differences in language use has been extensively investigated by linguists and non-linguists alike. Despite the lack of agreement, several studies seem to suggest that women speak differently from men. In fact, gender-related differences in language use have been found in all levels of linguistic analysis ranging from the phonological and morphological level to the semantic and pragmatic one. At the phonological level, Labov (1966) carrying out a study on the pronunciation of English in New York City found out that women pronounced correctly the sound 'th' with the voiceless interdental fricative [θ] in words such as *thing* whereas men opted for the voiceless plosive [t]. Furthermore differences in the pitch of men and women were found since McConnell-Ginet (1978) has shown that women tend to raise their voice pitch at the end of the sentence, thus turning the sentence into a question. This indicates that women seem less assertive than men and need some kind of assurance that they are correct. On the other hand, men lower their voice pitch below normal in order to sound more masculine. Also, men of lower socioeconomic status tend to omit the final consonants that perform grammatical functions more frequently than women (Wolfram, 1969). Finally, Lakoff (1975) identified the frequent use of hedges (e.g. *it seems like*), tag questions (...*isn't it?*) and extra-polite forms (e.g. "*Would you be kind enough...*") in women's language that communicate uncertainty. Further empirical work by Mulac and Lundell (1994) supported her claims since it was found that women, as opposed to men, use more frequently uncertainly verb phrases, especially first-person singular pronouns with perceptual or cognitive verbs ("*I think if*") that are indicative of the reluctance and tentativeness in communicating their messages.

Now turning to the field of translation studies, it could be argued that the gender of the translator has a say on the final end product since gender and language interact, thus revealing preferences in the linguistic patterns of the target text. In particular, the gender-side of translation is explored by Sherry Simon's *Gender in Translation: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission* (1996) where she criticizes the images of dominance, fidelity, faithfulness and betrayal that exist in translation studies. Some characteristic examples are Mounin's *Les Belles Infidèles* (1994) which are beautiful but unfaithful and Steiner's image of translation as penetration in *After Babel* (1975). Some feminist theorists (e.g. Simon, 1996; Godard, 1990) argue that there is a parallel between the status of translation and that of women since translation has often been considered inferior to original writing and women are said to have been repressed in society and literature. In view of the above, Simon (1996:2) believes that fidelity should be towards the translation project rather than the author or the reader and cites many examples of feminist translators that share this view. For example, the Canadian feminist translator Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood argues that through the processes of "neutralization" and "desexisation" texts can become more women-friendly since more gender-neutral words are used and less sexist forms are preferred (1991:117). However, de Lotbinière-Harwood is careful to note that these strategies are only good for certain contexts such as translating non-fiction written by a man and she puts forward the claim that "we need to resex language" in order to draw attention to its feminine side (1991:117). Likewise, the feminist translator von Flotow (1991) has identified three main feminist strategies; supplementing, prefacing/footnoting and "*hijacking*". These strategies are hardly new in the field of translation studies but what makes them different is "the use they are put in" (cited in Surugiu, 2009:156). Simply put, these strategies are used to emphasize the feminine element and reduce the male, patriarchal one. Von Flotow's strategy of supplementing very much resembles the translation strategy of compensation which "compensates for the differences between languages and

constitutes “voluntarist” action on the text” (1991:75). Similarly, through the use of prefaces, feminist translators strive to make their presence known whereas through hijacking there is a deliberate attempt to feminize the target text (1991:79). In the final chapter of her book, von Flotow (1997) argues that further research needs to be done on how gender-differences have an influence on translation both as a process and as a product. One of the first scholars to address the issue of whether men and women translate differently is Vanessa Leonardi (2007). Taking as her starting point that men and women speak differently, she assumes that they also translate differently and presents a methodological framework “for the contrastive analysis of the translation strategies of male and female translators” (2007:19). Her corpus consists of Italian novels written by both male and female writers and their translation into English. Through a detailed analysis at the lexical, grammatical, textual and pragmatic levels of translated texts, ideologically-motivated translation choices are identified and critically analyzed. It is concluded that gender can have an effect on ideology-driven shifts in translation. In addressing the limitations of her research, Leonardi (2007:24) admits that it would have been interesting to look at how the same source-text (henceforth ST) has been translated by male and female translators. Taking this claim as my starting point, I have decided to address this issue by exploring gender-based differences in the Greek translation of the much-discussed novel *Pride and Prejudice*.

3. Methodology

In an effort to explore whether male translators use different linguistic forms from female translators, two Greek translations of Jane Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), one done by a male translator and the other one by a female, were compared with the English original. More specifically, the approach adopted was the comparative descriptive one and the method employed was the corpus-based. In more detail, the corpus of the study, the English novel *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) and its two Greek translations, i.e. one by a male and another by a female translator, were compared regarding word-choice, agentivity and style. On the lexical level, emphasis was placed on the analysis of certain word-choices whereas on the syntactic level the use of passive voice was discussed. On the textual level, thematic structure and the use of hedges were explored and lastly on the stylistic level the use of formal and colloquial language was critically analyzed. This novel was selected because it is one of the most famous novels of Jane Austen and one of the most translated. It should be mentioned that there are eight Greek translations of the novel in question and I have decided to randomly select one Greek translation done by a male translator and one done by a female. Due to time constraints, I considered 9 paragraphs dealing with the issues of courtship and love comprising of about 900 words of the English novel and compared the original sentences with their Greek translations. It should be mentioned that the theme of courtship was chosen because it runs throughout the novel and is especially depicted through the young Bennet sisters; particularly, Elizabeth Bennet and Jane Bennet. Information about the Greek translations as well as some biographical information for the male and the female translator are outlined below:

1st Greek translation

Austen, J. (2006). *Pride and Prejudice* [In Greek]. Athens: Patakis Publications.
Translator: Argiris Hionis (male translator) was born in 1943 in Athens. For twenty years (1967-1977, 1982-1992) he has lived in countries of North Europe. During 1982-1992 he worked as a translator for the Council of the European Union. In 1992, he resigned from that post and moved to a village in Greece, called Throfari in Korinthos where he was mainly concerned with agricultural activities. He has translated and published a lot of English, French, Spanish, Italian and Dutch poems in many literature journals. He died of heart attack in 2011.

2nd Greek translation

Austen, J. (1994). *Pride and Prejudice* [In Greek]. Athens: Zaharopoulos Publications. Translator: Ninila Papagianni (female translator). Ninila Papagianni used to be a tour guide and has translated in Greek Don DeLillo's *The Names* (1982) and Herman Melville's *Billy Budd* (1888).

4. Data analysis

In order to discover whether male translators use different linguistic forms from female translators when it comes to issues of love and courtship, 9 paragraphs of approximately 900 words from the English novel centering on these topics were contrasted with their two Greek translations. In more detail, taking as the unit of analysis the sentence, each sentence of the source text was compared with its two Greek translations, the female one (henceforth FTT) and the male one (henceforth MTT)¹. On closer inspection of the novel, one notices that the theme of courtship is evident from the first sentence of the novel:

ST1 It is a truth universally acknowledged, that a single man in possession of a good fortune, must be in want of a wife. However little known the feelings or view of such a man may be on his first entering a neighbourhood, this truth is so well fixed in the minds of the surrounding families, that he is considered the rightful property of some one or other of their daughters.

FTT1 Είναι παγκόσμια αναγνωρισμένη αλήθεια πως ένας *ανύπαντρος* και πλούσιος άνδρας θα έχει βέβαια ανάγκη από μια σύζυγο. Όσο και λίγο να είναι γνωστά, λοιπόν, τα αισθήματα και οι απόψεις αυτού του ανθρώπου, όταν για πρώτη φορά έρχεται να κατοικήσει σε μια γειτονιά, η αλήθεια αυτή είναι τόσο καλά χαραγμένη στα μυαλά όλων τωντριγύρω του οικογενειών, που αυτός πια ο κύριος να θεωρείται σαν *νόμιμη κυριότητα* της μιας ή της άλλης κοπέλας.

MTT1 Είναι γενικώς αποδεκτή αλήθεια ότι αυτό που οπωσδήποτε λείπει από έναν *άγαμο άνδρα*, με σεβαστή περιουσία, είναι μια σύζυγος. Όσο κι αν είναι ελάχιστα γνωστά τα αισθήματα ή οι απόψεις ενός τέτοιου άνδρα, όταν πρωτοεγκαθίσταται σε μια περιοχή, η αλήθεια αυτή είναι τόσο βαθιά χαραγμένη στο μυαλό των γύρω οικογενειών, ώστε να τον θεωρούν *νόμιμη ιδιοκτησία* κάποιας από τις κόρες τους.

What is worth noting here is the word choices made by the male and the female translator with respect to two phrases, namely, single man and rightful property. The female translator chooses the more colloquial expression of *ανύπαντρος άνδρας* (= not married man) whereas the male translator goes for the more formal term *άγαμος άνδρας* (= unwed man). Secondly, the male translator chooses the phrase *νόμιμη ιδιοκτησία* (= lawful property) to transfer the meaning of the ST phrase rightful property whereas the female translator uses the expression *νόμιμη κυριότητα* (=lawful ownership). When you are the proprietor of something then it solely belongs to you, that is, you possess it and you can use it whichever way you like. On the other hand, when you have the bare ownership of something then that something belongs to you but another person may use it as well.

Now, turning to example 2, it can be seen that the if particle has been rendered by the male translator as *αν όμως* (= if however) stressing the use of the adversative

¹ It was decided to back-translate only the linguistic constructions that pose the greatest interest for the analyst and are meant to address the research question of this paper rather than the whole target text provided by the male and the female translator respectively. These linguistic constructions are in italics in both the source text and the male and the female version of the target text.

conjunction whereas the female translator has opted for the expression *μα όταν* (= but when) focusing on the temporal dimension as can be seen below:

ST2 If a woman is partial to a man, and does not endeavour to conceal it, he must find it out.

FTT2 *Μα όταν μια γυναίκα έχει σε κάποιον αδυναμία και δεν προσπαθεί να την κρύψει τότε πρέπει αυτός να την καταλάβει.*

MTT2 *«Αν όμως μια γυναίκα έχει αδυναμία σ' έναν άνδρα και δεν προσπαθεί να το κρύψει, εκείνος πρέπει να το μαντέψει».*

Moreover, the word man has been explicitly translated by the male translator as *άνδρα* (= man) whereas the female translator has used the more abstract masculine pronoun *κάποιον* (= someone). In addition to that, the phrasal verb find out has been rendered by the female translator as *καταλάβει* (= understand) whereas the male translator has played down its meaning by using the more neutral expression *μαντέψει* (= guess). Differences in word choices are also evident in example 3 below:

ST3 A lady's imagination is very rapid; it jumps from admiration to love, from love to matrimony, in a moment.

FTT3 *Η γυναικεία φαντασία καλπάζει πάντοτε. Πηδάει απ' το θαυμασμό στην αγάπη και απ' την αγάπη στο γάμο, μέσα σε δυο λεπτά της ώρας. Το ήξερα πως θα μου έδινες οπωσδήποτε τις ευχές σου!*

MTT3 *Η φαντασία των γυναικών καλπάζει. Μέσα σε μια στιγμή, πηδά από το θαυμασμό στον έρωτα, από τον έρωτα στο γάμο. Το ήξερα ότι θα μου ευχόσασταν κάθε ευτυχία».*

The first thing that one notices when seeing the two target versions is the difference in the way the word love has been translated. The female translator has chosen the word *αγάπη* (= love) which is the semantically equivalent Greek target word whereas the male translator has preferred the word *έρωτας* (= sex). The word love more often than not entails sex whereas sex does not necessarily presuppose love.

In the next example, Jane Austen succinctly puts forward her views about marriage:

ST4 Happiness in marriage is entirely a matter of chance. If the dispositions of the parties are ever so well known to each other or ever so similar beforehand, it does not advance their felicity in the least. They always continue to grow sufficiently unlike afterwards to have their share of vexation; and it is better to know as little as possible of the defects of the person with whom you are to pass your life.

FTT4 *Η ευτυχία στο γάμο είναι ζήτημα καθαρής τύχης. Και αν οι διαθέσεις κι οι χαρακτήρες δύο ανθρώπων είναι πολύ γνωστοί μεταξύ τους, ή έστω κι αν μοιάζουν πάρα πολύ, δε μου φαίνεται πως αυτό θα βοηθούσε στο παραμικρό την ευτυχία τους. Γιατί στο τέλος τα καταφέρνουν, δεν ξέρω και γω πως, να γίνονται τόσο διαφορετικοί ο ένας απ' τον άλλο, που ο καθένας τους πια να έχει το ίδιο μερτικό στη σύγχυση και στην ταραχή. Γι' αυτό πιστεύω πως όσο λιγότερο ξέρεις τα ελαττώματά του συντρόφου, που μ' αυτόν πρόκειται να περάσεις ολόκληρη τη ζωή σου, τόσο το καλύτερο είναι για την ευτυχία και*

την γαλήνη σου.

MTT4 Η ευτυχία στο γάμο είναι *καθαρά θέμα τύχης*. Ακόμη κι αν γνωρίζουν τέλεια το χαρακτήρα ο ένας του άλλου ή αν οι χαρακτήρες τους ήταν ήδη εντελώς όμοιοι, αυτό δεν ευνοεί την ευτυχία τους ούτε στο ελάχιστο. Γίνονται πάντα τόσο ανόμοιοι, στη συνέχεια, ώστε να βρίσκουν αρκετούς λόγους για να ενοχλείται ο ένας από τον άλλο. Είναι καλύτερα λοιπόν να γνωρίζεις όσο το δυνατόν λιγότερο τα ελαττώματα του προσώπου με το οποίο πρόκειται να περάσεις την υπόλοιπη ζωή σου.

On closer examination of the first sentence, one notices that the male translator has come up with a more ‘faithful’ translation by translating the adverb entirely as *καθαρά* (= clearly) while the female translator has decided to change its grammatical status and turn it into an adjective, thus placing it before the noun luck. The end-result is *καθαράς τύχης* (= pure luck) and it could be argued that the female translator uses the translation strategy of transposition for reasons of emphasis. More importantly, the personal element is overtly stressed in the female Greek target version through the use of the following expressions *δεν μου φαίνεται* (= it does not seem to me), *δεν ξέρω και γω πώς* (= I do not know how), *γι’ αυτό πιστεύω* (= that is why I believe) which tend to give a more discursive tone to the translation. The personal element is again stressed in example 5 below:

ST5 “Your conjecture is totally wrong, I assure you. My mind was more agreeably engaged. I have been meditating on the very great pleasure which a pair of fine eyes in the face of a pretty woman can bestow.”

FTT5 Σε βεβαιώ λοιπόν πως έπεσες πέρα για πέρα έξω στις εικασίες σου. Η σκέψη μου ταξίδευε αλλού – ήταν πολύ πιο ευχάριστα απασχολημένη. Συλλογίζομαι τι *ευχαρίστηση* μπορούν να μας χαρίσουν καμιά φορά δύο εκφραστικά μάτια στο πρόσωπο μιας όμορφης γυναίκας.

MTT5 «Η εικασία σας είναι εντελώς εσφαλμένη, σας διαβεβαιώ. Η σκέψη μου ήταν απασχολημένη με πολύ πιο ευχάριστα πράγματα. Σκεφτόμουν πόσο μεγάλη *απόλαυση* μπορούν να σου προσφέρουν δυο υπέροχα μάτια στο πρόσωπο μιας ωραίας γυναίκας».

In more detail, the female translator begins translating the sentence in question by fronting the phrase I assure you (= *σας βεβαιώ*) and adds the particle *λοιπόν* (= well). The thematic fronting of this discourse marker is probably made for reasons of emphasis. Also worthy of attention is the translation given to the word pleasure. In particular, the male translator chooses the word *απόλαυση* (= pleasure) whereas the female translator opts for the term *ευχαρίστηση* (= enjoyment). The difference here is that the Greek word *απόλαυση* (= pleasure) is more intense since the element of satisfaction is stressed and the implication that one may draw is that someone can take pleasure in doing something that is not so acceptable, like for instance, eating fatty food. On the other hand, the Greek term *ευχαρίστηση* (= enjoyment) refers to a feeling of joy and relief. Further differences in the choice of words between the male and the female translator can be observed below:

ST6 “I do assure you, Sir, that I have no pretension whatever to that kind of elegance which consists in tormenting a respectable man. I would rather be paid the compliment of being believed sincere. I thank you again and again for the honour you have done me in your proposals, but to accept them is absolutely

impossible. My feelings in every respect forbid it. Can I speak plainer? Do not consider me now as an elegant female, intending to plague you, but as a rational creature, speaking the truth from her heart”.

- FTT6 «Σας διαβεβαιώ κύριε, πως οι αντιλήψεις μου πάνω σ’ αυτό το ζήτημα είναι τελείως διαφορετικές. *Και πιστέψτε με πως ποτέ δεν θα μπορούσα εγώ να τυραννήσω* έναν καθώς πρέπει κύριο. Θα προτιμούσα, *ξέρετε*, να γινόμουν αληθινά πιστευτή. Σας ευχαριστώ και πάλι για τη μεγάλη τιμή, που μου κάνετε με την πρότασή σας, μα μου είναι τελείως αδύνατο να την αποδεχτώ. Τα συναισθήματά μου μου το απαγορεύουν. Είναι δυνατό να μιλήσω απλούστερα λοιπόν. Μη με θεωρήσετε και τώρα παρακαλώ σαν μια *γυναίκα* που θέλει να σας τυραννήσει, μα σαν ένα λογικό άνθρωπο που μιλάει ειλικρινά και μέσα απ’ την καρδιά του».
- MTT6 «Σας διαβεβαιώ, κύριε, ότι δε *συμμερίζομαι* καθόλου αυτού του είδους την *κομπόση* η οποία συνίσταται στο *βασανισμό* ενός *ευηπόληπτου* άνδρα. Θα προτιμούσα τη *φιλοφρόνηση* ότι γίνομαι πιστευτή. Σας ευχαριστώ, πάλι και πάλι, για την τιμή που μου κάνετε με την πρότασή σας, αλλά είναι εντελώς αδύνατο να την αποδεχθώ. Μου το απαγορεύουν, από κάθε άποψη, τα αισθήματά μου. Τι πιο απλό να σας πω; Μη με θεωρείτε λοιπόν ως ένα *κομψό θηλυκό* που αρέσκεται να σας βασανίζει, αλλά ως ένα λογικό *ον* που λέει την αλήθεια από τα βάθη της καρδιάς του».

Comparing the male and the female Greek translation one cannot help noticing the formal style of the former and the more colloquial tone of the latter. The words *συμμερίζομαι* (= sympathize), *κομπόση* (= elegance), *ευηπόληπτου* (= respectable), *φιλοφρόνηση* (= compliment), *ον* (= creature) tend to give a more sophisticated air to the translation and are more close to the meaning of the words used in the ST. On the other hand, the personal element is again stressed in the female translation by the use of the expressions *και πιστέψτε με* (= and believe me), *εγώ* (= I), *ξέρετε* (= you know) which give a more vivid and discursive tone to the translation. Two word choices are worth commenting here, firstly, the translation of the word tormenting and secondly, the rendering of the word elegant female. Syntactically speaking, the male translator has used the noun *βασανισμός* (= torture) while the female translator has used the verb *τυραννάω* (= torment) which is a more emotionally-loaded term. Finally, the male translator has produced a word-for-word translation for the expression elegant female, namely, *κομψό θηλυκό* whereas the female translator has preferred the word *γυναίκα* (= woman) perhaps in order to avoid any sexual connotations the word *θηλυκό* may have.

Now turning to example 7, it can be seen that the target text produced by the female translator consists of more words than that produced by the male translator:

- ST7 “We do not suffer by accident. It does not often happen that the interference of friends will persuade a young man of independent fortune to think no more of a girl whom he was violently in love with only a few days before.”
“But that expression of ‘violently in love’ is so hackneyed, so doubtful, so indefinite, that it gives me very little idea. It is as often applied to feelings which arise from a half-hour's acquaintance, as to a real, strong attachment.
- FTT7 Θαυμάσια λοιπόν παρηγοριά, είπε η Ελίζαμπεθ. Μόνο που δεν μας κάνει. *Εμάς δεν μας εχώρισε κάποιο τυχαίο, ας πούμε περιστατικό, ούτε και είναι κάτι το καθημερινό και συνηθισμένο.* Ένας νέος δηλαδή πλούσιος κι ανεξάρτητος να πάνγει ξαφνικά να συλλογίζεται την κοπέλα, που ίσαμε χθες ακόμα *αγαπούσε τρελά*, μόνο και μόνο επειδή το θέλησαν οι φίλοι του και τον έπεισαν να την ξεχάσει!

Αυτό ξέρεις το «την αγαπούσε τρελά», είναι τόσο χλιοειπωμένο κι αμφίβολο κι αόριστο, που δεν μπορώ να καταλάβω το τι ακριβώς συνέβηκε. Πολλές φορές, ξέρεις, *το μεταχειριζόμαστε*, για να εκφράσουμε τα συναισθήματα, που γεννιούνται από μια γνωριμία μισής ώρας *και που εμείς θέλουμε να τη μεταφράσουμε* σαν μια τρανή και μεγάλη αγάπη!

MTT7 «Σπουδαία παρηγοριά, κατά κάποιον τρόπο» είπε η Ελίζαμπεθ «αλλά εμάς δε μας φτάνει. *Δεν υποφέρουμε κατά τύχη*. Δεν συμβαίνει συχνά η επέμβαση φίλων να πείθει έναν νέο, οικονομικά ανεξάρτητο, να μη σκέφτεται πλέον ένα κορίτσι με το οποίο ήταν *σφοδρά ερωτευμένος* μόλις πριν λίγες μέρες!». «Αυτή όμως η έκφραση «σφοδρά ερωτευμένος» είναι τόσο κοινότοπη, τόσο αμφίβολη, τόσο αόριστη, που δε λέει σχεδόν τίποτε. *Χρησιμοποιείται, το ίδιο συχνά*, για αισθήματα που γεννιόνταν από μια γνωριμία της μισής ώρας, όσο και για ένα πραγματικό, ισχυρό δεσμό.

A characteristic example of the female translator's tendency to elaborate is the translation of the sentence "We do not suffer by accident". The male translator has given us a very faithful word-for-word translation whereas the female translator uses the sentence *Εμάς δεν μας χώρισε κάποιο τυχαίο, ας πούμε περιστατικό, ούτε και είναι κάτι το καθημερινό και συνηθισμένο* (= we were not separated by some accidental, let's say, incident, nor is it something daily and usual). This quite big sentence seems to have an interpretive function as if the female translator is trying to elaborate why it is that they do not suffer by chance. Moreover, it is worth saying that the expression violently in love has been translated more formally by the male translator who uses the expression *σφοδρά ερωτευμένος* (= intensely in love) whereas the female translator has used the expression *αγαπούσε τρελά* (= loved crazily). One can be in love with someone else but that may not necessarily result into love whereas love tends to be a stronger feeling of more duration. More importantly, the male translator uses the passive voice for translating the phrase it is as often applied, namely, *χρησιμοποιείται* (= it is used) whereas the female translator uses the first person plural *μεταχειριζόμαστε* (= we use) and the more personal construction *ξέρεις* (= you know). Moreover, the male translator provides us with a word-for-word translation of the sentence It is as often applied to feelings which arise from a half-hour's acquaintance, as to a real, strong attachment whereas the female translator translates the second as of the phrase as often as with the expression *και που εμείς θέλουμε να τη μεταφράσουμε* (= and we want to translate it), thus opting for a more free translation that is indicative of the female translator's tendency to elaborate and further clarify things for the Greek target readership.

Similarly, in the following example, the male translator produces a translation that is more close to the ST whereas the female translator comes up with a more free translation as is evident below:

ST8 Elizabeth, feeling all the more than common awkwardness and anxiety of his situation, now forced herself to speak; and immediately, though not very fluently, gave him to understand that her sentiments had undergone so material a change, since the period to which he alluded, as to make her receive with gratitude and pleasure his present assurances. The happiness which this reply produced, was such as he had probably never felt before; and he expressed himself on the occasion as sensibly and as warmly as a man violently in love can be supposed to do. Had Elizabeth been able to encounter his eye, she might have seen how well the expression of heartfelt delight, diffused over his face, became him; but, though she could not look, she could listen, and he told her of feelings, which, in proving of what importance she was to him, made his affection every moment more valuable.

- FTT8 Η Ελίζαμπεθ τώρα νιώθοντας τη δύσκολη θέση του βίασε τον εαυτό της να μιλήσει, να μιλήσει αμέσως, και με πολύ απλά λόγια τον άφησε να καταλάβει πως τα αισθήματά της είχαν τόσο πολύ αλλάξει από την εποχή εκείνη, την ανέφερε, που η καινούργια ομολογία της αγάπης του, όχι μόνο την ευχαριστούσε, μα και τη δεχόταν με αισθήματα απέραντης ευγνωμοσύνης. Η ευτυχία που δοκίμασε ο σύντροφός της ακούγοντας αυτά τα λόγια, ήταν έξω από κάθε περιγραφή. Ίσως ποτέ του να μην είχε δοκιμάσει μια τέτοια συγκίνηση, και τη μίλησε όπως θα μιλούσε κάθε ερωτευμένος άνθρωπος σε μια τόσο υπέροχη στιγμή. Κι αν η Ελίζαμπεθ είχε το θάρρος να σηκώσει το βλέμμα της και να τον κοιτάξει στα μάτια, τότε θα έβλεπε πόσο ασύγκριτα ωραίος ήταν τώρα ο άνθρωπος, που μια μέρα θα γινόταν άνδρας της. Καινούργιο φως έφεγγε μέσα στα μάτια του. Μα δεν μπορούσε, δεν είχε το θάρρος να τον κοιτάξει, στεκόταν μόνο εκεί και τον άκουγε, τον άκουγε να μιλάει ενώ ένιωθε την αγάπη της μέσα να γιγαντώνει.
- MTT8 Η Ελίζαμπεθ, συναισθανόμενη την κάθε άλλο παρά συνηθισμένη αμηχανία και αγωνία του, πίεσε τώρα τον εαυτό της να μιλήσει και αμέσως, καίτοι όχι με μεγάλη ευφράδεια, του έδωσε να καταλάβει ότι τα αισθήματά της είχαν υποστεί, από την εποχή στην οποία αναφερόταν εκείνος, τόσο ουσιαστική αλλαγή, ώστε να δέχεται με ευγνωμοσύνη και χαρά την τωρινή του εξομολόγηση. Η ευτυχία που του προκάλεσε αυτή η απάντηση ήταν τόση, όση δεν είχε ίσως ξαναβιώσει ποτέ πριν. Άρχισε λοιπόν να εκφράζει τα αισθήματά του τόσο λογικά και θερμά, όσο θα μπορούσε κανείς να περιμένει από έναν τρελά ερωτευμένο άνδρα. Αν η Ελίζαμπεθ είχε το κουράγιο να τον κοιτάξει στα μάτια, θα έβλεπε πόσο του πήγαινε η έκφραση βαθιάς αγαλλίασης που είχε απλωθεί σ' ολόκληρο το πρόσωπό του. Καίτοι όμως δεν μπορούσε να τον κοιτάξει, τον άκουγε, και τον άκουγε να της μιλά για συναισθήματα που, αποδεικνύοντας πόσο σημαντική ήταν γι' αυτόν, έκαναν την αγάπη του κάθε στιγμή και πιο πολύτιμη.

On closer inspection of the abovementioned translation it could be argued that the male translator adopts a more formal style which is evident from the use of advanced vocabulary which consists of such words as *συναισθανόμενη* (= feeling that), *ευφράδεια* (= eloquence), *ευγνωμοσύνη* (= gratitude), *αγαλλίαση* (= relief) and *καίτοι* (= although, archaic use). On the other hand, the female translator uses more plain language and has a tendency for elaboration. For example, the phrase to encounter his eye is translated by the male translator as *να τον κοιτάξει στα μάτια* (= to look him in the eyes) while the female translator gives us a more detailed description by translating as *να σηκώσει το βλέμμα της και να τον κοιτάξει στα μάτια* (= to raise her eyes and look him in the eyes). Furthermore, a word-for-word translation is given by the male translator for the sentence Had Elizabeth been able to encounter his eye, she might have seen how well the expression of heartfelt delight, diffused over his face, became him whereas the more elaborate sentence *Κι αν η Ελίζαμπεθ είχε το θάρρος να σηκώσει το βλέμμα της και να τον κοιτάξει στα μάτια, τότε θα έβλεπε πόσο ασύγκριτα ωραίος ήταν τώρα ο άνθρωπος, που μια μέρα θα γινόταν άνδρας της.* (=And if Elizabeth had the courage to raise her eyes and look him in the eyes, then she would have seen how unequally beautiful was now the human being who one day would become her husband) is produced by the female translator. As far as word choices are concerned, it is worth noting that the noun man in the phrase a man violently in love is translated accurately by the male translator as *άνδρα* (= man) whereas a more abstract term such as *άνθρωπος* (= human being) is preferred by the female translator. The formality of style in the male translation is also evident in the below example:

- ST9 “We will not quarrel for the greater share of blame annexed to that evening, said Elizabeth. “The conduct of neither, if strictly examined, will be irreproachable; but since then, we have both, I hope, improved in civility. ”
 “I cannot be so easily reconciled to myself. The recollection of what I then said, of my conduct, my manners, my expressions during the whole of it, is now, and has been many months, inexpressibly painful to me. Your reproof, so well applied, I shall never forget: “had you behaved in a more gentleman-like manner. ”
- FTT9 *Θαρρώ* πως θα είναι δύσκολο να βρούμε ποιος από τους δυο μας έφταιξε πιο πολύ το βράδυ εκείνο, είπε η Ελίζαμπεθ. *Γιατί αν θελήσουμε αυστηρά να εξετάσουμε τη συμπεριφορά και των δυο μας, θα δούμε πως και οι δυο μας ήμασταν πιο φρικτοί.* Μα από τότε μου φαίνεται πως πολύ διορθωθήκαμε, γίναμε πολύ πιο ευγενικοί.
 Εγώ δεν μπορώ εύκολα να συγχωρέσω τον εαυτό μου, Γιατί, όταν αναλογίζομαι το πώς φέρθηκα και το πώς μίλησα, είναι κάτι που πραγματικά με πληγώνει μήνες και μήνες τώρα. Και οι τόσο πετυχημένες, τόσο δίκαιες άλλωστε κρίσεις σας, δεν θα σβήσουν ποτέ από τη θύμησή μου: *«Αν μου είχατε φερθεί μ’ έναν πιο καθώς πρέπει τρόπο».*
- MTT9 Δεν θα μαλώσουμε τώρα για το ποιος έφταιγε περισσότερο εκείνη τη βραδιά» είπε η Ελίζαμπεθ. *«Μια αυστηρή εξέταση θα έδειχνε ότι κανενός η συμπεριφορά δεν ήταν άψογη.* Ελπίζω όμως ότι από τότε έχουμε και οι δυο βελτιωθεί ως προς την ευγένεια». Δεν μπορώ να συμφιλιωθώ τόσο εύκολα με τον εαυτό μου. Η ανάμνηση των όσων τότε είπα, της συμπεριφοράς μου, των τρόπων μου, των εκφράσεών μου, καθ’ όλη τη διάρκεια της σκηνης, ήταν επί πολλούς μήνες και είναι ακόμη τώρα απερίγραπτα οδυνηρή για μένα. Δε θα ξεχάσω ποτέ την τόσο εύστοχη επίκρισή σας: *«Αν είχατε φερθεί ως πιο καθώς πρέπει κύριος...»*

The female translator in the beginning of her translation of the paragraph in question adds the particle *θαρρώ* (= I think, archaic use) to add to the discursive style of the paragraph. On the other hand, the male translator shows a preference for a more impersonal style which is evident by the translation of the following sentence The conduct of neither, if strictly examined, will be irreproachable as *μια αυστηρή εξέταση θα έδειχνε ότι κανενός η συμπεριφορά δεν ήταν άψογη* (= a strict examination would show that noone’s behaviour was flawless). On the other hand, the female translator uses the first person plural and produces the following translation *γιατί αν θελήσουμε αυστηρά να εξετάσουμε τη συμπεριφορά και των δυο μας, θα δούμε πως και οι δυο μας ήμασταν το ίδιο φρικτοί* (= because if we want to strictly examine the behaviour of both of us, we will see that both of us were equally terrible). In addition to that, the nouns conduct, manners and expressions are turned into first person verbs, namely, *φέρθηκα* (= I behaved), and *μίλησα* (= I spoke) that give a more emphatic and personalized tone in the translation done by Ninila Papagianni. Also, worthy of attention is the phrase had you behaved in a more gentlemanlike manner which was more accurately translated by the male translator as *αν είχατε φερθεί ως πιο καθώς πρέπει κύριος* (= if you had behaved as a true gentleman) whereas in the translation done by the female translator, that is, *αν μου είχατε φερθεί μ’ ένα πιο καθώς πρέπει τρόπο* (= if you had treated me in a more civilized way) emphasis is placed on manners rather than on people.

5. Discussion

Some general comments that can be made regarding the differences between the Greek male and female translation of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* firstly draw on the style adopted by each translator. More specifically, the female translator has the tendency to elaborate by using more detailed descriptions of emotions whereas the male translator opts for faithfulness to the source text and as a result produces a more word-for-word translation. Furthermore, the male translator shows a preference for the use of passive voice and formal vocabulary, whereas the female translator adopts a more relaxed, colloquial everyday language in her translation. This tendency for elaboration from the part of the female translator is evident by the number of pages her translated text consists of, namely, 483 pages, and the fact that at the end of her translation there is a critical analysis of the novel and a biographical note of the author. On the contrary, the male translator gives a one-page description of the novel and the author's style which serves as an introductory note before the translation of the actual novel begins. It should be mentioned that the critical analysis of the novel at the end of the female translation is not written by Ninila Papagianni but by the British literary critic Tony Tanner and has been translated by Vangelis Katsanis. However, the fact that it has been decided to add it at the end of the text reminds us of Françoise Massardier-Kenney's (1997) strategy of commentary. In more detail, through this critical analysis the multiple ways one can look at this novel are outlined by Tony Tanner who strives to reconcile the values of what was once a stable society with the changing milieu in which the concepts of love and marriage are redefined. Apart from the strategy of commentary, the female translator uses marked thematic structures (example 5) which serve to give prominence to the words of Elizabeth Bennet. Similarly, the use of hedges from the part of the female translator suggests a more discursive style of the target text. On the other hand, the use of passive voice and formal vocabulary from the part of the male translator give the impression that he values objectivity and distance more. In addition to that, the use of more abstract words from the female translator for the ST word 'man' (examples 2 and 8) imply a tendency to neutralize and make less sexist the target text. This does not seem to be the primary concern of the male translator who opts for a literal translation of the words pleasure (example 5) and elegant female (example 6), thus disregarding the sexual connotations these words have.

On a more general note, it seems that the female translator tries to portray the female characters of the novel in a more vivid and discursive way whereas the male translator seems more neutral and remains more 'faithful' to the ST. It could be argued that the female translator is more consciously manipulating the ST rather than simply translating in an effort to make the identities of the central feminine characters of the novel more transparent to the target readership. By foregrounding the female characters of the novel, the female translator could also be argued to foreground her own (translational) identity. As Asimakoulas (2012) observes "identity is a facet of habitus; it involves abilities, values and mental maps triggered by material, political or other opportunities available in a certain environment; as such it cuts through all levels of culture" (2012:50). According to him (2012:50), the process of identity is primarily an ideological issue since ideologically-loaded translation choices are inevitably affected by who translators are and how they deal with a particular (literary or not) text. Hence, the female translator acts as a mediating agent who gives us her own interpretation of the novel through her translation by not simply translating words but meanings. In this sense, it could be claimed that the female translator, as opposed to the male one, is a more conscious mediator and manipulator of the ST in question.

6. Conclusion

In this paper an attempt was made to shed light on differences in the translation strategies employed by a male and a female translator in the Greek rendering of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*. Some initial remarks that could be made is that the male translator tends to adopt a style of objectivity and distance. Conversely, the female translator seems to use more emotionally loaded expressions and tends to elaborate and sometimes overreport by producing more detailed target sentences. These tendencies could partly account for the differences between the male and the female translator in their use of lexis and style. Nevertheless, more research is

required in order to identify more robust gender-different patterns that dominate the English-Greek translation of novels.

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Predicative Modal Adjectives in Akan

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Abstract

Current research on other modal expression types, aside modal auxiliaries, has made it increasingly important to study the expression of modality and evidentiality by the use of adverbs and adjectives in many languages. Through descriptive and comparative analyses, the paper tries to answer two questions; whether Akan has modal adjectives; and how the notions in English epistemic modal adjectives or evidential adjectives are expressed in the language. There have been various studies on the morphology, syntax and semantics of adjectives *in Akan but there hasn't been any study as yet on the expression of modality or evidentiality by the use of predicative adjectives*. Analysis was possible through manually created corpus and fieldwork. It has been found in this study that, *despite the fact that there hasn't been any study on modal adjectives*, there are a few complement-taking-adjectives used to express epistemic modality and evidentiality in Akan discourse. Further findings indicate that some of the predicative adjectives used to express epistemic modality or evidentiality in English, are really coded or expressed with verbs in Akan. The implication of the method used and the findings will help researchers of other underdescribed languages to unearth vital results in their studies.

1. Introduction

Existing literature, over the decades, have focused on the functional use of modality in terms of their qualification of propositions. The use of modal auxiliaries to express these qualifications has received quite an attention. This issue, sometimes, leads some people to equate the study of modality to the study of modal auxiliaries only. In recent years however, writers have discussed the use of other modal expression types to show how other word classes (adverbs, adjectives, modal verbs and mental state predicates) are used to express propositional qualifications in languages. Among these writers are; (Nuyts 2001), Simon-Vandenberg et al (2007), Squartini (2008). The current paper is motivated by Nuyts (2001), by trying to describe, explore and discuss the expression of epistemic modality and evidentiality by the use of predicative adjectives in Akan discourse. (Akan is a Niger-Congo Kwa language, widely spoken by both natives and non-natives in Ghana, and part of Cote d'Ivoire). Although discussions here are basic, it points out how epistemic modal adjectives and evidential adjectives in English are rendered in Akan.

In studies of such nature, the type of data gaining grounds is the use of corpus. This is because the evasive nature of the subject can easily elude the researcher when he is only dependent on native speaker's intuition for examples and analyses. It is however unfortunate in Akan, and in most African languages in general, that no corpus exist for use. Data was therefore created manually from Akan literature made up of prose, poetry and drama. It must be mentioned here that, languages that have established corpus, cover all aspects of study or discipline. This is partly because in such languages, almost all subjects in their field of study are written in their own languages. In Akan, and in all other Ghanaian languages, all subjects are written and studied in English, except local language textbooks, literature books and a few religious literatures. It therefore becomes difficult to get written materials spanning a wide range of study and or discipline. The bulk of structures identified were found in drama books. This observation is not strange at all since such propositional qualifications often occur in dialogues and conversations. In addition to Akan books, drama books written in English by Akan speakers, with Akan settings were used. The motivation being that, in such books, one often finds constructions and expressions similar to the local language. Structures of interest were taken and transcribed based on the pragmatics and other background cues from the drama. Examples cited in existing journals and books were also used. Although not all the topics were on modality or evidentiality, some of the examples from these journals had modal expression types that were of interest to the study. Aside the manually created corpus from books, the researcher also included results from experiment, observation and questionnaire which were conducted on Akan speakers in Antwerp. The choice was imperative due to proximity and the fact that Antwerp is one of the Belgian cities with a good number of Akans. The experiment became necessary considering the somewhat skewed literature used. It also became important after considering comments received from colleagues at ACAL 43, University of Tulane-USA, where part of the study was presented.

The organization of the paper is as follows: In section 2, we review adjectives in line with morphology and syntax. In section 3, epistemic modal adjectives are discussed. Section 4 discusses this part of speech and its interplay with evidentials. The object of section 5 is how forms considered epistemic modal adjectives, or evidentials in English are rendered in Akan. The paper concludes on section 6 with comments.

2. The Morpho-Syntactic Features of Akan Adjective

Akan is among the languages that make extensive use of adjectives. This section discusses a few issues about the formation (morphology) and syntax of this word class, which will be relevant for the discussion. The morphology, syntax and semantics of adjectives, have been discussed to some extent in Akan and other languages. Some of the in-depth-study in adjectives in the languages of the world include the seminal work of Dixon (1977, 1982, 1999 and 2004). These works have shed a lot of light on this word class. His extensive study made him conclude that at least one adjective class can be identified in all languages of the world.

Based on these works and other studies in other languages, writers have made a lot of efforts to describe and discuss this word class in Akan. Specifically, works of interest to this study are those by some Akan writers mentioned below. Following Dixon (1982), Osam, E. K. (1999) classified Akan adjectives into some semantic classes. Osam, E. K. (2003), again did a comparative study of derived adjectives in Akan and Ewe, also a Kwa language spoken in Ghana. Pokuaa C, Osam, E. K. and Saah, K. K. (2005) further did a preliminary investigation into the sequencing of adjectives in Akan, so as to establish the most acceptable way of stringing adjectives together in a noun phrase. Amfo, N.A.A.; Boateng, S. A and Otoo, Y.A. (2005), also conducted a comparative investigation in Akan, Ga and Ewe in order to explore an adjectival typology in Ghanaian languages, based on earlier studies in the individual languages. Antwi-Danso (2010), also gave the morphological processes involved in adjectives and adverbs and showed their relationship to nouns and verbs.

There are both basic and derived adjectives. The basic adjectives include terms, for color; kɔkɔ (red), fitaa (white), tuntum (black), size; ketewa (small), tenten (long/tall), kɛsɛ (big/great) texture; trotro (slippery), dendɛn (hard) etc.

Some Akan adjectives are derived from verbs and nouns by the use of these affixes; [ɔ-/o-, a-/æ-, n-] and [-fo, -ni, -i/-I, -ii/-II]. There are others that do not use affixes, though. For purposes of clarity on some of the sections, it must be mentioned here that adverbs can be derived from adjectives but adjectives are not derived from adverbs.

Syntactically, Akan adjectives, unlike in English and Dutch, occur after the nouns they qualify when used attributively. The relationship between the noun and adjective can be likened to French. It must however be noted that, in French, the determiner or demonstrative comes before the noun, but in Akan, the determiner or demonstrative comes after the noun and adjective. For example;

1. Abeawa **fɛfɛ** no ni.
 girl beautiful DET this
 Here is the beautiful girl.
2. Nhoma **fitaa** yi yɛ me de.
 Book white DEM be mine
 This white book is mine.
3. Het **mooie** meisje speelt.
 DET beautiful girl plays
 The beautiful girl plays.
4. Un cahier **blanc** est manquant.
 DET book white is missing
 The white book is missing.

The structure of an adjective used predicatively is comparable with English, French and Dutch. Predicatively used adjectives occur after the copular 'ye' (to be), as exemplified below;

5. Apon no ye **kɔkɔɔ**.

table DET be red

The tables are red. (ENG)

De tafels zijn rood. (DUTCH)

Les tableaux sont rouges. (FR)

6. Abeawa yi ye **onihawfo**.

Girl DEM be lazy

This girl is lazy.

Anihaw (laziness) is a noun which has generated an adjective morphologically.

3. Epistemic Modal Adjectives

Due to its evasive nature, there has been a lot of ideas and definitions of modality. Lyons (1977:452) in defining what modality is says that 'it is the opinion or attitude of the speaker.'

Bybee (1985:165) explains that modality is a semantic –grammatical category expressed in English by the modal verbs. This explanation does not in any way mean that it is only through modal verbs that modality can be expressed.

As Givon 1993:74; 2001:92) indicates, epistemic modality conveys the speaker's attitude toward the truth, certainty or probability of the proposition.

Epistemic modality has been explained in Halliday (1970:349), as the speaker's assessment of probability and predictability. It is external to the content, being a part of the attitude taken up by the speaker: his attitude, in this case, towards his own speech role as 'declarer'.

Epistemics express the speaker's "degree of confidence about the truth of the proposition (based on the kind of information he/she has". Cingue (1999:87)

In his monograph which offers an in depth empirical investigation into the semantic domain of epistemic modality, Nuyts (2001:xv) sees epistemic modality as a speaker's evaluation of the likelihood of a state of affairs, as expressed in language. Nuyts (2001:21) again defines epistemic modality as "(the linguistic expression of) an evaluation of the chances that a certain hypothetical state of affairs under consideration (or some aspect of it) will occur, is occurring, or has occurred in a possible world which serves as the universe of interpretation for the evaluation process, and which, in the default case, is the real world (or rather, the evaluator's interpretation if it).

Very few forms have been identified as epistemic modal adjectives, according to our current data. To arrive at these forms, some activities were carried out. In a questionnaire, participants were asked to talk about a picture of a man who was

pushing a car in the middle of a heavy traffic. They were asked to say, suggest or guess what is/may be wrong with the car. In their responses, modal adverbs such as ‘ebia’(maybe), ‘gyama’(probably), ‘sesεε’(perhaps), etc came out. Since all the qualifications were adverbs, a scenario was created for them to give their evaluation. They were asked that if any of them was sent to the scene of the car and he is told what the actual problem is, how would he report it to another person. The answers gathered were; ‘εyε ampa sε’, ‘εyε nokware sε’ (It is true that). In a similar vein, a video of two cyclists who finished up their race almost at the same time was shown to participants to describe. They used structures such as ‘wobεka sε...’ (you may say...), ‘wohwε a...’(it seems...). The same clip was played in a slow motion to the participants. They then provided structures such as ‘εyε pefee sε...’(it is clear that...), which are adjectives. For example;

7. ε-yε **nokware** sε ɔ̌-boroo abofra no.
 it be **true** that 3sg-beat-COMPL child DET
 It is true that he beat the child.

8. ε-yε **ampa** sε wɔ̌n nyinaa a-ba.
 It-be true that they all PERF-come
 It is true that all of them have come.

9. Wɔ̌n nyinaa aba **ampa**.
 They all PERF-come true
 It is true that they have all come.

Both **nokware** and **ampa** mean ‘true’. When a speaker uses any of them, it shows strong commitment to the truth-value of the proposition. These two forms can be used as epistemic modal adverbs as well. Their meanings in both environments are similar, if not the same. For example;

10. **Nokware** wɔ̌n nyinaa a-ba.

True 3pl all PERF-come
 All of them have truly come.

11. Wɔ̌n nyinaa a-ba **ampa**.

3pl all PERF-come true
 All of them have truly come.

12. **Ampa** wɔ̌n nyinaa a-ba.

True 3pl all PERF-come
 All of them have truly come.

This derivation is not segmental, but the syntax of the items show that they are adverbs.

4. Expression of Evidentiality by Adjectives

Evidentiality as a category in linguistics; has not at all being studied in the language. Agyekum, K (2002), discussed the use of the interpretive marker ‘Sε’ in Akan and briefly mentioned its syntax with Akan ‘hearsay’. In the paper, he described how evidential markers occurring in an upper clause is linked to the proposition in a subordinate clause by ‘sε’. He mentioned how a speaker’s source of information can contribute to the authenticity or otherwise of his utterance.

Aikhenvald (2003: 1) explains; “Evidentiality proper is understood as stating the existence of a source of evidence for some information; that included stating that there is some evidence, and also specifying what type of evidence there is.”

In trying to differentiate between epistemic and evidentiality, de Haan (2005:380) points out that; “Evidentiality asserts the evidence, while epistemic modality evaluates the evidence.”

Aikhenvald (2004:7) also supports the distinctions between evidentiality and epistemic modality. He indicates that; “Evidentiality is a category in its own right, and not a subcategory of any modality.”

Akans value sources of information to judge the authenticity or otherwise of utterances. They therefore, often use evidentials to make claims or speculations. One evidential adjective found in our current is **pefee** (clear, evident).

13. ε-yε **pefee** sε ɔno na odii kan.

It-be clear that he that 3sg-COMPL-be first

It is clear that he was first.

This expression is often used when every doubt about a state of affairs has been cleared by existing evidence. The use of this item does not express epistemic modality. It only serves as the basis or source of information to make the complement part of the clause reasonable and more authentic. The inherent meaning of ‘pefee’ makes it stronger to make bold claims or assertions in an issue, rather than just speculating.

It is therefore not often possible to say:

14. εyε **pefee** sε **ebia** ɔno na odii kan.

It-be clear that maybe he that 3sg-COMPL-be first

It is clear that maybe he was first.

This item is also used as a modal adverb in the language. For example;

15. Mi-hu-u no **pefee**

1sg-see-COMPL DET clear

I saw him clearly.

5. Some English Epistemic and Evidential Adjectives and how they are Realized in Akan

One of the difficult issues encountered when collecting data on forms believed to be epistemic modal adverb or adjective on one hand and evidential adverb and adjective on the other was that there were not many forms found in Akan. There was a vast difference between the amount of forms in English and those in Akan. The task then was to find out how Akans express those ideas found in English. Series of activities, including translation of utterances containing those forms, were carried out. Analysis of the activities revealed that although most structures exist in English but not in Akan, Akan uses different word class or structures to express the idea. Whereas English and other languages like Dutch, French etc., use adjectives and adverbs to express the notion under consideration, Akan turns to use clauses to express the same notion. Further analysis of these forms suggested that these English adjectives and or adverbs are derived from verbs.

Some of the English examples include;

16. It **seems** he is in his office.

Wo-hwε a ɔwɔ ne ɔfese.

2sg-look (when) 3sg-be his office

When you look, he is in his office (literal translation)

17. I am **sure** the government built this bridge.

Mi-gye di sε aban na ɔ-yεε twene yi.

1sg-believe that government that 3sg-do bridge DEM

I believe that the government built this bridge.

(literal translation)

18. It is **possible** that they have run out of fuel.

Ebetumi aba sε wɔn fango asa.

It-FUT-can come that they fuel finished

It can be that their fuel is finished. (literal translation)

The adverb counterparts of the same sentences were also translated with the same basic meaning of the item in question;

19. They have **possibly** run out of fuel.

E-be-tumi aba sε wɔn fuel asa.

It-FUT-can come that they fuel finished

It can be that their fuel is finished. (literal translation)

The same sentences were translated into Ga, also a Kwa language in Ghana. The results were not different from those in Akan. In Ga the verb counterparts of those adverbs and adjectives were used. For example;

20. It is **possible** that they have run out of fuel.

Ebanyε eba mli ake ame fuel eta.

It-FUT-can come in that their fuel finish

One important and or most frequently used phrase in Akan, Ga and most of the Ghanaian languages to indicate evidence of hearsay or reported speech is ‘wose’, ‘yese’(Akan) akɛɛ (Ga). It is alleged that/allegedly. Speakers use this expression to back their claims or speculations. It is always based on what the speaker has heard from which ever source. For example;

21. It is alleged that she poisoned her rival.

Allegedly, she poisoned her rival.

Wo-se ɔde adubɔne kum ne kora.

3pl-say 3sg-use poison kill her rival

They say she poisoned her rival. (literal translation)

22. It is **alleged** that she **probably** poisoned her rival.

Allegedly she **probably** poisoned her rival.

Wose ebia ɔde aduru kum ne kora no.

It is alleged/allegedly are adverb and adjectives in English. However, it is represented as a clause in Akan.

23. It is **evident** that he stole the things.

Evidently, he stole the things.

Biribiara kyere se ɔno na o-wia-a ade no.

everything show that 3SG that 3SG-steal-COMPL thing DET

Other forms were;

24. It is presumable that when he studies hard enough he will pass his exams.

Ye-fa no se osua ade yiye a obedi nkonim wɔ sɔhwɛ no mu.

3pl-take it that 2sg-study well 3sg-FUT-pass in exams DET in

We take it that when he studies hard enough he will pass his exams.(lit.)

25. It is apparent that our party will win.

Wo-hwe a yen party na ebedi kan/ɛye pefee se yen party na ebedi kan

when 2sg-look our party that 3sg-FUT-win

6. Conclusion

The paper has thus far discussed and established the use of adjectives to express epistemic modality and evidentiality in Akan, to complement researches in other languages, for example, English and Dutch. It has been noted in the morphology

that some adverbs can be derived from adjectives but adjectives are not derived from adverbs. The implication therefore is that, there are only a few basic adjectives that express epistemic and evidentials in the language. This issue also supports the view that modal adverbs are comparatively, often used in utterances more than adjectives. (A detailed discussion on 'Modal adverbs and Modal adjectives' by the writer, to appear, explains the relationship better).

The notion in some English epistemic modal adjectives on one hand and evidential adjective on the other, have been found to be expressed in Akan by verbs. These forms have been identified as those whose basic morphemes are verbs. Akans use the original form of the word or a descriptive form to express the said notion.

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Is Reconstruction a Diagnostic for Movement in Restrictive Relative Clauses?

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Abstract

It has been widely assumed in the literature on restrictive relative clauses that reconstruction (a situation where some element X behaves as if it were c-commanded by some other element Y even though it is not c-commanded by Y on the surface) is a diagnostic for movement. This is assumed to provide evidence for a head-raising analysis. For example, in 'the picture of himself that John painted', 'himself' is co-referential with 'John' even though 'John' does not c-command it. This is assumed to provide evidence that 'picture of himself' has moved from the object position of '*painted*'.

In this paper, I provide evidence of various kinds against the claim that reconstruction involves movement. This is further supported by examples from another language; Arabic

I also provide an argument against the very idea of head raising; if the head raising analysis is untenable, then relative clauses provide a further example of where movement cannot account for reconstruction facts

1. Introduction

In this paper I present evidence against the idea of head-raising in restrictive relative clauses (RRC). There are examples such as 'The picture of himself in Newsweek dominated John's thoughts' (Pollard and Sag, 1994: 279) where a reflexive 'himself' is not c-commanded by its antecedent 'John' at any level of representation. I will also provide evidence against the claim that reconstruction (the phenomenon where some element X behaves as if it were c-commanded by some other element Y even though it is not c-commanded by Y on the surface) involves movement. If the head raising analysis is untenable, then RRCs provide a further example of where movement cannot account for reconstruction. This is further supported by examples from another language; Arabic.

The paper is organised into 4 parts. Section 2 explains what head-raising is and shows one of the arguments against it. In section 3, I present a definition of reconstruction and then some arguments that reconstruction is a diagnostic for movement of the crucial element in English and Arabic and the argument that refute this assumption. In section 4 I conclude the discussion with a brief summary of the main points used in this paper.

2. What is head raising?

Some (see Kayne (1994) and Bianchi (2000)) argue that in RRCs the antecedent originates within the RRC and is moved to its superficial position. Different proposals were presented for the structure of RRCs under the raising analysis. These share

major assumptions, that there is a single movement¹ in non-wh-relatives from within the CP to Spec CP:

1. The book that I read

[_{DP} the [_{CP} that I read book]] ⇒
[_{DP} the [_{CP} book that I read]]

And two movements in wh-relatives: one movement of the wh-phrase from IP and then movement of the NP complement of the wh-element:

2. The book which I read

[_{DP} the [_{CP} [I read which book]]] ⇒
[_{DP} the [_{CP} [which book I read]]] ⇒
[_{DP} the [_{CP} [book which I read]]]

The preceding proposals assume that the head-raising analysis is right for both wh-relatives and non-wh-relatives. However, a different proposal was advanced by Aoun and Li (A&L) (2003). The spirit of their proposal is that there is a difference in the derivation of that-relatives and wh-relatives, only non-wh-relatives involve movement of the antecedent, whereas in wh-relatives the antecedent originates in its superficial position. A&L assume that the head-raising analysis for that-RRCs can explain certain phenomena; reconstruction. This I will explain in more detail in section 3.1.

The head-raising analysis has received various criticisms. Borsley (1997) and (2001), for example, highlighted some problems, one of which involves Case. He pointed out that one expects a constituent that has undergone A'-movement to have the case of the position from which it has moved. The raising analysis has, thus, to explain why it does not. In (3) the constituent ball originates as the object of the verb bought, and thus, has the accusative case. But then it moves to a position which has a nominative case. There is going to be a clash of cases.

3. The ball that my brother bought__ is here.

What Borsley is suggesting here is that there must exist a mechanism to prevent the moved element from inheriting case from its trace in RRCs.

Another example which shows the case clash between the extraction site and the landing site is from standard Arabic. In (4) [the man] is nominative and not accusative although it has supposedly come from object position:

4. raʔait-o rrjula llaði yaʕrifu l-jawaba.

saw-I the-man_{Accu} that_{Nom} know the-answer
I saw the man that knows the answer.

3. What is reconstruction?

¹ There are different views as to the nature of the moved element: Kayne (1994) argues that it is an NP, whereas Bianchi (2000) argues (following Borsley (1997)) that it is a DP.

As mentioned in the previous section reconstruction is sometimes used to argue for head-raising. So what is reconstruction? As noted above, reconstruction can be defined as the phenomenon where some element X behaves as if it were c-commanded by some other element Y even though it is not c-commanded by Y on the surface.

5. The portrait of himself that John painted is extremely flattering (Schachter 1973 cited in A&L, 2003: 98).

In (5), himself is coreferential with John even though John does not c-command it.

Evidence for reconstruction interpretations is adduced from binding conditions: Condition A, B and C, bound pronoun anaphora, and scope interpretations all of which are widely assumed to involve c-command. This is assumed to provide evidence for a head-raising analysis. Chomsky (1993), among others, argued that reconstruction is a property of chains, and therefore it occurs when an element has moved; some argue as in Kayne (1994) and Bianchi (2000) discussed above that in RRCs it is the antecedent that is moved and this is supported by the possible reconstruction readings, while others argue that reconstruction may arise even though no movement of the antecedent is involved as we shall see in (3.4).

3.1 Arguments for reconstruction as a diagnostic for movement of the head in English RRCs

In what follows I present some of the arguments that are used to support the idea that reconstruction interpretations involve movement of the crucial element.

As noted above, Aoun and Li (2003) assume that the antecedent in that-RRCs is raised to sentence initial position. Their evidence for this is based on the following arguments:

Condition A: It is assumed that a reflexive anaphor needs to be c-commanded by a local antecedent, but in relative constructions it does not. In (5) repeated here as (6) Portrait of himself is on the surface structure not c-commanded by an antecedent, but this expression could be thought of as originating in a position after painted inside the RRC, thus, showing a reconstruction effect.

6. The portrait of himself that John painted is extremely flattering.

Under the head-raising analysis, the RRC would derive from the following structure:

7. [_{DP} the [_{CP} that John painted [portrait of himself]]]

Bound pronoun anaphora: A pronoun with a quantified antecedent must be c-commanded by that antecedent. In (8), however, the pronoun in the head nominal refers to a noun within the RC:

8. The picture of his mother that every student liked best was an old black and white (A&L, 2003: 99)

Under the head-raising analysis, the RRC would derive from the structure (9):

9. [DP the [DP that every student liked [picture of his mother] best]]

Apparently, his is not c-commanded by an antecedent, but one can assume that picture of his mother originates below every student and is c-commanded by it. Thus, his could be said to refer to every student.

Scope interpretation: A&L presented examples illustrating scope interaction to show the availability of reconstruction whereby a head nominal can be interpreted as being within the scope of another quantifier within RRC. The 'narrow scope' interpretation can be given to cases where there is a definite article in RRCs having narrow scope over the quantifier inside the RC, e.g.

10. 100 students were graduating and each student was to bring two guests to the ceremony. Unfortunately, the ceremony was cancelled because of illness. The departmental secretary had to phone the two people that every student had invited to tell them of the cancellation.

This would involve the following structure on a head-raising analysis:

11. [DP the [CP that every student had invited [two people]]]

The meaning of the RRC can be that the secretary phoned two hundred people i.e. there can be twice as many people as students. This interpretation is possible if we assume that two people originates in object position after invited and then get raised to its position in the PF. The relativised nominal two people c-commands every student, and it can be interpreted as having narrow scope with respect to the quantifier phrase every student in the RRC.

Idiom chunks: A&L also argued that idioms are usually introduced as one unit, but in relative constructions part of the idiom can occur as the head of the RRC, while the other part appears inside the RRC indicating that there is head raising:

12. The strings [that Pat pulled] got Chris the job (Nunberg, Sag and Wasow, 1994: 510).

(12) would have the structure in (13) on a head-raising analysis:

13. [DP the [CP that Pat pulled [strings] got Chris the job]]

The effect of the presence of a wh-word vs. that-relatives (or zero relatives on reconstruction possibilities: A&L claim that reconstruction facts are evident in non-wh-relatives but not in the wh-relatives. Under their account, reconstruction is supposed to be possible in (14a), but in (14b) it is not:

14. a The picture of himself [(that) John painted ...] in art class is impressive.
b *? The picture of himself [which John painted ...] in art class is impressive.

A&L argue that wh-relatives² don't have head-raising because the man who I met, the day when I left, and the place where I live require the implausible constituents who man, when day, and where place³.

The above-mentioned facts apparently assume that some constituents are moved from the lower position to the Spec CP position leaving behind a copy which can be interpreted appropriately at LF.

3.2 Arguments against reconstruction as a diagnostic for movement of the head in English RRCs

The evidence A&L present from reconstruction effects is defective in various respects:

Condition A: There is evidence from examples like the following discussed in Pollard and Sag (1994: 279) that some reflexives do not have a c-commanding antecedent at any level of representation:

- 15 a The picture of himself in Newsweek dominated John's thoughts.
- b The picture of himself in Newsweek made John's day.
- c The picture of himself in Newsweek shattered the peace of mind that John had spent the last six months trying to restore.

In the first sentence The picture of himself in Newsweek is the subject and *John's* thoughts is the object, The picture of himself in Newsweek cannot originate inside the object. The same situation holds for The picture of himself in the second sentence. In the third John is inside a relative clause modifying piece of mind, but picture of himself in Newsweek does not start inside this relative clause meaning that it is not c-commanded by John. This kind of reflexives can be subsumed under 'exempt anaphors' (Pollard and Sag, 1994) (These do not have to be c-commanded by their antecedent).

Bound pronouns: Some pronouns have a quantified antecedent which does not c-command it at any level of syntax as in (16):

- 16. His X-box is every boy's favourite toy (Borsley, personal communication).

² For A&L wh-relatives like the girl who I hate involve the following structure:

[DP [D girl [ForceP [NP girl [TopP [DP who_i [IP I hate t_{DPi}]]]]]]]

For them these structures do not involve head-raising.

³ For A&L words like who/when/where are by themselves XPs as they can occur in XP positions without any NPs as complements, in other words, whereas one finds which NP in wh-interrogatives one does not find any of these combinations anywhere else: * when time. In other words, it might be plausible to suppose that the book which I read involves movement of which book, it is less plausible to suppose that the man who I met involves movement of who man, the reason why I left movement of why reason, the place where I lived movement of where place and the time when I left movement of when time. A second reason is that in the same way that the apple which I ate is generated whereby the NP apple has moved from the spec of DP occupying the Spec of Topic position to the Spec of Force, we should be able to derive a sentence like the teacher which I like, but this is not acceptable because which cannot occur with animate NPs. Similarly, we cannot generate the otherwise unacceptable [who teacher].

Even if (16) were derived from (17), c-command does not apply as shown by (17):

17. Every boy's favourite toy is his X-box.

Scope interpretation: Scope interaction as dealt with by A&L involves the idea that a head nominal can be within the scope of another quantifier within the RRC, and it c-commands it. However, here is an example which suggests that a universal quantifier sometimes has scope over an existential quantifier which it does not c-command in the syntax:

18. An X-box is every boy's favourite toy (Borsley, personal communication).

Every boy has scope over an X-box suggesting that there can be as many X-boxes as boys. This is because X-box is not referring to a single X-box. This interpretation is possible even though every boy does not c-command at any syntactic level an X-box as every boy is inside the DP *every boy's favourite toy*.

Someone might propose that (18) derives from the following:

19. Every boy's favourite toy is an X-box.

Again every boy does not c-command an X-box, as shown by the ungrammaticality of the following:

20. *Every boy's mother likes himself.

Idiom chunks: A&L claim that the behaviour of idiom chunks shows that they must involve raising. However, it seems that idioms do not make a distinction between the two approaches in question (raising and operator movement) in the sense that there are some arguments which deny any syntactic involvement in idiomaticity. One of these arguments is that of Nunberg, Sag and Wasow (1994)⁴, for them phrasal idioms are 'semantically compositional', and the very idea of idiomaticity is 'fundamentally semantic in nature' (491):

21. Pat pulled the strings [that got Chris the job]. (Nunberg, Sag and Wasow, 1994: 510).

This would involve the following structure on a head-raising analysis:

22. [_{DP} the [_{CP} that [strings] got Chris the job]]

If we assume that the head nominal raises out of the RRC, this might work to explain why (12) may be interpreted idiomatically, but then (21) should not allow an idiomatic interpretation, as the strings is in the RRC at the underlying structure, while pull is in the upper clause. What this means is that idioms are not always introduced as one unit, the fact that renders A&L's evidence weak.

⁴ This argument came originally from McCowley (1981) as they note.

The effect of the presence of a *wh*-word vs. *that*-relatives (or no overt complementizer) on reconstruction possibilities (whether in idioms, reflexives, bound pronouns, scope interpretation) is quite questionable. This is not robust evidence for distinguishing two kinds of RRC formation. In fact, a few native speakers of English were asked whether they make any distinction in meaning between *that*-relatives and *wh*-relatives, and their answers were that they do not. Thus, A&L's argument that *wh*-relatives don't have head-raising provides further evidence that there can be reconstruction without movement.

Reconstruction is possible even when no movement is involved: Both *wh*-relatives and *that*-relatives show this if the relevant examples are in fact grammatical, contrary to A&L. Aoun and Choueiri's (1996) discussion of the following example suggests that there may be reconstruction where the crucial constituent has not been moved:

23. His last poem is what every Englishman prefers (Aoun & Choueiri: 16).

Here *what* presumably originates as object of *prefer*. If so, his last poem cannot originate there⁵. Aoun and Choueiri comment that '[A]lthough the c-command requirement on bound pronouns fails to apply in (23), the pronoun *his* can still be bound by the QP *every Englishman*. In (21), the DP *his last poem* is coindexed with the relative clause via predication. *What*, which bears the same index as *his last poem*, can be interpreted as a 'copy' of this DP. Informally, at LF, *his last poem*, *what*, and the trace of *what* within the relative clause, form an extended chain. Hence, the availability of the bound pronoun reading in (23)' (p.16)

If coindexing can account for reconstruction effects then reconstruction does not provide any support of a raising analysis. Moreover, if coindexing can account for reconstruction here then there is no reason why it shouldn't do it elsewhere.

3.3 Arguments for reconstruction as a diagnostic for movement of the head in Arabic RRCs

Reconstruction interpretations were also used as a diagnostic for movement of the crucial element in some analyses of some Arabic dialects. Here is a presentation of some of these arguments:

In their discussion of clitic left dislocated constructions (CLLD) in Lebanese Arabic, Aoun and Benmamoun (1998) Aoun, Choueiri and Hornstein (2001) and Aoun, Benmamoun and Choueiri (2010) claim that there are reconstruction effects only where the CLLD element is generated by movement and when the resumptive is not separated from its antecedent by an island. The CLLDed construction would have the representation in (24) where there is movement:

24. CLLDed-NP_i... t_i-X + Clitic

An example of (24) is (25):

25. *tālmiiz*-[a]_i *l-kāsleen* ma baddna nḡabbir [wala mḡallme]_i ʔanno l-mudiira
 student-her the-bad NEG want.1P tell.1P no teacher that the-principal.SF

⁵ This is a pseudo-cleft, for further discussion see Heycock and Kroch (1999).

ʃaħaṭəṭ-o mn l-madrəse
 expelled.3_{SF}-him from the-school
 Her bad student, we don't want to tell any teacher that the principle expelled him
 from school (2001: 392).

The interpretation of (25) is that each teacher has this/her own bad student. There is a pronoun in the topic *təlmīiz-a l-kəsleen* [her bad student] whose antecedent is a QP *wala mʃallme* [no teacher], the pronoun is not c-commanded on the surface by the QP. The constituent containing the pronoun *təlmīiz-a l-kəsleen* [her bad student] is claimed to have originated in a position that is c-commanded by the QP as there is no island separating them.

This is unlike in (26) where the bound pronoun in *təlmīiz-a* [her student] is separated from its antecedent QP *wala mʃallme* [no teacher] by an island; a reconstruction interpretation would require movement out of an island, thus results in the unacceptability of (24):

26. **təlmīiz*-[a]_i *l-kəsleen* ma badkun tʃabbro [wala mʃallme]_i ʃan l-bənt yalli
 student-her the-bad NEG want.2_P tell.2_P no teacher about the-girl that
 seeʃadət-o b-l-faħs
 helped.3_{SF}-him in-the-exam
 Her bad student, you don't want to tell any teacher about the girl that helped him
 on the exam. (2001: 393)

In his discussion of Damascene Arabic, Darrow (2003) assumes that what is raised is an NP and that a D⁶, which may be phonologically empty, is left behind. His main argument for head-raising comes from reconstruction effects involving variable binding and condition C effects on binding. Darrow argues that under the head raising analysis, conditions for variable binding are satisfied:

27. [[əṭṭaħʔii? ʃaleyū pro₁]₂ illi [wala ʔaalib]₁ maa-ħabbu pro₂]
 QP subject, DEF.investigation of.3_{MS} C no student NEG-liked.3_{MS} relativised object
 The investigation of him that no student liked ... (63)

(27) has the following structure in (28)

28. [DP_(definite) [... pronoun₁ ...]₂ [C QNP₁ ...pro₂]]

In (27) *əṭṭaħʔii?* *ʃaleyū* [investigation of him] originates in the gap position (complement position to the resumptive pro) which is c-commanded by *wala ʔaalib* [no student]. According to Darrow, that is why [no student] behaves as the antecedent for him. In other words, the variable-binding of pro₁ is available with a RRC containing a gap in object position, and QNP subject *wala ʔaalib* [no student]. This is not the case in (29) where the gap before the verb *zaʔaal* [upset], which is in subject position, is not c-commanded by the QNP in the antecedent, hence the ungrammaticality of (29):

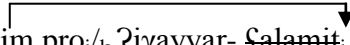
⁶ Under Darrow's analysis, when D is overt it is a resumptive pronoun.

33. [ʔalib-[ha]_i l-kassul]_j l-mudiira ziʕlat laʔannuh [kul mʕalmih]_i šafat-uh_j/-
 student-her the-bad the-principle upset.3_{SF} because every teacher saw.3_{SF}-
 CL/CL -hu_j ʔaš bi-li-mtiħan
 he cheated.3_{SM} in-the-exam
 Her bad student, the principle got upset because every teacher saw him cheating in
 the exam (91).
34. [ʔalib-[ha]_i l-kassul]_j ma bad-ku tisʔalu [wala mʕalmih]_i layš l-mudiira
 student-her the-bad Neg. want2_P. ask no teacher why the-principal
 kahšat-uh_j /-uh hu_j mn l-madrased
 expelled.3_{SF}-CL/-CL he from the-school
 Her bad student, you do not want to ask any teacher why the principal expelled
 him from school (92).

Also Malkawi and Guilliot, unlike ACH, argue that there can be no reconstruction interpretation when there is no island intervening between the topic and the resumptive. In (35), for example, there is a copy of the antecedent *ʕalamit kariim* [note Karim] in the c-command domain of the subject *pro*. There is a co-reference between Karim and *pro*. Malkawi and Guilliot argue that ‘the absence of reconstruction with Condition C, when no island intervenes, contradicts ACH’s analysis of apparent resumption’ (93). (Apparent resumption is when there is movement involved of the topic)

35. [ʕalamit_j kariim_i], lazim *pro*_{i/k} ʔiyayyar-ha_j
 Note Karim must he change-it
 The note of Karim, he must change (it) (92)

(35) has the structure in (36):

36. [ʕalamit_j kariim_i] lazim *pro*_{i/k} ʔiyayyar- ~~ʕalamit_j kariim_i~~ ha_j
 Note Karim must he change Note Karim it
- 

In an earlier paper, Aoun and Choueiri (1996) assume that co-indexing is sufficient to account for reconstruction. In particular, when there is no island to separate the antecedent from the resumptive pronoun, a *pro* moves from inside the relative clause (*pro* originates as a specifier of the clitic) to a position in front of *yalli* [that]. A reconstruction reading is possible. A&C claim that coindexing between the head and *pro* induces variable binding. They are committed to the position that reconstruction does not entail that the head has moved. For example, in (37) the head *ssuura tabaa telmiiz-a* [the picture of her student] is coindexed with *pro* (in Spec CP) and hence with the copy of *pro* in object position and therefore the head behaves as if it were in object position allowing *kell mallmee* to bind *telmiiz-a*.

37. Shefna [ssuura tabaa telmiiz-[a]] yalli [kell mallmee] ʔaalit ʔenno *pro*
 Saw.1_P [the-picture of student.m-her] that every teacher said.3_{SF} that
 baddo yaalle?-[a]
 want.3_{SM} hang.3_{SM}-it

We saw the picture of her student that every teacher said that he wants to hang it (15).

In addition to the above mentioned arguments, the same arguments that were used to argue against reconstruction as evidence for movement in English hold true in Arabic as well:

Bound pronoun anaphora: in (38) the pronoun *tabʕit-a* [hers] has a quantified antecedent *kəl bint* [every girl] which does not c-command it at any level of syntax:

38. l-Barbi tabʕit-a hii ləʕbi kəl bint l-mufaɖɖali
the-Barbi hers she toy every girl the-favourite
Her Barbi is every girl's favourite toy.

Scope interpretation: in (39) every girl has scope over reading romantic stories, but it doesn't c-command it at any level suggesting that there can be as many readings as girls. This is because reading romantic stories is not referring to a single reading. This interpretation is possible even though every girl does not c-command reading romantic stories as every girl is inside the DP *every girl's favourite hobby*.

39. Qira:ʕət qəʕəʕ romancii hii hiwayit kəl bint l-mufaɖɖali
reading stories romantic she hobby every girl the favourite
Reading romantic stories is every girl's favourite hobby.

Idiom chunks: If we assume that the head nominal raises out of the relative clause, this might work to explain why (b) may be interpreted idiomatically, but then (a) should not allow an idiomatic interpretation, as the *l-bəryi* 'the-screw' is in the relative clause at the underlying structure, while *ʕak-o* 'broke' is in the upper clause. What this means is that idioms are not always introduced as one unit.

- 40 a modar ʕak l-bəryi yalli kharrab d-dənya
Modar broke the-screw that ruined the-world
Modar did the devilish thing that caused a big damage.

- b l-bəryi yalli ʕak-o mudar kharrab d-dənya
the-screw that broke-it mudar ruined the world.
The devilish thing that Mudar did caused a big damage.

Co-indexation: the English translation of example (23) also provide evidence that co-indexation can account for reconstruction: his last poem, what, and the trace of what within the relative clause co-index and form an extended chain. Hence, the availability of the bound pronoun reading:

41. kaʕitt-o l-ʔkhi:ra hii l-kaʕidi yalli kəl rajul ingli:zi bifaɖɖl-a
poem-his the-last she the-poem that every man English prefer-it
His last poem is what every Englishman prefers

The arguments presented here show that reconstruction readings in Arabic can also be accounted for without assuming movement of the crucial element.

4. Conclusion

In this paper I have tried to show that there is no clear evidence that reconstruction involves movement. I provided evidence where Condition A, B, and C are fulfilled even when the crucial element has not moved. Also I showed that idiom chunks do not have to be introduced as one unit. All these facts cast doubt on the plausibility of the head-raising analysis.

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Immigrants and Language Rights in the Czech Republic and Poland

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Abstract

This paper investigates the policy of granting linguistic rights to immigrant communities in the Czech Republic and in Poland. It is based on an interdisciplinary research project combining linguistics and law and designed as a case study of Vietnamese and Ukrainian communities. The methods employed are analysis of policy documents and of semi-structured qualitative interviews.

The paper focuses on those linguistic rights regulating dissemination and reception of information in minority languages and state support for minority cultures. Core pieces of legislation are analyzed with primary focus on the definition of minority and the implications of the wording of the definition on the position of immigrants. Interviews with minority leaders are analyzed to assess their views on such language legislation.

Vietnamese and Ukrainian communities in both countries were chosen for the case study because they are similar in size, their history in the host countries and other criteria. Ukrainians and their language are supported more by the host states than the Vietnamese. The reason could be discrimination against the Vietnamese or their lack of interest in state involvement.

The research reveals that the definitions in the Czech and Polish national law are imprecise and applied inconsistently. There is a dialectical relationship between the language of policy documents and the perception of immigrants by the majority and their self-perception. Similarly, the relation between cultural activity of immigrant communities and the state support for such activity is dialectical.

1 Introduction

Linguistic rights play an important role in social life. They regulate the use of languages on a public and private level and mediate possible conflicts between languages. Such conflicts can be created by the existence of multiethnic states, the processes of internationalization and globalization, the long-term presence of minorities within national states, and by immigration. In this paper, linguistic rights are discussed in connection to their function in minority protection. In particular, the distinction between linguistic rights granted to “autochthonous” minorities and immigrants is assessed. The term “autochthonous minorities” is highly problematic. In this paper, it is used in accordance with the national law of the two countries that I focus on (Czech Republic and Poland).

The paper investigates the following research question: Why are there differences in state treatment of the languages of similar immigrant communities? My methods are document analysis and the analysis of semi-structured qualitative interviews. I analyse written documents which give account of the practical treatment of immigrant communities and of the national and international legal arrangements in the field of language rights for immigrants. I

carry out semi-structured interviews, through which I can discover the attitudes of community leaders on the above-mentioned issues.

2 The problem of definition

2.1 Definitions in the international law

The language rights of immigrants do not hold the same status as the language rights of minorities living in a territory of a state more traditionally. There are theoretical disagreements between legal scholars and political theorists about the extent to which (if at all) language rights of immigrants should be promoted. The ambiguous status of immigrants within minority rights is enhanced by their uncertain position within the numerous possible definitions of minorities.

There is no generally accepted binding definition of a “minority”, “national minority” or “linguistic minority” in legal theory or in sociolinguistics. The lack of definition of “minority” has been commented on by numerous scholars. Malcolm Shaw (1990) notes that “international law has thus far provided us with no accepted and binding definition of a minority”¹. Francesco Capotorti (1977), a former UN Special Rapporteur on the rights of ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities mentions that “[d]espite the many references to be found in international legal instruments of all kinds [...], there is no generally accepted definition of the term ‘minority’”². Additionally, John Packer, a former Director of the Office of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities (1993), resumes that “the problem of definition has troubled scholars so long that many have preferred simply to ignore it, bypass it or boldly argue it is necessary to define the term”³. In short, the problem of defining a minority is still looking for a solution.

2.2 Definitions in sociolinguistics

Similarly to legal studies, sociolinguistic studies dealing with minority linguistic rights must ask the question of who are the bearers of those rights. Sociolinguistic definitions differ from legal definitions by putting stress directly on minority languages rather than on their speakers and by emphasizing the danger of extinction of minority languages.

Additionally, sociolinguistic definitions focus on the importance of language in constituting national or minority identity. Stephen May (2008) emphasizes ethnic and national identity as an indispensable constituent of the term “minority” and notes that language is one of the salient features of such identity.⁴ Similarly, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) mentions that mother tongue constitutes national identity and additionally functions as its symbol⁵ and Robert Phillipson (1992) gives evidence that the significance of language was understood from the early expansionist phase of imperialism.⁶

¹ Shaw, M.N., 1990. The definition of minorities in international law. *Israel yearbook on human rights*, Vol. 20, p. 14.

² Capotorti, op. cit., p.5

³ Packer, John, 1993. On the Definition of Minorities. In: J. Packer and K. Myntti, eds. *The Protection of Ethnic and Linguistic Minorities in Europe*. Turku/Abo: Abo Akademi University Institute for Human Rights, 23-66, p. 24.

⁴ May, S., 2008. *Language and Minority Rights: Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Politics of Language*. London: Pearson Education Limited., p. 129.

⁵ Skutnabb-Kangas, T., 1995. *Multilingualism for All*. Lisse: Swets and Zeitlinger, p. 104.

⁶ Phillipson, R., 1992. *Linguistic Imperialism*. Oxford: OUP., p. 104.

Finally, sociolinguistics, compared to law, is more concerned with the non-dominance of minority groups than with their numerical inferiority. Christina Paulston mentions that the vast number of authors in sociolinguistics are more concerned with the “subordinate status” of the minorities than with their “numerical minority”.⁷

2.3 Definitions in the Czech Republic and the compliance of immigrant communities with the definitions

The law of the Czech Republic⁸ provides the definition of a “minority”⁹ for the purposes of the Czech law in the Czech Minority Act¹⁰. The definition combines objective and subjective criteria and bases minority membership on the citizenship of the Czech Republic¹¹. There is no literal enumeration of the groups that are considered to be minorities. In practice, those groups that are represented in the Czech Minority Council are considered to be minorities. There are no official criteria for a community to be reserved a seat in the Minority Council and thus there are no clear criteria for a community to obtain the official minority status. According to the Secretary of the Minority Council, Dr Milan Pospíšil, the community has to become “consistent enough in the Czech society” in order to be represented.¹²

The definition of “minority” in the Czech Minority Act is based on hardly definable terms. One of them is “the will to be accepted as a national minority”, another one is “the expression and preservation of the interests of their society which was historically created”. Similarly, the Act mentions the special importance of a certain sub-group of national minorities in the Czech Republic – those who have been present in the Czech territory “traditionally and for a long time” (“autochthonous minorities” hereinafter)¹³. These communities are granted additional rights on top of the rights granted to all national minorities. The Act neither defines nor enumerates the communities which have such special status.

The Vietnamese community in the Czech Republic does not comply with the definition of “minority” in the Minority Act. Most Vietnamese inhabitants of the Czech Republic are not citizens of the Czech Republic: Out of 50,000 Vietnamese residents, only about 1,500 people have Czech citizenship¹⁴. Even though the Act does not define the term “autochthonous minority”, it is hardly imaginable that the Vietnamese community would fall under this concept. The Ukrainian community has a very similar history in the territory of the Czech Republic as the Vietnamese community. However, the Ukrainian community is represented in the Minority Council and therefore considered as having the official minority status. Additionally, even though the Ukrainian community is mainly composed of immigrants, it is even considered by the Government as having the status of an “autochthonous minority”.

2.4 Definitions in Poland and their relevance for the immigrant communities

⁷Paulston, C. B. (1997). Language policies and language rights. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 26, p. 77.

⁸ The information on the law and practice in the Czech Republic is mostly based on sources in the Czech language.

⁹ The national law in the Czech Republic does not distinguish between “national minorities” and “ethnic minorities”, i.e. those associated with a kin state and those who are not related to any state. The term “national minorities” is in the Czech Republic used to denote all minorities.

¹⁰ Act on the Rights of Members of National Minorities. Act No 273/2001, Collection of Acts of the Czech Republic. “Czech Minority Act” hereinafter.

¹¹ Czech Minority Act, op. cit., Article 2.

¹² Pospíšil, M. (06/08/2007). Email.

¹³ Czech Minority Act, op. cit. Articles 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13.

¹⁴ Nguyen Tung (25/04/2007). Email.

The Polish Minority Act¹⁵ provides a general definition of a “national minority” and “ethnic minority”¹⁶. Additionally, the Minority Act includes explicit enumeration of 9 national minorities in Poland. The definition of “national minority” links minority membership to Polish citizenship. Similarly to the Czech definition, it combines subjective and objective criteria.

One of the objective criteria is the fact that the national minority’s ancestors “have been living on the present territory of the Republic of Poland for at least 100 years”¹⁷. The definition of in the Polish Minority Act is based on more precise criteria than the definition in the Czech law. The Polish law does not distinguish between the „autochthonous minorities“ and the other „national minorities“ (as does the Czech law).

According to Polish law, the Vietnamese are not a national minority. They can theoretically become a national minority after 100 years of residence, if they fulfil the other criteria and if they acquire Polish citizenship. Ukrainians fall under the definition of “national minority” and are explicitly enumerated as one of the nine national minorities in Poland.

3 The observed communities

3.1 The Vietnamese in the Czech Republic

The first significant waves of Vietnamese migrants in Czechoslovakia arrived following the intergovernmental agreements between Czechoslovakia and Vietnam in 1967, 1974, 1979, and 1980.¹⁸ These were university students and workers and resided in Czechoslovakia on 4-year to 7-year contracts. After 1989, the contracts of all Vietnamese workers were terminated and the workers were supposed to return to Vietnam. However, the pressure by the Czechoslovak government towards their repatriation was inconsistent, and many Vietnamese workers stayed.

New migrants from Vietnam are arriving every year, due to the positive experience with life in the Czech Republic and due to the favourable law of the Czech Republic regulating immigration and the enterprise of foreign citizens. Additionally, there is a growing second generation of the Vietnamese in the Czech Republic.

3.2 Ukrainians in the Czech Republic

The first truly significant influx of Ukrainians into Czechoslovakia happened in the 1920’s (thousands of Ukrainians arrived). The Ukrainian intelligence was escaping from Ukraine after the Bolshevik Revolution. The change of political situation in 1948 was followed by the prohibition of national organizations of the Ukrainian community in Czechoslovakia.¹⁹ After 1989, Czechoslovakia became an attractive country for immigrants from the former Soviet Union. Ukrainians became the largest group of economic migrants and manual guest

¹⁵ Act on national and ethnic minorities and on the regional languages of 6 January 2005. Journal of laws No. 05/17, item 141. Official translation [online]. Available: <
http://www.mswia.gov.pl/portal/pl/178/2958/Ustawa_o_mniejszych_narodowych_i_etnicznych_oraz_o_jezyku_regionalnym.html> [Accessed 28/02/2011], “Polish Minority Act” hereinafter.

¹⁶ According to Polish law, “national minorities” can be associated with a kin state, while “ethnic minorities” are not linked to any particular state.

¹⁷ Czech Minority Act, op. cit., Article 2, paragraph 1, official translation.

¹⁸ Brouček, S., 2005. Historie imigrace z Vietnamu do českých zemí.[online] Available: <
<http://www.klubhanoi.cz/view.php?cisloclanku=2005040901>> [Accessed 04/02/2011].

¹⁹ Leontieva, Y., 2005. Ukrajinci v ČR. [online] Available: <
<http://www.socioweb.cz/index.php?disp=temata&shw=200&lst=106>> [Accessed 06/03/2011].

workers.²⁰ The Ukrainian national associations became active again. However, at that time, the Ukrainian community was already dissolved and irretrievably assimilated.²¹

At present, most of the Ukrainian guest workers do not obtain Czech citizenship (because they are not interested in it or because they are only residing in the Czech Republic for a short time). Some Ukrainian guest workers come to the CR repeatedly, even though this is not their original intention. After several returns to the Czech Republic they start feeling ties to the country and they decide to move to the Czech Republic together with their families.²²

3.3 The Vietnamese in Poland

Similarly to the Czech Republic, Poland established diplomatic relations with the Vietnamese Democratic Republic in 1950²³. In the 1950's the first groups of Vietnamese university students arrived in Poland. Many of them decided to settle permanently.²⁴ More numerous groups of Vietnamese immigrants arrived in the 1960's and 1970's. Some of the students who arrived in Poland in the 1960's and 1970's organized the arrival of their families. These events formed the foundations of the network of Vietnamese immigrants in Poland.²⁵

The most significant influx of the Vietnamese in Poland happened after the democratic changes in the Central and Eastern Europe after 1989.²⁶ In contrast to the previous Vietnamese immigrants, those arriving in the 1990's did not know the Polish language and the main motivation for their migration were economical factors. Many of them supported their families in Vietnam from their income in Poland.²⁷ Currently, most of the Vietnamese who settle in Poland are coming from the countries bordering with Poland: from Russia, Belarus and Ukraine, Slovakia and from the Czech Republic.

3.4 Ukrainians in Poland

Historically, Poland was always²⁸ a country of many nationalities and religions and the Ukrainian minority was one of its significant minorities.²⁹ After 1945, Poland became almost a nationally uniform country, due to the extermination of entire groups of population by the Nazi's.³⁰ In 1947, the communist authorities forcibly displaced the remaining Ukrainian population in Poland and cultural activities of national minorities were forbidden. The aim of was the assimilation of the Ukrainians into the Polish nation. Only in the 1980's, the minority politics in Poland was gradually liberalized.³¹

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ The information on the history and the present position of the Vietnamese community in Poland is based on sources in Polish language.

²⁴ Mazurkiewicz, A., 2008. Contemporary perspectives on immigration. [online] Available: <<http://blog.lib.umn.edu/ihrc/immigration/2008/03/vietnamese-immigration-to-pola.html>> [Accessed 02/04/2011].

²⁵ Ministry of the Interior of Poland, 2007. Społeczność Wietnamska w Polsce, Polityka Migracyjna Wietnamu, raport. Warsaw: Polish Ministry of the Interior, p. 13.

²⁶ Mazurkiewicz, op. cit.

²⁷ Ministry of the Interior of Poland, 2007, op. cit. p. 35.

²⁸ The information on the history and the present position of the Ukrainian community in Poland is based on sources in Polish language.

²⁹ Lodzinski, S. (1999). The protection of national minorities in Poland. Warsaw: Helsinki foundation for human rights. [online] Available: http://www.minelres.lv/reports/poland/poland_NGO.htm [Accessed 15/03/2011].

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Lodzinski, op. cit.

Ukraine has been independent from the USSR since 1991. However, Poland keeps intense contacts with Ukraine and with other countries of the former USSR. Ukrainians travel abroad for economic benefits.³² Therefore, currently, the Ukrainian community in Poland comprises of both the members of the autochthonous minority and of guest workers who arrived after the 1991.

4 The Czech and the Polish Minority Act

4.1 The Structure and Area of regulation

Both the Czech and the Polish Minority Act are salient for the position of immigrants in the system of minority protection in the respective host countries. The contents and the topics included are comparable in both Acts. The Czech Minority Act includes a Preamble, while the Polish Minority Act includes no counterpart to it. Otherwise, both documents follow the same structure: firstly, they delimit their own purposes and areas of regulation, secondly, they define the basic terms, and finally, they list the rights applicable to minorities and specify them to a varying degree of detail. Both Acts cover almost identical topics, but their actual regulation and the degree of particularity vastly differ.

The Czech Minority Act mostly declares values and only to a lesser extent (than the Polish Minority Act) grants actual rights. While the Czech Minority Act only briefly mentions that it regulates the rights of the members of national minorities and the related obligations of state authorities³³, the Polish Minority Act is much more eloquent on this topic. The Polish Act mentions both “maintenance” and “development” of national identity as important intentions of legal regulation, whereas the Czech Act only affirms that national identity is “part of human rights”.

5 Interviews with community leaders

5.1 The purpose of interviewing

There are uncertainties in international political theory and in international law on what should be the states’ policies towards the languages of immigrant communities. The national legal systems in the Czech Republic and in Poland reflect these uncertainties. The Minority Acts of the two countries establish different legal regimes for immigrants and for autochthonous minorities.

In the Czech Republic, the law distinguishes between “autochthonous” and other minorities, but there are no official criteria for recognizing which communities should be included in the privileged group of “autochthonous minorities”. In practice, state authorities do not interpret the rights in the Czech Minority Act coherently and equally for all ethnic groups. Firstly, even aliens (foreign citizens) are sometimes treated as favourably as Czech citizens who are minority members. Secondly, some minorities who can hardly be considered as “autochthonous” are treated as if they were of such kind.

The Vietnamese and Ukrainian communities in the Czech Republic were chosen for comparison and for demonstration of the policy of the Czech Republic. The policy of the state towards immigrant communities and their languages is not systematic. The two communities

³² Konieczna, J., 2003. Poles and Ukrainians, Poland and Ukraine. Warsaw: Institute of Sociology, Warsaw University, pp. 3-4.

³³ Original text of Article 1 of the Czech Minority Act: “Tento zákon upravuje práva příslušníků národnostních menšin a působnost ministerstev, jiných správních úřadů a orgánů územních samosprávných celků (dále jen „orgány veřejné správy“) ve vztahu k nim.”

are similar in size, in geographical dispersion, organization as a minority, and in their history of settlement in the Czech territory. However, Ukrainians are treated more advantageously. While neither of the two communities can be considered as autochthonous in the territory, Ukrainians are in some respects treated as such.

In Poland, the same communities were chosen for comparison with the Czech Republic. The Vietnamese community has a comparable position in the society in both countries. The Ukrainian community is partly autochthonous and partly immigrant in both countries, but in the Czech Republic, the immigrant part is more dominant than in Poland. Even so, all the four chosen communities are predominantly immigrant and share similar features.

The purpose of the interviews was to find out how the views of the Vietnamese and Ukrainians on the state policies differ. The aim was to analyse whether the differences in their views substantiate the differences in their treatment by the states. The key figures of the communities were selected as respondents because of their unique positions in their communities. They were best able to address the politics of minority organizations and their preferences. They were also able to best express their opinions on the policy of the states towards immigrant communities.

The leading figures of the main community organizations were asked to express the official view of the minorities and minority organizations on the minority politics and legislation of the state. Several leaders were interviewed for each community and therefore it was possible to draw conclusions about the cooperation and competition between minority organizations of each group. I was not yet able to interview the leaders of the Ukrainian community in Poland, due to communication and organizational problems. The interview responses compared below are those of the Vietnamese and Ukrainians in the Czech Republic and the Vietnamese in Poland.

5.2 Comparisons of interview responses - education

When inquired about education, both the Czech and the Polish interviewees said that immigrant parents prefer their children to be educated in the majority language. They all mentioned that such education is more practical than the education in the community's language.

Nguyen Thu Ha³⁴: "I think it is not a necessity or it is not good to have some Vietnamese school where they study for example the elementary education and only then to transfer to the Czech school. That I think that it is then for them a disadvantage."

Boris Chykulay³⁵: "I think that it would be good if there were international schools in the states where there are many Ukrainians, not only in the Czech Republic. For example, a French school or a Spanish school."

Ngo Van Tuong³⁶: "I think that, the majority of the parents do not complain that Vietnamese children here in Poland go to Polish schools and learn in Polish. And in my opinion also...I am of the opinion that this is not always most effective, from the point that not all children were born here in Poland."

Van Pham³⁷: "Personally, I think that if the children are planning to stay in Poland, yes, for long time... then they should learn Polish more than Vietnamese, because, for me,

³⁴ One of the leading Vietnamese activists in the Czech Republic, Member of the Vietnamese youth organization Viet-Czech and the Union of Vietnamese Students in the Czech Republic.

³⁵ One of the Ukrainian community leaders in the Czech Republic, leader of the organization called Ukrainian Forum. This organization is composed mainly of immigrants who have Ukrainian citizenship.

³⁶ One of the leading Vietnamese activists in Poland.

³⁷ A sociologist working in Warsaw and one of the leading Vietnamese activists in Poland.

learning Vietnamese, like going to the Sunday Vietnamese classes, and so on, is just to be, you know, it's the aim is to not let the children to forget Vietnamese, the language."

5.3 Comparison of interview responses – cultural events

With regard to cultural events, the Polish interviewees were less critical about the system, funding opportunities etc. Similarly to the Czech interviewees, the Polish interviewees said that the younger generation of immigrants are more interested in sharing their culture with the mainstream. All respondents talked thoroughly about the recent change of situation, about the increasing openness of their communities towards the mainstream, and about the increasing activity of the young generation.

Nguyen Thu Ha: "There is kind of, we, like the organization, we were not formal and therefore kind of to obtain a grant or some money is kind of harder, you know. Yes. And, also the problem is that we kind of are a community that is not yet recognized as a minority. So there we have no financial contributions for these cultural events or on preservation of our language.

Boris Chykulay: "All the support goes to one Ukrainian organization in the Czech Republic. They have their own people in the Ministry and they have for long cooperated with the ministry. [...] There was cooperation between the Velvet Revolution and there is cooperation now. There is the Ukrainian Initiative in the Czech Republic and nobody gives the finances to any other organization. The approach is still communist in 2009."

Van Pham: "In last few years the Vietnamese community is more open to, to, to Polish society, because you know, it's thanks to you know, the young people, they, the young people, yes, the young people know more about each other and they are interested in culture and there are new, let's say, new second generation of Vietnamese raised in Poland, so the language ability is very high, I think, and they speak Polish better than Vietnamese. And for them it's like being part of the Polish society is kind of natural."

Ngo Van Tuong: "And you can see that the young Vietnamese are sort of more involved in social cultural life in the capital and their voices are more recognizable. And are somehow stronger, you can recognize such actions."

5.4 Comparison of interview responses – the position of immigrant communities as compared to autochthonous minorities

None of the respondents found it as a problem that their community is mostly composed of immigrants and thus is given fewer rights than autochthonous communities. The Vietnamese respondents were not unhappy about their community not being represented in the Minority Council in the Czech Republic or in the Joint Council in Poland. The Vietnamese respondents said that there are clear criteria for representation and that the community could be represented after some time, if they were interested.

Nguyen Thu Ha: "So therefore kind of too much we do not, actually, like, we do take steps to be recognized as a minority. But many factors are actually in the game. For us to be recognized, we would have to fulfil certain criteria. But also on the other hand it depends also whether from the other side they are open to us and whether they recognize us."

Boris Chykulay: "I think that we have to be careful and the Ukrainian community should not speculate about the law of the Czech Republic. Once the state has such law, the Ukrainian community has to respect that."

Van Pham: "And it's not like other communities like the traditional communities in Poland like Ukrainians or German or Lithuanians. Because they, there is this community, those nationalities, they are in Poland for hundreds of years and according to Polish constitution you can call the

minorities, yes, and like traditional minorities is, you have I think, the people of that nation living here fifty or sixty years, so far so, the Vietnamese are, they still have to wait some years to get that status, yes.”

Ngo Van Tuong: “Because the Vietnamese sort of don’t shout out, they don’t require anything, they don’t demand.”

6 Conclusions

Linguistic rights include the rights to access to minority language public education and to learning the majority language, the right to multilingual signs and inscriptions in public spaces, to public funding for activities promoting minority cultures, and to the use of minority languages in contact with state authorities.

The issue of promotion of immigrant minority languages by the state is immensely complex and still unresolved. The Vietnamese community was chosen and occasionally compared to the Ukrainian immigrant community for the case study because they are similar in size, geographical dispersion, organization as a minority, and the history of their settlement in the territory of the Czech Republic. However, Ukrainians are given more advantageous treatment.

One reason why the Vietnamese are supported less could be the lack of their interest in state involvement, another reason might be the discrimination against groups of non-European descent.

The research reveals that there is a dialectical relationship between the activities of immigrant communities and the state support. The Vietnamese in the Czech Republic are less interested in maintaining their language and culture than are Ukrainians and the state supports them less.

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The Role Equivalence Classification in Acquisition of L2 Sounds

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Abstract

The Feature Model (FM) of second language acquisition (Brown 1998, 2000) predicts that if a phonological feature required to discriminate between two L2 sounds is active in L1 of learners, they will perceive the difference between such L2 sounds and acquire them. On the other hand, if the required feature is not active in the L1, they will not be able to acquire such a pair of L2 sounds. The Speech Learning Model (SLM) (Flege 1995) predicts that learners acquire a new L2 sound if they discriminate the new L2 sound from the closest sound(s) but the acquisition is blocked if the learners perceptually assimilate it with the closest sound(s). If this happens, they develop the same representation for both sounds. This is called equivalence classification. The current study aims to test these predictions of the SLM and FM in the perspective of acquisition of English [ʒ] by Pakistani learners. In most of the Pakistani languages [ʒ] does not exist so for Pakistani learners English [ʒ] is a new sound.

A perception and production experiment was conducted with 30 Pakistani student learners of English. The test comprised an identification task, a 3AFC discrimination task and a production task. The production test recordings were evaluated by four native speakers of English on a Likert scale. The productions were also analyzed acoustically. The results show that the perception and production of English [ʒ] by the participants is very poor. There is a strong equivalence classification between [ʒ] and [j] in L2 phonemic inventory of the learners. They perceive and produce English [ʒ] as [j]. The findings confirm the SLM hypothesis that the learners can only acquire a new L2 sound if they discriminate it from the closest sound. The results also testify the prediction of the FM. The feature [sonorant] which differentiates between [j] and [ʒ] in English is not active in the L1 of Pakistani learners. They cannot perceive the difference between these two consonants of English.

1. Theoretical background

One of the potential models of second language acquisition is of Brown (1998, 2000) commonly called Feature Model (hereafter FM). The FM is based on the idea that acquisition of a new sound of an L2 depends on the active features of the L1 of learners. The model predicts that if a particular feature which distinguishes one sound from the other in a pair of L2 sounds is active in the L1 of learners, they will perceive the contrast easily although the sounds do not exist in the L1; and if the particular feature which distinguishes the two sounds is not active in feature geometry of the L1 of learners, the sounds will be difficult for them to perceive. According to Brown features exist independent of phonemes (2000: 19).

The consonants [l r] do not exist in Japanese and Chinese as two separate phonemes. But the relevant feature which differentiates between these sounds is active in Chinese but not in Japanese. In an experiment, Brown (1998) found that Chinese could discriminate between [l] and [r] sounds but Japanese could not. For further confirmation, she conducted another experiment with only Japanese participants to see their discrimination of [f v], [b v] and [l r]

pairs. These sounds do not exist in Japanese as separate phonemes but the relevant features which differentiate between the sounds of the first two pairs i.e. [voice] and [continuant] are active in Japanese. The participants could discriminate [v] from [f] and [b] but not [l] from [r].

Brown (2000) conducted a series of further experiments to test these findings. She studied pairs of English [p f], [b v], [f v], [s θ] and [l r]. The features [continuant], [voice], [distributed] and [coronal] are required to differentiate between the members of these contrasts. These contrasts do not exist in the inventories of Japanese, Korean and Mandarin Chinese. However, the feature [coronal] is active only in Mandarin Chinese while the features [continuant] and [voice] are active in all three languages. The feature [distributed] which differentiates between [s] and [θ] is not active in all three languages. Thus, according to the FM, for Japanese learners, the non-native (English) contrasts [p f], [f v] and [b v] will be easy to perceive as the features [voice] and [continuant], which are required to differentiate these sounds from each other, are already active in Japanese. However, Japanese will not be able to perceive the contrasts [s θ] and [l r] because the features [distributed] and [coronal], which differentiate these sounds from each other, are not active in their L1. Similarly, the contrasts [p f], [b v], [f v], and [l r] may be accurately perceived by Chinese since the relevant features are active in their L1 and the English contrasts [p f], [b v] and [f v] may also be perceived accurately by Koreans. The [l r] contrast will be difficult for Koreans and [s θ] contrast will be difficult for both Korean and Chinese learners. The results of this study confirmed these predictions. This led Brown to develop the model (FM) which predicts that a new contrast in L2 can be acquired only if the relevant phonological feature which differentiates between the members of the contrast is active in the L1 of learners. If the relevant feature is not active in the L1, the contrast cannot be acquired.

Another important model of second language acquisition for the current discussion is the speech learning model (SLM) by Flege (1995). The SLM set seven hypotheses about different situations of second language acquisition (Flege 1995:239). For the current discussion we reproduce three of them below;

1. A new phonetic category for the sounds of an L2 may be developed if L2 learners discern the difference between a particular sound of L2 and the closest L1 sound.
2. If the learners do not perceive the difference between the two sounds, they assimilate the sounds, a mechanism which is called 'equivalence classification'. The equivalence classification between two sounds will block formation of a new phonetic category for the L2 sounds.
3. There is a correspondence between production and perception of sounds by L2 learners.

Both the FM and SLM predict about acquisition or blockage of a new category for a pair of L2 sounds. The difference between the two models is that the former considers phonological features as responsible for this phenomenon whereas the latter ascribes it to perception of learner which is based on acoustics of the sounds. In other words, the FM analyzes the L2 learning situation phonologically and the SLM predictions are based on phonetic grounds.

The current paper is based on the study of acquisition of English palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ] by adult Pakistani learners of English. The research questions are given in section 2 and the research methodology is detailed in section 3. Section 4 is based on the presentation, analysis and discussion followed by conclusions in section 5.

2. Research questions

English is the official language of Pakistan. It is taught in schools from class first. However, students in Pakistan are more involved in reading writing than listening and speaking of English. In most of Pakistani languages the alveo-palatal fricative [ʒ] does not exist. As a result, Pakistani learners of English feel difficulty in acquisition of English [ʒ]. They normally assimilate it with English [j]. It is very strange that in the whole literature of L2 phonology the studies on the acquisition of [ʒ] sound are very rare. There is no empirical study on the acquisition of English [ʒ] of Pakistani learners. The current study is an attempt to fill the gap in the literature. The study will be conducted in light of the predictions of the SLM and FM. Optimality theory (Prince and Smolensky 2004) will be used to analyse the findings. The study specifically focuses on the following research questions.

1. How do Pakistani learners of English produce and perceive English palato-alveolar fricative [ʒ]?
2. Do they follow the pattern of learning predicted by the FM and SLM?

3. Research methodology

A group of 30 students who were studying English language and literature at MA level in rural areas of central Pakistan were selected for this experiment. MA is considered the highest formal degree of learning in Pakistan as MPhil and PhD are not regular part of the academic programmes in all Pakistani Universities. So, the participants of this study are advanced learners of English in Pakistan. All the participants spoke the Saraiki language which is spoken in central Pakistan. Saraiki does not have palato-alveolar fricative in its phonemic inventory (Shackle 1976, Syed 2009). According to the self-reported statement of the students, they used to speak English for an average of 2.03 (s.d. 1.19) hours daily and listen to it 2.70 (s.d. 1.66) hours daily. Their mean age was 22.17 (s.d. 2.57) years. The experiment was conducted in the institutions where the students were studying. Formal permission was obtained from the heads of the institutions for conducting the experiment in the institutions. A written consent was also taken from the students for using the data in research articles anonymously.

The experiment had three types of tests. The first one was an identification test. In the identification test, the learners were asked to listen to a stimulus VCV three times in the voice of a female native speaker of English. The V in the stimulus was low vowel and C was the target consonant [ʒ]. Thus the stimulus for the identification test was [aʒa] which had been recorded in the voice of a female native speaker of English from Essex. It was played with some other sounds which were used as distracter. The target sound was played three times in a randomized order. The inter stimulus interval was approximately 3 seconds but repetition was allowed so that if the learners could not understand a sound on first hearing they could listen it again. The participants were asked to note their answers on a given paper after they had fully understood the sound. It is interesting that Urdu¹ has the letter for the sound [ʒ] but the sound does not exist in it. On the other hand, English has the sound but it does not have a specific letter for it. As the Urdu script has been taken from Persian and the Persian language has this sound in its phonemic inventory, Urdu also has a letter (but not the sound) for [ʒ] in the list of its graphemes. The grapheme is used in only Persian loanwords of Urdu which have [ʒ]. As the learners were quite familiar with Urdu, they all know the letter for the sound [ʒ] in Urdu. The learners were asked to write their answer in Urdu and English. In Urdu the

¹ Urdu is the national language of Pakistan and is used as lingua franca in the country.

learners who identified the sound correctly used the relevant Persian grapheme in their answer and in English they wrote sion² for [ʒ] as normally this sound is produced in the words ending with these letters (e.g. vision, revision etc). It is very rare for [ʒ] to occur in English words between two low vowels. The purpose of using [aʒa] as a stimulus was to test the participants' ability to identify the target sound independent of the familiarity effect which may influence learners' perception (Flege, Takagi & Mann 1996).

The second test in the experiment was a 3 alternative forced choice (3AFC) discrimination task. In this task, three sets of stimuli were presented to the participants in a randomized order. The first set of the stimuli was [aʒa], second [aʒa] and third was an irrelevant sound flanked by low a vowel on both sides. The participants were provided with an answer sheet with three possible answers, which were

- i. the first sound is same as the second,
- ii. the first sound is same as the third,
- iii. the first sound is different from both the second and third sound.

The learners were asked to tick the correct answer from the list of the three possible answers given on the answer sheet. The instructions were given to the students in their mother tongue. The researcher also speaks the same language.

The third of the series was a production test. The learners were asked to read the English word 'measure' along with some other distracters. The word was produced three times in a randomized order. The production was recorded and the best of the three recordings were provided to four native speakers of English for evaluation. The native speakers of English were asked to evaluate the pronunciation of the target sounds on the following 5 point Likert scale.

Table 1: Likert scale

Criteria	Scores
Native-like	5
A little deflected away from native-like	4
Different from natives but understandable	3
Hardly understandable	2
Unintelligible	1

The scores by the four judges were averaged for further analysis. The agreement among the judges was 67% (Cronbach's alpha=0.67). The results are presented and analyzed in the following section.

4. Presentation and Analysis of data

As mentioned in the previous section, there were 90 trials in the identification test (30 participants * 3 repetitions). 88 (97.78%) times the participants perceived the target sound (English palato-alveolar [ʒ]) as [j]. The approximant [j] also exists in the phonemic inventory of Pakistani languages including the L1 of the participants of this study. The accuracy in the

² Only twice out of 90 repetitions the target sound [ʒ] was identified correctly and such answers were given.

identification test was only 2.22%. In the 3 AFC discrimination test, out of 30 students 8 discriminated [ʒ] from [j] accurately. Thus the accuracy in the discrimination test was 26.67%. In the production test, the average mark awarded to the productions of English [ʒ] of the participants was 1.81 (standard deviation .55). On the Likert scale used for evaluation in the study, 1 stands for ‘unintelligible’ and 2 for ‘hardly understandable.’ Since the production of the participants is between 1 and 2, it means the production of English [ʒ] by the Pakistani learners is either ‘hardly understandable’ or ‘unintelligible’ for native speakers of English. The following table shows the individual results of the production test.

Table 2: Production test results

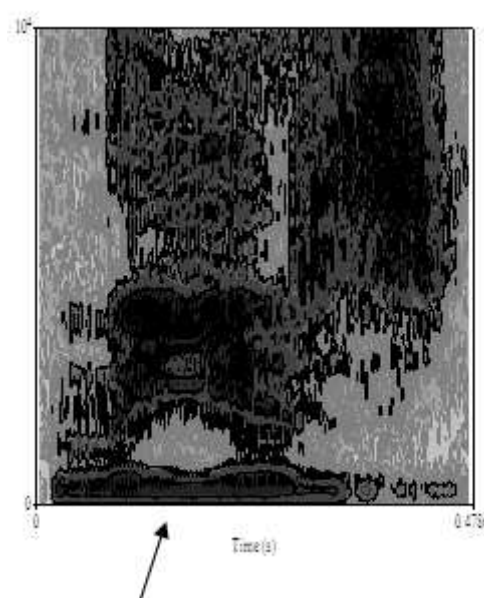
Category	Participants
Native-like	0
A little deflected away from native-like	1
Different from natives but understandable	2
Hardly understandable	22
Unintelligible	5

As the above table shows, none of the students/participants could produce English [ʒ] which may be considered as native-like. Only one of the participants produced it in a way which was considered as ‘a little deflected away from native-like’ and 2 of them produced it in a way which was rated by the native speakers of English (judges) as ‘different from natives but understandable’. 22 of the learners produced it in a way which was rated as ‘hardly understandable’ and 5 of them produced it in a way which was ‘unintelligible’ for the native speakers.

The perception and production test results show that the performance of the participants was very poor. They could neither perceive the English [ʒ] nor produce it accurately. There is a difference in the identification and discrimination test result since in the discrimination test accuracy is 26.67% whereas in the identification test it is only 2.22%. The reason for this difference is that the discrimination test was a multiple choice question which provided three possible answers and the participants were asked to select the correct answer. The nature of question was whether the two sounds are the same or different. There is a probability of guesswork in this test. Besides, the learners can determine on the basis of auditory and acoustic cues about the sounds in such tests. But in identification tests, the participants have to provide an answer to an open ended question. On hearing the stimulus, they approach to their L2 phonemic inventory and from there retrieve a sound corresponding to the stimulus. Thus, an identification task tests the perception of the learners of a specific sound against all the existing sounds in the L2 phonemic inventory whereas a discrimination task tests the perception of participants of a pair of the specific sounds used in the stimuli. So, the identification test is always considered an appropriate measure to judge the perception of L2 learners (Boersma & Hamann 2009: 31). The purpose of including the discrimination test in the experiment was only to confirm the results of the identification test. On the basis of the identification and production test results we conclude that the Pakistani learners have not been able to develop separate phonetic representations for [ʒ] and [j] sounds. Even the discrimination test results (26.67% accuracy) do not indicate a very strong learning because in the discrimination test 73.33% of the learners could not simply discriminate [ʒ] from [j].

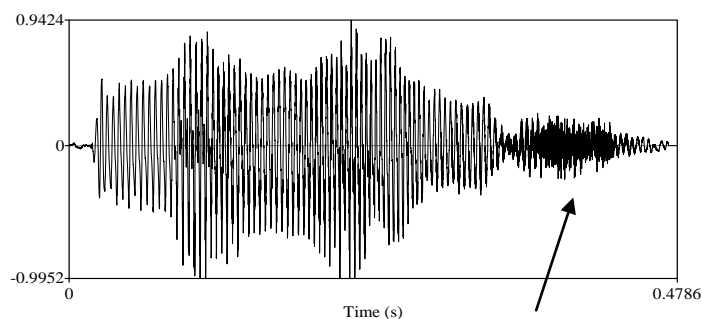
The following spectrogram is of the word ‘measure’ produced as ‘measures’ by one of the learners. There is no sign of a fricative consonant in the middle of the spectrogram. However, the middle part pointed out by the arrow seems to be more like an approximant. As the word was produced as ‘measures’ the fricative sound is quite clear at the end. The upper half of the last part of the spectrogram shows that it is a fricative sound. The last part and the middle one are quite different from each other. It means that the last consonant in the word was a fricative but the middle one was not; it rather looks like an approximant.

Figure 1: *Spectrogram of the word ‘measures’ produced by a participant*



The following waveform of the above spectrogram further confirms this. The last part of the waveform pointed out by an arrow is an indicator of fricative because the word was pronounced as plural with a fricative at the end. We do not see any similar indication of a fricative gesture in the middle of the word where the consonant [ʒ] is supposed to be pronounced.

Figure 2: *Waveform of the word ‘measures’ produced by a participant*



On the basis of these results we conclude that Pakistani learners of English perceive and produce English [ʒ] as [j]. In terms of the SLM, there is a strong equivalence classification

between these two sounds of English ([ʒ] and [j]) in the L2 phonemic inventory of the Pakistani learners.

Now we analyze the results in the framework of optimality theory (Prince and Smolensky 2004). For this we shall use the following constraints;

*₃: No palato-alveolar fricative: This is a constraint developed on the pattern of *C (Tesar and Smolensky 1996) which prohibits a specific consonant in a specific language e.g. *[p] in Arabic or *[ʒ] in Saraiki, etc.

IDENT-IO-[F]: “Input and output segments agree in featural specification” (Lombardi 1999:270). In this context, we shall use the features [sonorant], [strident], [voice], [anterior] and [distributed]. These features are commonly defined by most of the popular models of feature geometry. So, any model of feature geometry may be used to define the current context of learning.

DEP- IO [continuant]: Do not insert feature [continuant] in the output if it does not exist in the input. IDENT-IO and DEP-IO are from the family of the correspondence constraints developed by McCarthy & Prince (1995). They demand a correspondence between the input and output.

The following tableau explains the emergence of [ʒ] as [j] in the L2 phonemic inventory of Pakistani learners of English.

Tableau 1: An OT representation of the substitution of [ʒ] with [j]

/ʒ/	* ₃	IDENT-IO [anterior]	IDENT-IO [dist]	IDENT-IO [voice]	DEP-IO [continuant]	IDENT-IO [sonorant]	IDENT-IO [strident]
j						*	*
ʒ	*!						
ʃ				*!	*!		
dʒ					*!		
ʃ				*!			
z		*!	*!				
s		*!	*!	*!			

The input for the learners is English [ʒ]. The most faithful candidate violates *₃ which is highly ranked. The next candidate [ʃ] violates IDENT-IO-[voice] because the input is voiced and [ʃ] is voiceless. It also violates DEP-IO-[continuant] because [ʃ] has [-continuant] and [+continuant] features in English whereas the input is only [+continuant]. Therefore, the substitution of [ʒ] with [ʃ] incurs the violation of another highly ranked constraint DEP-IO-[continuant] because it inserts [-continuant] feature to the input. Although the substitution of [ʒ] with [dʒ] does not violate IDENT-IO-[voice], it violates DEP-IO-[continuant] because English [dʒ] is also [-continuant] and [+continuant] whereas the input is only [+continuant]. [ʃ] violates IDENT-IO-[voice] and [z] violates IDENT-IO-[anterior] and IDENT-IO-[distributed] since the input is [+distributed, -anterior] whereas [z] is [+anterior, -distributed]. The substitution of [ʒ] with [s] violates IDENT-IO-[anterior, distributed, voice]. All these constraints are highly ranked. Therefore, these candidates cannot emerge as output. The optimal output [j] violates IDENT-IO-[strident, sonorant] because the output i.e. English [j] is [+sonorant, -strident] whereas the input [ʒ] is [-sonorant, +strident]. The constraints IDENT-

IO-[strident, sonorant] are low ranked so [j] emerges as the successful candidate. On the basis of this analysis we determine the following ranking in the L2 phonemic inventory of Pakistani learners of English;

*3, IDENT [voice, anterior, distributed], DEP [continuant] >> IDENT [sonorant, strident]

It is important that the L1 of the learners also has the same ranking for its phonemic inventory. The feature [sonorant] is not active phonological feature in Saraiki as well as many other Pakistani languages. That is why most Pakistanis cannot differentiate between [v] and [w] (Rahman 1990, 1991). We should recall that the feature [sonorant] differentiates between English [v] and [w].

5. Conclusion

The current study aimed to test the predictions of the SLM and FM. According to the SLM, if L2 learners cannot perceive some difference between two sounds, they will perceptually assimilate both sounds and develop a single phonetic representation for both. According to the FM, if a phonological feature which differentiates between two sounds of an L2 is not active in the L1 of learners, they will not discriminate between the two sounds. The predictions of both models are verified in this study. The participants of the study cannot differentiate between [j] and [ʒ] sounds because the relevant feature [sonorant] is not active in their L1. The perception test results show that the participants cannot perceive the difference between [j] and [ʒ] so they can neither produce them as two separate sounds nor they have separate phonetic representations for these sounds. There is a correspondence between production and perception of the learners in that they perceive the two sounds as the same and also produce them as a single sound. Thus the findings of this study testify the predictions of the FM and SLM.

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The grammaticalization of KPs: ‘configurationality’ and ‘structural simplification’:

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Abstract

Roberts and Roussou (2003) analyse grammaticalization within Minimalism, and Ledgeway (2011a, 2011b) deals with grammaticalization in Latin/Romance, also within Minimalism. Neither of them analyses the grammaticalization of KPs (case-markers) and so this is the theme of this paper. The grammaticalization of two very important Latin/Romance KPs (de marking genitive, ad marking dative) indeed conforms to both *Robert & Roussou’s* and *Ledgeway’s* hypotheses, since they originate from Latin PPs (de denoting separation, ad denoting direction), and within *X*-theory complements (e.g. KPs) *are ‘simpler’ than adjuncts* (e.g. PPs) in that the former require fewer feature place-holders than the latter (Robert & Roussou (2003:106)), and so by Roberts & Roussou’s (2003:200-201) ‘*structural simplification*’ (*reduction of ‘feature syncretisms’*) PPs are grammaticalized as KPs. Robert & Roussou’s ‘*structural simplification*’ assumes configurationality and can only occur in configurational syntax, and so configurationality is a prerequisite for grammaticalization in Minimalism, which *conforms to Ledgeway’s argument* (2011a:405-434)) that the key syntactic change from Latin to Romance is the rise of configurationality, which gives rise to functional categories in Romance (Ledgeway (2011a:409)). Finally, as configurationality is a controversial notion, alternative scenarios are considered in the appendix where configurationality no longer has explanatory value, and ‘*re-analysis*’ is argued to be the key to understanding grammaticalization, since it is in itself sufficient to explain grammaticalization, with or without configurationality.

1 Introduction

Roberts & Roussou (R & R) (2003) analyse the grammaticalization of three functional categories in Minimalism: auxiliary verbs (T) (R & R (2003:chapter 2)), complementisers (C) (R & R (2003:chapter 3)) and determiners (D) (R & R (2003:chapter 4)). Ledgeway (2011a, 2011b) also analyses the grammaticalization of these three functional categories in Latin/Romance, and his outlook on functional categories is also generative, since he also posits these three functional categories as heads on the left edge of VP, TP and NP respectively (Ledgeway (2011a:409, 2011b:721), cf R & R (2003:5, 19-25)). Furthermore, Ledgeway connects all this to the rise of configurational syntax in (proto-)Romance (Ledgeway (2011a:386-389, 409ff)). There is another functional category that has not yet been analysed, namely functional prepositions (K). In this paper, I analyse the grammaticalization of this new functional category in Latin/Romance within Minimalism.

2 Generative models of language change

Lightfoot (1991:chapter 1, 1999:chapters 3 and 4, 2006:10-15, 88-89)) argues that grammar is moulded during first language acquisition, which is hence the locus for language change. Lightfoot (1999:66-68, 2006:10, 45)) identifies three components in language

acquisition: 1) internal grammar (I-G) 2) universal principles and parameters of grammar (UG) 3) the trigger experience in the form of primary linguistic data (PLD). I-G is formed by children scanning their PLD and setting the parameter values of their UG accordingly (Lightfoot (1991:1, 1999:66-67, 2006:10, 45)):

- a) Linguistic triggering experience (genotype \longrightarrow phenotype)
- b) Primary linguistic data (Universal Grammar \longrightarrow internal grammar)

Language change, therefore, lies in I-G and is the result of different parameter settings between generations of speakers (Lightfoot (1999:101ff, 2006:88-89)). As UG is a genetic constant, the source for language change lies in the PLD and how it is scanned and re-analysed by children (Lightfoot (1999:66-68, 178-179, 225, 2006:11-2, 87-90)).

Lightfoot (1991:163-173, 1999:180-204, 264-266, 2006:13-14, 90-111, 161-165) further asserts that language evolution is random, yet grammaticalization occurs cross-linguistically (see Heine and Kuteva (2002)) and is hence a clear counter-example. R & R introduce to Lightfoot's model a learning device in language acquisition that chooses the 'simpler' alternative in re-analysis (R & R (1999:1020-1022, 2003:14-17), Clark and Roberts (1993:313-319)), and since grammaticalization always leads to 'simpler' structures, it is a natural kind of change that can occur cross-linguistically (R & R (2003:2-7)).¹ Examples of grammaticalization are therefore 'basins of attraction' within the possible space of parametric variation and change (R & R (2003:4), van Gelderen (2011:4)), and R & R (2003) define 'simplicity' as the reduction of 'formal feature syncretisms', which are defined as 'the presence of more than one formal feature in a given structural position: H [+F, +G...]' (R & R (2003:201), Roberts (2010:49)). For the rest of this paper, I test R & R's hypotheses with the grammaticalization of Latin/Romance functional prepositions.

3 Functional prepositions

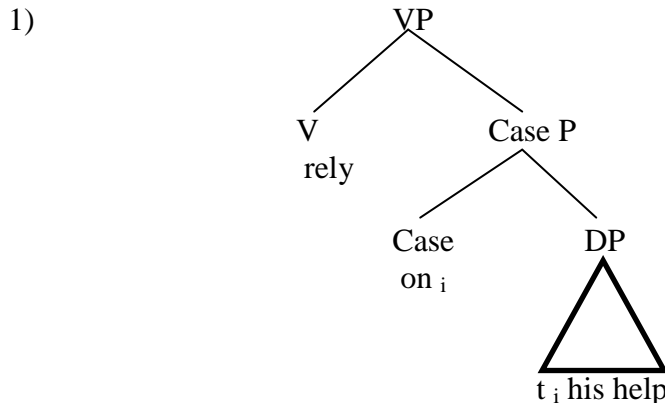
Both generative and non-generative models distinguish two types of prepositions: lexical and functional (Cinque (2010:3-11)). Huddleston et al. (2002:647-661), which is non-generative, defines functional² prepositions in English as those that are part of the subcategorisation of the head predicate e.g. they disposed of the box where of is obligatorily selected by the head predicate dispose (*they disposed the box) and cannot co-vary with other prepositions: *they disposed at/below/on/through/under the box (Huddleston et al. (2002:647)). This is a contrast to lexical prepositions which display lexical meaning through spatial co-variance with other prepositions: put it under / above / near the table (Huddleston et al. (2002:647)).³

¹ It is not clear whether this learning device is part of UG, since while Vincent & Borjars (2010:280, 293) consider it as part of UG, van Gelderen (2011:9) attributes it to Chomsky's 'third factor principles' i.e. principles that are not specific to the faculty of language (UG) (Chomsky (2005:6, 2007:3)). Either way this learning device is present in Minimalism and plays a prominent role in the Minimalist framework of grammaticalization (van Gelderen (2011:4)).

² Huddleston et al. (2002:647) actually call them 'grammaticised prepositions', but since 'grammaticised' is synonymous with 'grammaticalised' (Campbell and Janda (2001:94)), these prepositions can be regarded as the results of grammaticalization, which produces 'functional' elements in generative grammar.

³ As spatial meaning is essential to prepositions (Cinque (2010:3, 5, 7-11)), the lack of it in functional prepositions makes them semantically weaker than lexical ones (Huddleston et al. (2002:647), Abraham (2010:261-3)). If such functional prepositions are indeed derived from lexical ones, this is a

Huddleston et al.'s definitions converge with the generative definition that functional prepositions are governed by their head predicates (Abraham (2010:261), Koopman (2010:28 fn. 7, 61), Rauh (2002)). As such they are markers of the Case⁴ relation(s) between the head predicate and its complement(s) (Abraham (2010:261-272), Terzi (2010:205), Cinque (2010:7)). Furthermore, their lack of spatial co-variance with other prepositions is due to the fact that they are markers of Case relations that are non-spatial (Abraham (2010:261, 272)) e.g. English rely on (Abraham (2010:272)), whose complement is non-spatial and so on is obligatorily selected by the head verb rely and does not co-vary with other prepositions (Huddleston et al. (2002:660)). English on is therefore regarded as a functional preposition (Abraham (2010:272), Huddleston et al. (2002:660)):



Functional prepositions are represented as K(case) in generative grammar (Svenonius (2010:128-133, 155)),⁵ which is the functional projection for morphological case (van Kemenade and Vincent (1997:18-21)). This is supported by the fact that such functional prepositions occupy syntactic functions that often correspond to morphological case in other languages (Abraham (2010:261-3, 272), Huddleston et al. (2002:601)):

- 2)
- | | | |
|----------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| milit-es | Graec-i | super-at-i |
| soldier-NOM.PL | Greek-NOM.PL | overcome-PERF.PTCP-NOM.PL |
| sunt | Roman-is | |
| be.PRES.3PL | Roman-ABL.PL | |
- 'The Greek soldiers were beaten by the Romans (=Romanis).' (my brackets)
(Latin, in Abraham (2010:272))

In 2), Romanis has ablative case (-is) and is the agent of the head predicate (superati sunt), which is non-spatial (Blake (1994:33)). English preposition by in by the Romans is equivalent to the Latin ablative case and can hence be regarded as a functional preposition (Huddleston et al. (2002:601)).

However, equivalence to morphological case does not necessarily entail that the preposition in question is a K, since there is a distinction between grammatical and semantic

case of 'semantic bleaching'. Both 'semantic bleaching' and 'lexical > functional' are diagnostic traits of grammaticalization (Campbell (2001:118-121, 124-141)).

⁴ In this paper, I follow the generative tradition in using 'Case' to denote abstract case, i.e. the syntactic relation between a head predicate and its complements, and 'case' for morphological case, both of which do not necessarily coincide with each other since not all languages have morphological case while Case is held to be universal (Lightfoot (1999:114)). Morphological case is therefore a sufficient but not a necessary condition for Case. I also follow Vincent and van Kemenade (1997:17) in equating Case with grammatical relations (SUBJECT, OBJECT and OBLIQUE) (Butt (2009a:36ff)).

⁵ In Svenonius (2010:130-131, 148, 155)), the use of of in English PPs like outside of the house / in front of the house, which is functional given that it is part of the complement of lexical prepositions (outside, in front) and does not co-vary with other prepositions (Huddleston et al. (2002:658-659)), is represented as K.

cases with the former corresponding to non-spatial semantic roles and Case relations and the latter to spatial ones (Blake (1994:2, 32-35)). It is therefore necessary to make sure that the Case relations / morphological cases in question really are grammatical in being non-spatial.⁶

In the next section, I apply these distributional criteria to Latin/Romance.

4 Latin/Romance

4.1 Latin/Romance functional prepositions

From Latin to Romance, there are two prepositions that mark semantic roles and Case relations that are non-spatial and correspond to earlier Latin morphological cases, namely de marking the possessor of nouns and thus marking the OBLIQUE relation between the head noun and its complement (i.e. the possessor),⁷ which corresponds to the Latin genitive of possession (3) (Salvi (2011:338-343)); ad marking the recipient of three-place verbal predicates and thus marking the OBJECT relation between the head verb and its indirect object, which corresponds to the Latin dative of recipient (4) (Salvi (2010:338-343)). Both of these two Cases/cases are non-spatial and are classified grammatical by Blake (1994:32-35):

- 3) s-a mákkina de Juanne
 DEF.ART-FEM.SG car.FEM.SG of Juanne
 ‘The red car of Juanne.’ (Sardinian, in Ledgeway (2011a:442))

- 4) les teng-o que regal-ar
 them.DAT have-1SG.PRES that give-INF
 a los niñ-os
 to DEF.ART.MASC.PL child-MASC.PL
 la bicicleta nuev-a
 DEF.ART.FEM.SG bicycle.FEM.SG new-FEM.SG
 ‘I have to give the children a new bike.’ (Spanish, in Ledgeway (2011a:436))

Ledgeway (2011a:396-401, 406-408, 440-442) argues that (proto-)Romance is strictly configurational and has strict positions for complements of both nouns and verbs, namely postnominal and postverbal respectively, given that (proto-)Romance is head-initial (Ledgeway (2011a:440ff)). Examples like 3) and 4) should be represented configurationally:

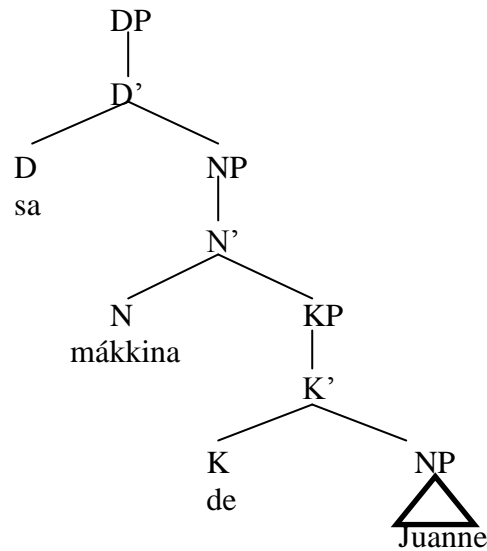
⁶ There are some prepositions in Latin which are functionally equivalent to Latin cases but are lexical nonetheless, since they have clear spatial meanings e.g. locative / in-PP (Luraghi (2010:21ff)):

- 1) non in hort-is aut suburban-is su-is,
 not in country.seat-ABL.PL or suburban.villa-ABL.PL their-ABL.PL
 sed Neapol-i, in celeb-errim-o oppid-o
 but Naples-LOC in crowded-SUPERLATIVE-ABL.SG town-ABL.SG
 ‘... not in their country seats or their suburban villas, but in Naples, a very much-frequented town.’ (Cicero, Rabirius Postumus 26-27)

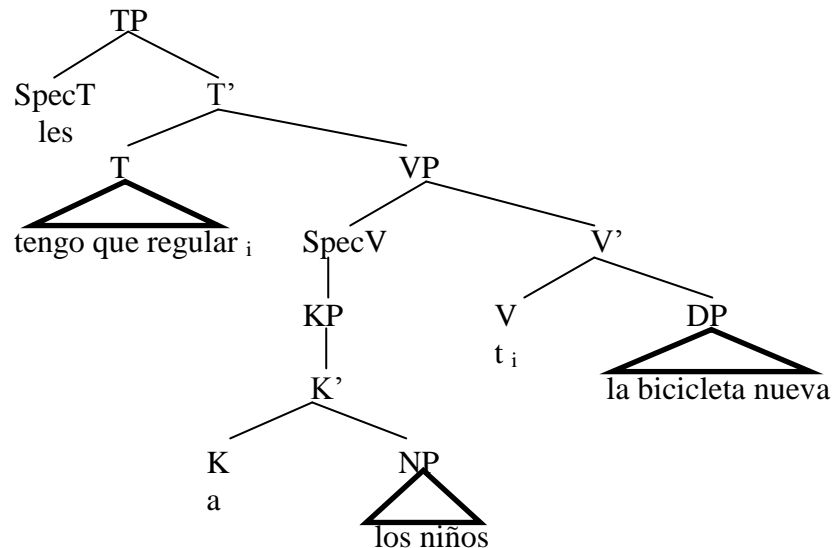
Here the in-PPs (in hostis aut suburbanis suis... in celeberrimo oppido) are functionally equivalent to the locative cased noun (Neapol-i), given that they are co-ordinated (sed) and apposed to each other, but since the Latin preposition in and the Latin locative case both have clear spatial meanings (Blake (1994:35)), these in-PPs cannot be classified as functional or as KPs.

⁷ Nouns tend only to assign OBLIQUE relations to their complements, unlike verbs and prepositions which can assign SUBJECT and OBJECT relations to their complements (Blake (1994:60-61)).

3)



4)



4.2 the grammaticalization of Romance functional prepositions de and ad

Both Latin *de* and *ad* have spatial (i.e. lexical) usages that are directly relevant for the grammaticalization of Romance *de* and *ad* (see note 3). Latin *de* denotes 'separation' and is hence a lexical preposition (5) (Väänänen (1981:90-94), Adams (2011:267-268)):

5) potius	...	surcul-os
rather		shoot-ACC.PL
de	ficet-o	
DE	fig.plantation-ABL.SG	
quam	gran-a	de
than	seed-ACC.PL	DE
exped-it		obru-ere
be.useful-3SG.PRES		destroy-INF

'It is better to destroy the shoots from the fig-plantation rather than the seeds from the fig-tree.' (Varro, *de re rustica* 1.41.5, 116 BC-27 BC)

In 5), *de* specifies the source (ficeto 'fig-plantation', fico 'fig-tree') from which the object (surculos 'shoots', grana 'seeds' respectively) is derived and hence has a clear spatial

meaning, that of ‘separation’. *de* is therefore semantically very close to a possessive genitive, since if the shoots and seeds are taken from the fig plantation and fig tree respectively, they naturally belong to it (Väänänen (1981:92-99), Adams (2011:267-268)). Such Latin *de*-PPs can therefore be re-analysed as genitive KPs.

Latin *ad* is also a lexical preposition since it denotes ‘direction’ and is an antonym to *de* denoting ‘separation’.⁸ Its use with verbs that take an indirect object (i.e. trivalent) is found as early as Plautus (254-184 BC) (Pinkster (1990:201-202), Adams (2011:266)):

- | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------|----------------|---------------|
| 6) <i>qu-ae</i> | <i>ad</i> | <i>patr-em</i> | <i>v-is</i> |
| which-N.PL.ACC | to | father-ACC.SG | want-PRES.2SG |
| <i>nunti-ar-i</i> | | | |
| report-INF-PASS | | | |
- ‘... the things which you want to be reported in the direction of your father.’
(Plautus, *Captivi* 360, 254-184 BC)

The semantic similarities between *to*-PPs and dative are clear, since if one is reporting a message in the direction of someone, that person is naturally the recipient of the message i.e. the indirect object.⁹ Such Latin *ad*-PPs can therefore be re-analysed as dative KPs.

4.3 ‘configurationality’

Ledgeway (2011a:389-396, 401-405) argues that Latin is a non-configurational language whereas Romance is configurational (Ledgeway (2011a:396-401, 409ff)). The Latin examples in the previous sub-section can therefore be represented non-configurationally (5a, 6a)):¹⁰

⁸ Radford (1997:45) differentiates between lexical categories and functional ones by arguing that the former are semantically richer than the latter in having antonyms (words with opposite meanings). The antonymy between Latin *ad* and *de* highlights their respective spatial meanings and is another reason for regarding them as lexical prepositions.

⁹ In Latin, dative case is used to morphologically mark indirect objects of three-place verbs (Blake (1994:6)) and in the same passage there is a very similar example where the dative is actually used:

- | | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1) <i>numquid</i> | <i>aliu-d</i> | <i>v-is</i> | <i>patr-i</i> |
| whether | another-N.SG.ACC | want-PRES.2SG | father-DAT.SG |
| <i>nunti-ar-i</i> | | | |
| report-INF-PASS | | | |
- ‘whether you want another thing to be reported to your father.’
(Plautus, *Captivi* 400)

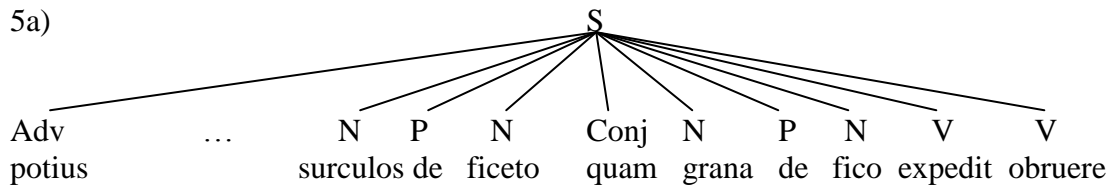
For more such alternations between Latin *ad*-PPs and dative, see Pinkster (1990:201-202)).

¹⁰ Non-configurationality is applicable to Latin genitive and dative KPs as well as *de*- and *ad*-PPs, since there is no fixed order in which these constituents must occur in Latin, unlike Romance (see section 3.1, ex. 3-4). Genitive KPs are attested both before and after its nominal head with no apparent numerical or stylistic tendency (Bauer (1995:55-59)), and the same goes for *de*-PPs:

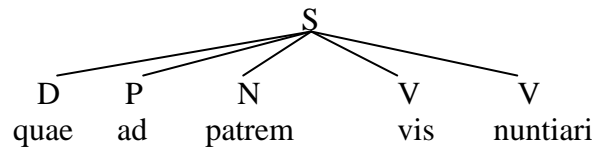
- | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------|--------------|
| 1) <i>de</i> | <i>for-o</i> | <i>disced-ere</i> , | <i>migr-are</i> | <i>de</i> | <i>vit-a</i> |
| from | forum-ABL.SG | depart-INF | migrate-INF | from | life-ABL.SG |
- ‘... to depart from the forum, to migrate from life.’ (Cicero, in Väänänen (1981:92))

Dative KPs and *ad*-PPs are also attested either before or after the head:

- | | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------|--------------|------------|----------------|
| 2) <i>i-bo</i> | <i>ad medic-um</i> | <i>atque</i> | <i>ibi</i> | <i>me</i> |
| go-1SG.FUT | to doctor-ACC.SG | and | there | PRO.1ST.ACC.SG |
| <i>toxic-o</i> | <i>mort-i</i> | <i>da-bo</i> | | |
| poison-ABL.SG | death-DAT.SG | give-1SG.FUT | | |
- ‘I shall go to the doctor’s and there I shall give myself to death by poison.’
(Plautus, *Mercator* 472)

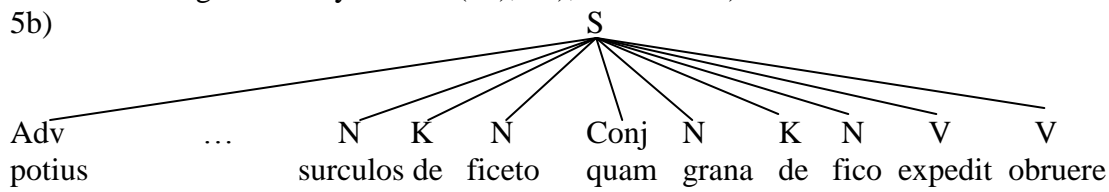


6a)

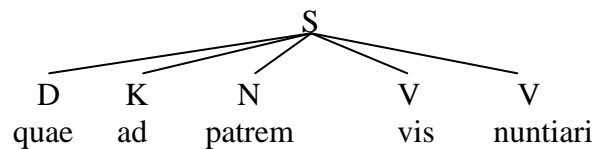


As these PPs are re-analysable as KPs (see previous sub-section), they can be represented as KPs non-configurationally as well (5b), see note 10):

5b)



6b)



In a non-configurational framework such as Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG), semantic roles are part of the argument structure (a-structure) (Bresnan (2001:9-14, 19-22, 27-30)) while grammatical relations belong to the functional structure (f-structure) (Bresnan (2001:19-22, 26-30)), both of which operate independently and do not occupy fixed positions at constituent structure (c-structure) (Butt (2009b:59-62), Bresnan (2001:chapter 1)), when c-structure in a language as morphologically strong and syntactically free as Latin (see note 10) is classified as ‘flat’ (i.e. non-configurational) by Ledgeway (2011a:389-396, 401-405) (cf Bresnan (2001:5-8)), as represented in 5) and 6). As such, there is no difference in terms of ‘feature syncretisms’ between the c-structures in 5a) and 5b) and between those in 6a) and 6b), since their differences lie crucially not in their c-structures but in their a- and f-structures (7), 8)): 7a) and 8a) have PP-adjuncts that correspond to the ad- and de-PPs at the c-structures in 5a) and 6a) respectively whereas 7b) and 8b) have KP-complements that correspond to the ad- and de-KPs at the c-structures in 5b) and 6b) respectively:

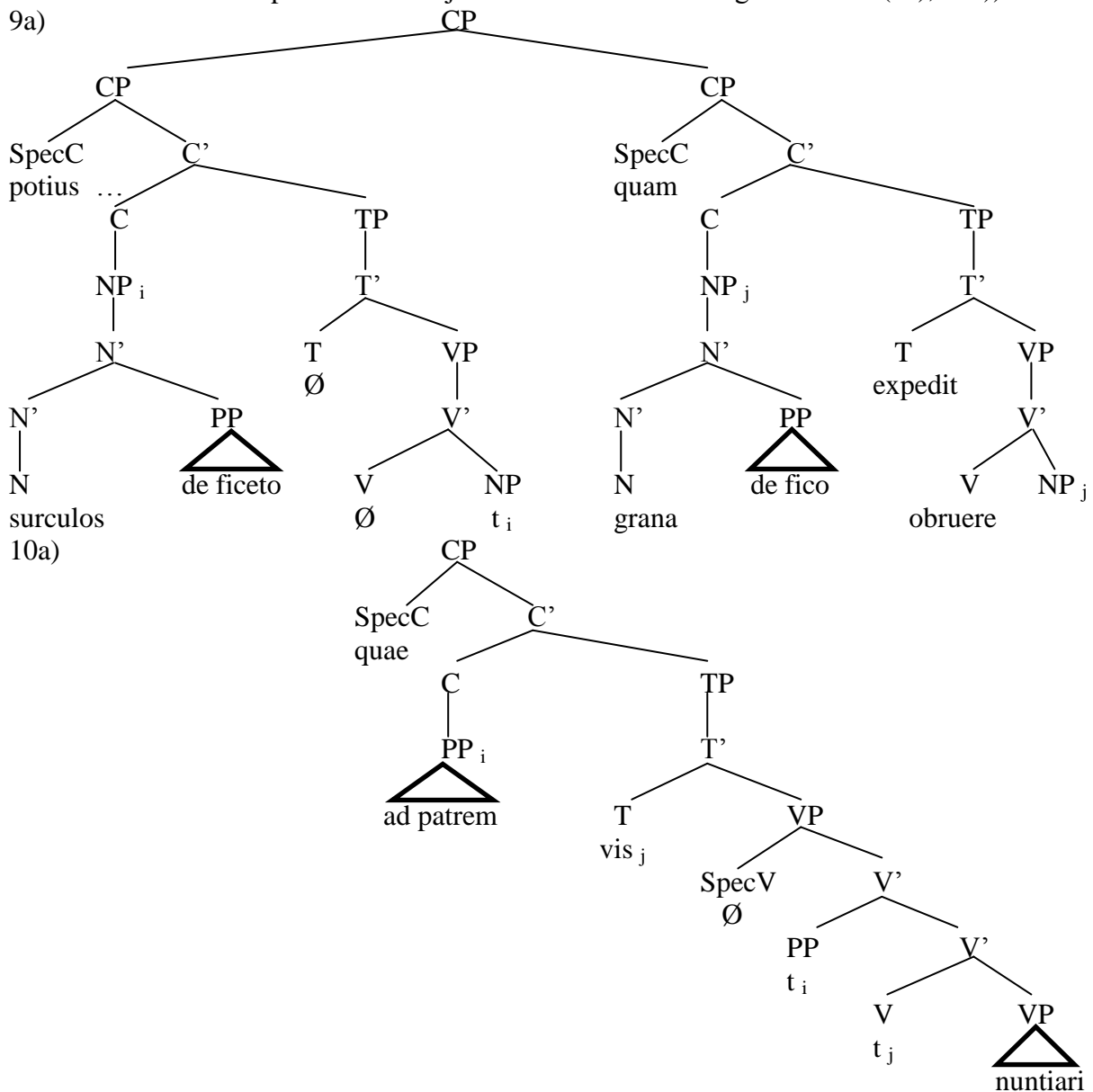
7a)	PRED	surculos <OBL>	PRED	grana <OBL>
	OBL	[-]	OBL	[-]
	ADJUNCT	[PRED de <OBJ>]	ADJUNCT	[PRED de <OBJ>]
		[OBJ ficeto]		[OBJ fico]
8a)	PRED	‘nuntiari <SUBJ, OBJ2>’ ¹¹		
	SUBJ	[PRED quae]		
	OBJ2	[-]		
	ADJUNCT	[PRED ad <OBJ>]		
		[OBJ patrem]		

¹¹ As the infinitive is passive (nuntiar-i ‘to be announced’), its argument structure is modified with the SUBJ of the corresponding active (nuntiare ‘to announce’) suppressed and its direct object linked with SUBJ (Butt (2009a:38)). The indirect object (OBJ2) remains unaltered though.

- 7b) PRED surculos <OBL> PRED grana <OBL>
 OBL [PRED de <OBJ>] OBL [PRED de <OBJ>]
 [OBJ ficeto] [OBJ fico]
- 8b) PRED 'nuntiari <SUBJ, OBJ2>
 SUBJ [PRED quae]
 OBJ2 [PRED ad <OBJ>]
 [OBJ patrem]

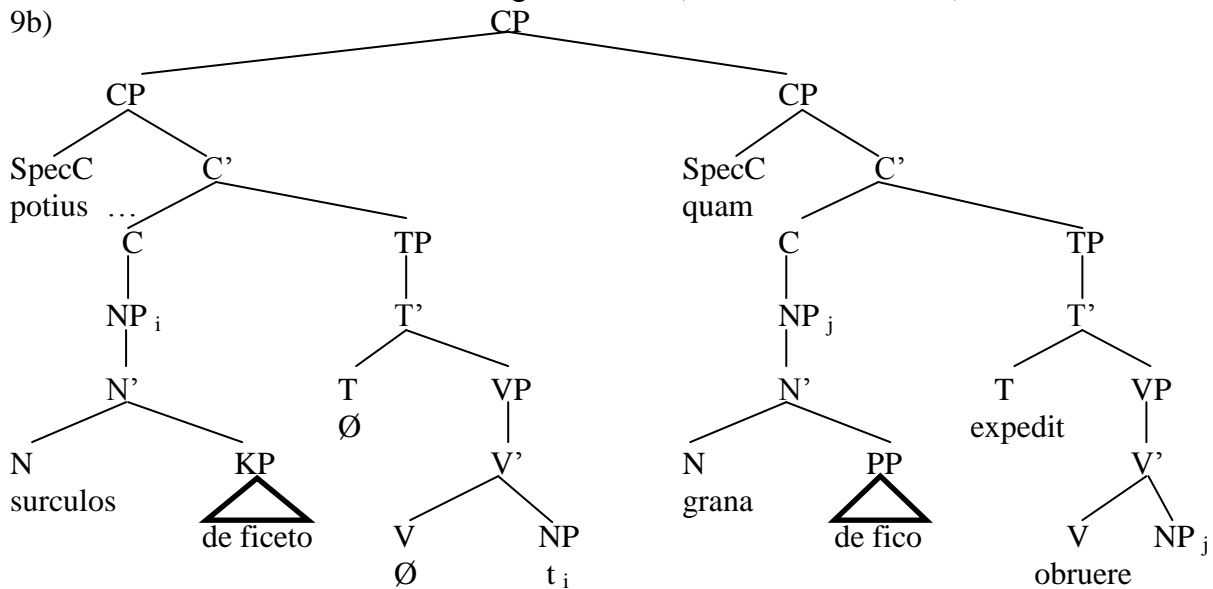
Grammaticalization, being driven by 'simplicity' (reduction in 'feature syncretisms') cannot occur in a non-configurational language like Latin, which may be the reason why functional categories are generally absent in Latin (Ledgeway (2011a:387-389, 409)).

Alternatively, one can represent these Latin examples configurationally in anticipation of (proto-)Romance (see section 3.1). In a configurational framework like Minimalism, adjuncts and complements occupy different syntactic positions in accordance with X'-theory (Butt (2009a:38-39)), and ad-PPs and de-PPs, being spatial PPs, are not complements of their heads and should be represented as adjuncts i.e. sisters and daughters of X' (9a), 10a):

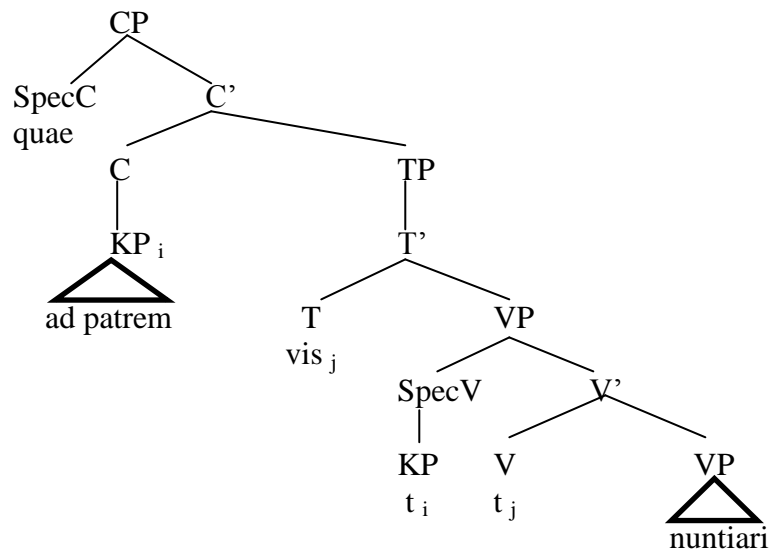


When they are re-analysed as KPs, however, they are complements of their respective heads i.e. as sisters of the head and daughters of X' (cf section 4.1, ex 3-4):

9b)



10b)



In 9b) and 10b), KPs, being complements, are 'simpler' (i.e. they have fewer 'feature syncretisms') than 9a) and 10a) respectively since PPs in the latter, being adjuncts, incur extra feature nodes and place-holders in X'-theory (R & R (2003:106)). The grammaticalization of *de* and *ad* hence comes through in configurational syntax, since complement-KPs are preferred to adjunct-PPs in language acquisition by being 'simpler'.

5 Conclusion: 'structural simplification' and 'configurationality'

The grammaticalization of Latin/Romance KPs therefore conforms to R & R's framework since it displays 'structural simplification' i.e. reduction in 'feature syncretisms'. It also conforms to Ledgeway's account of the rise of configurationality in Latin/Romance historical syntax, since while *de*-PPs and *ad*-PPs (as well as genitive and dative KPs- see note 10) display free word order in Latin, their KP counterparts have strict positions in (proto-) Romance. Furthermore, a relationship can be established between R & R's 'simplicity' and Ledgeway's 'configurationality', since only in a configurational language like (proto-) Romance can there be a quantitative difference in 'feature syncretisms' between adjunct PPs and complement KPs. Configurationality is therefore a prerequisite for grammaticalization.

Appendix

1 ‘configurationality’?

While Ledgeway’s account of the rise of configurationality in (proto-)Romance is cogent, configurationality is a controversial issue whose existence is open to dispute (Ledgeway (2011a:432, fn54)). It might be dangerous to attribute explanatory value to configurationality, as I have done in this paper. One could alternatively take radical positions in both Minimalism and LFG and insist that either model applies universally to all languages, even typologically different ones like Latin and Romance. It is hence possible to argue that even Latin has syntactic configurations in accordance with Minimalism (Ledgeway (2011a:fn16)), which begs the question as to why grammaticalization did not happen sooner i.e. within the Latin period. The same question is entailed by radical LFG, since it is possible to reformulate R & R’s reduction of ‘feature syncretisms’ in terms of LFG i.e. complements in Minimalist configurations correspond to complements at f-structure in LFG, and complements can be argued to be ‘simpler’ than adjuncts not only in terms of the configurational design of X’-theory (9a), 9b), 10a), 10b)) but also at f-structure in LFG where adjuncts assume empty complements (7a), 8a)) whereas complements do not (7b), 8b)).¹² Why did the grammaticalization of Romance KPs not occur in Latin?

2 Re-analysis

As explained in section 2, UG is a genetic constant and so the key towards language change lies in the ‘re-analysis’ of the PLD. Hopper and Traugott (H & T) (1993:2-4) give the following steps for the ‘re-analysis’ of English going to > gonna: a) ‘the change occurs only in a very local context, that of purposive directional constructions with non-finite complements, such as I am going to marry Bill (H & T (1993:2)) b) ‘the change is made possible by the fact that there is an inference of futurity from purposives... In the absence of an overt directional phrase, futurity can become salient.’ (H & T (1993:3)) c) ‘the re-analysis is discoverable... only when the verb following be going to is incompatible with a purposive meaning, or at least unlikely in that context, for example, I am going to like Bill, I am going to go to London...’ (H & T (1993:3)). a) identifies the examples where the old (going to denoting movement and purpose) and new (gonna denoting futurity) interpretations co-exist, while b) recognises their semantic overlap and identifies the context (the absence of an overt directional phrase) where the old interpretation is weakened and the new one strengthened. b) is therefore the locus of ‘re-analysis’, and c) identifies the outcome.

In section 3.2, ex. 5) and 6), the semantic overlap between spatial PPs (de denoting ‘separation’, ad denoting ‘direction’) and KPs (de denoting genitive, ad denoting dative) is clear, yet there is no evidence that the original interpretation of de and ad as spatial Ps is weakened. Adams (2011:267-268) argues that in 5) de still retains its prepositional force of ‘separation’ and in 6) both Adams (2011:266) and Pinkster (1990:201-202) argue that ad still has a strong denotation of ‘direction’. 5) and 6) are therefore at best at stage a) of ‘re-analysis’

¹² All this ties in with the hierarchy of grammatical relations in LFG where complements are ranked higher than adjuncts (Butt (2009b:61-62), Dalrymple (2001:11-27)), and so one could argue that higher grammatical relations in LFG are ‘simpler’ than lower ones.

and as such the ‘re-analysis’ (hence change) cannot yet come through, even if Latin is already configurational and even if one allows grammaticalization to occur at f-structure.¹³

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¹³ Adams (2011:266-268) gives all the evidence and chronology of the ‘re-analysis’, and the examples where the prepositional (i.e. spatial) force of both *de* and *ad* is weakened are considerably later than the Latin examples given in this paper (for *de*, the first examples are attested in the 4th century AD (Adams (2011:268), whereas for *ad*, they are attested in the medieval period).

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What is ‘lateral grammaticalization’?

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Abstract

Simpson and Wu (2002) and Wu’s (2004) ‘lateral grammaticalization’ is a Minimalist analysis of Chinese de, which has been re-analysed from a determiner (D) to a verbal suffix (T). Roberts and Roussou (2003) and van Gelderen (2011) deal with grammaticalization within Minimalism, though neither take ‘lateral grammaticalization’ into account (Vincent and Borjars (2010:293)). A comparison between these accounts reveals that Roberts and Roussou’s (2003) and van Gelderen’s (2011) ‘feature economy’ also accounts for the cross-linguistic distribution of ‘lateral grammaticalization’, which is the main theoretical thrust of their accounts (Roberts and Roussou (2003:2-7), van Gelderen (2011:4-17)). However, the lack of ‘upward feature analysis’ (Roberts and Roussou (2003:200)) in ‘lateral grammaticalization’ sets it formally apart from grammaticalization, and this ties in empirically with the lack of ‘phonological weakening’, ‘univerbation’ and ‘semantic bleaching’ in ‘lateral grammaticalization’ when these are the diagnostic traits of grammaticalization (Campbell (2001), Roberts and Roussou (2003:224-232)). All this entails some significant revisions to Minimalism as a model for grammaticalization and ‘lateral grammaticalization’, the former of which involves an upward shift of features while the latter involves a re-analysis of features from pragmatics.

1 Introduction

‘Lateral grammaticalization’ is a term dubbed by Simpson and Wu (S & W) (2002) and Wu (2004:chapter 4) to analyse a particular example of syntactic change within Minimalism, namely Chinese *de*, which is re-analysed from being a determiner (D) to a past tense marker (T). Roberts and Roussou (R & R) (2003), Roberts (2010) and van Gelderen (2011) analyse grammaticalization also within Minimalism, and in this paper I compare these two changes within Minimalism. In my conclusion, I provide new insights and definitions for both changes within grammaticalization theory and Minimalism.

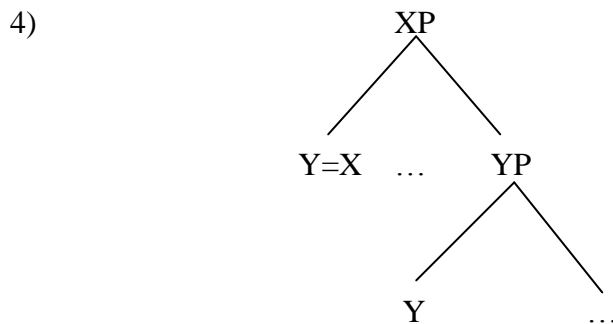
2 Grammaticalization and Minimalism

In Tse (2013:section 2), Tse explains how grammaticalization is incompatible with Lightfoot’s (1999, 2006) generative model of language change, which asserts that language evolution should be random (Lightfoot (1999:180-204, 264-266, 2006:90-111, 164-165)) when grammaticalization occurs cross-linguistically (Heine and Kuteva (2002)). R & R introduce to Lightfoot’s model a learning device in language acquisition, which chooses the ‘simpler’ alternative in re-analysis (R & R (1999:1020-1022, 2003:14-17), Clark and Roberts (1993:313-319), Tse (2013:fn 1)), and this accounts for why grammaticalization, which always leads to ‘simpler’ structures, is a natural type of change that can occur cross-linguistically (R & R (2003:2-7)).

R & R (2003) define ‘simplicity’ as the reduction of ‘formal feature syncretisms’, which are defined as ‘the presence of more than one formal feature in a given structural position: H [+F, +G...]’ (R & R (2003:201), Roberts (2010:49)), and they have discovered three types of grammaticalization (R & R (2003:198-199)):

- 1) $[_{XP} Y + X [_{YP...t_Y...}]] > [_{XP} Y=X [_{YP...Y...}]]$
- 2) $[_{XP} X_F... [_{YP...Y_F...}]] > [_{XP} X_F... [_{YP...Y...}]]$
- 3) $[_{XP} YP X ... [... t_{YP} ...]] > [_{XP} Y=X ... [...]]$

1) and 3) involve the loss of Move ($Y+X... t_Y$, $YP X... t_{YP}$) and the introduction of Merge for the grammaticalized item in a higher functional position ($Y=X$), while 2) involves the loss of Agree ($X_F... Y_F$) and an upward shift of features to the grammaticalized item (X_F). R & R (2003:200) therefore represent grammaticalization thus:



In all three types, features in a lower syntactic position (Y) are re-analysed onto a higher functional position (X). Roberts (2010:50-1) generalises between Move and Agree in that both involve probe and goal features where the former checks feature-values with the latter, and in Move the former also attracts the latter to its functional projection. Grammaticalization therefore involves the loss of probe features and an upward shift of lower goal features. Van Gelderen (2011:16-17, 20-21, 41) further proposes that functional categories hold uninterpretable features whereas lexical ones hold interpretable features, and the former are preferred in language acquisition as they are ‘simpler’ than the latter in having no feature-values (van Gelderen (2011:4, 17, 41-43)). In the next section, I test R & R and van Gelderen’s hypotheses with ‘lateral grammaticalization’.

3 ‘lateral grammaticalization’ (S & W (2002), Wu (2004:chapter 4))

3.1 Chinese de

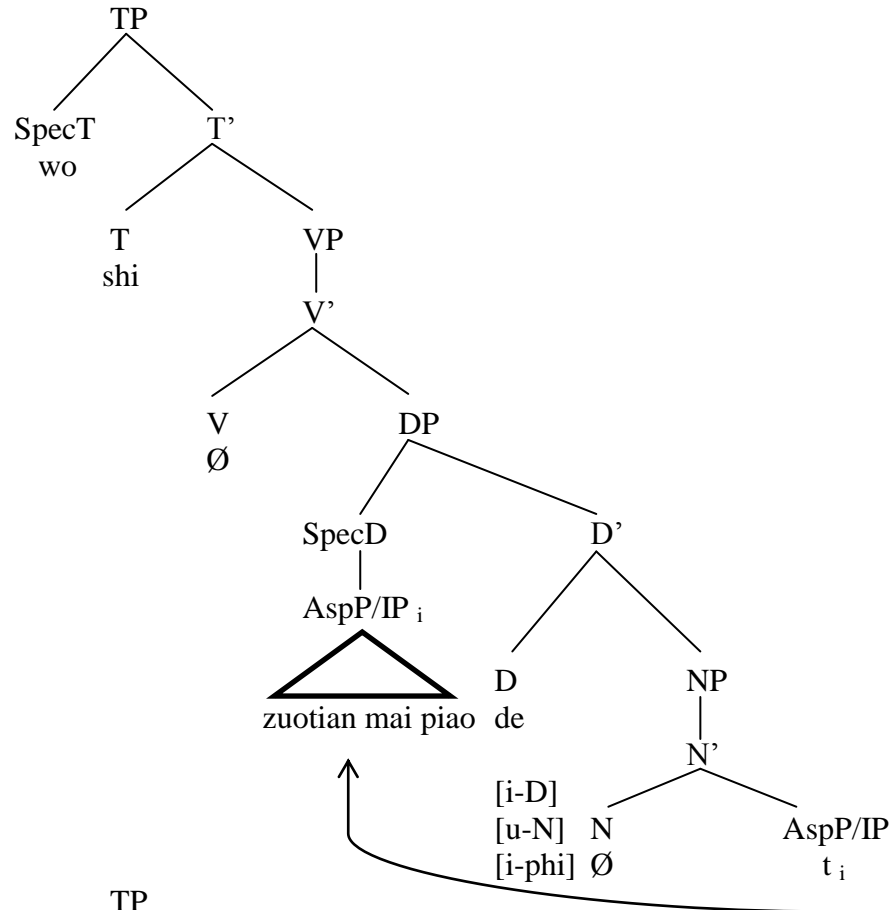
The following alternation is found in some northern dialects of Mandarin Chinese (S & W (2002:169), Wu (2004:120)):

- 1) wo shi zuotian mai piao de
 I be yesterday buy ticket DE
 - 2) wo shi zuotian mai de piao
 I be yesterday buy DE ticket
- ‘It was yesterday that I bought the ticket.’¹

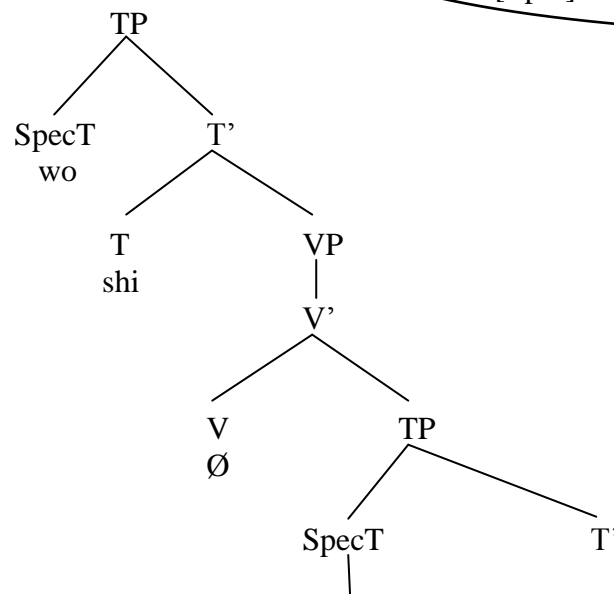
¹ 2) is argued to be derived from 1), since examples like 1) are attested earlier and are pan-Chinese (S & W (2002:171), Wu (2004:122)). One is therefore investigating why de has been preposed from

S & W (2002:175-177) and Wu (2004:125-126) argue that these constructions often imply that the action of the embedded clause (here *mai piao* ‘to buy ticket’) has already occurred, and so past tense is implied for the verb *mai* with *de* being alternatively analysed as a past tense marker (T(past)). There are therefore two representations for 1) (S & W (2002:189-197), Wu (2004:140-148)):

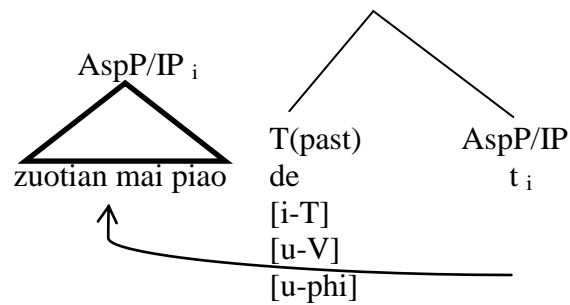
1a)



1b)

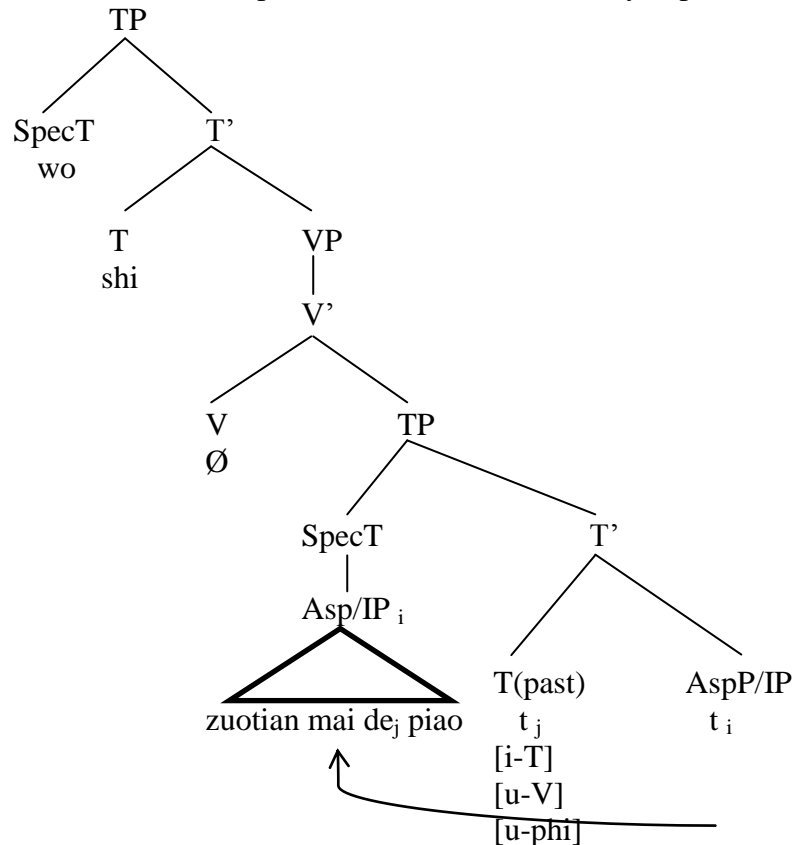


sentence-final position to a postverbal position (... *mai piao de* > ...*mai de piao*) rather than the other way round.



1b) has fewer ‘feature syncretisms’ than 1a) since in 1a) *de* as a determiner has an Agree relation with its (empty) nominal complement, whereas in 1b) this Agree is lost since the nominal complement is eliminated and there are fewer feature place-holders (S & W (2002:189-190), Wu (2004:140-142)). Furthermore, while *de* as a determiner holds interpretable phi-features (i-phi), given its origins as a complex noun phrase (S & W (2002:180-185), Wu (2004:132-141)), *de* as a tense marker holds uninterpretable phi-features (u-phi), which are ‘simpler’ (van Gelderen (2011:4, 17, 41-43)). 1b) is hence preferred.

Examples like 2) only permit past-time interpretations (S & W (2002:176-177), Wu (2004:127)), and so *de* in 2) must be interpreted as a T element, namely T(past):

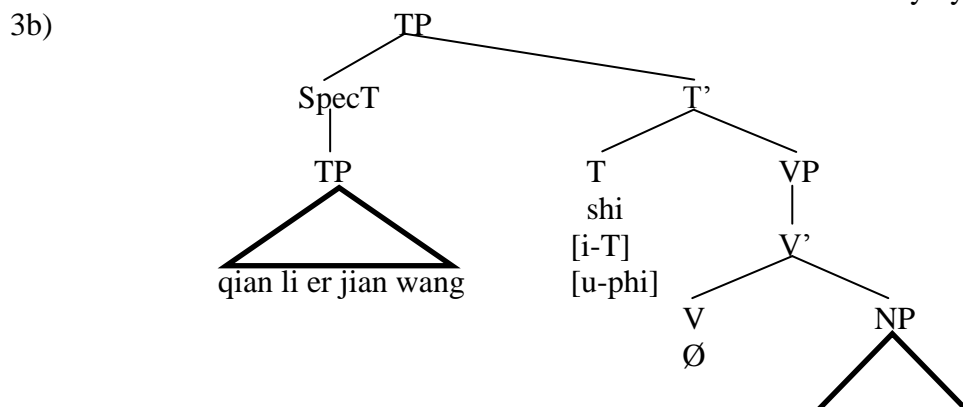
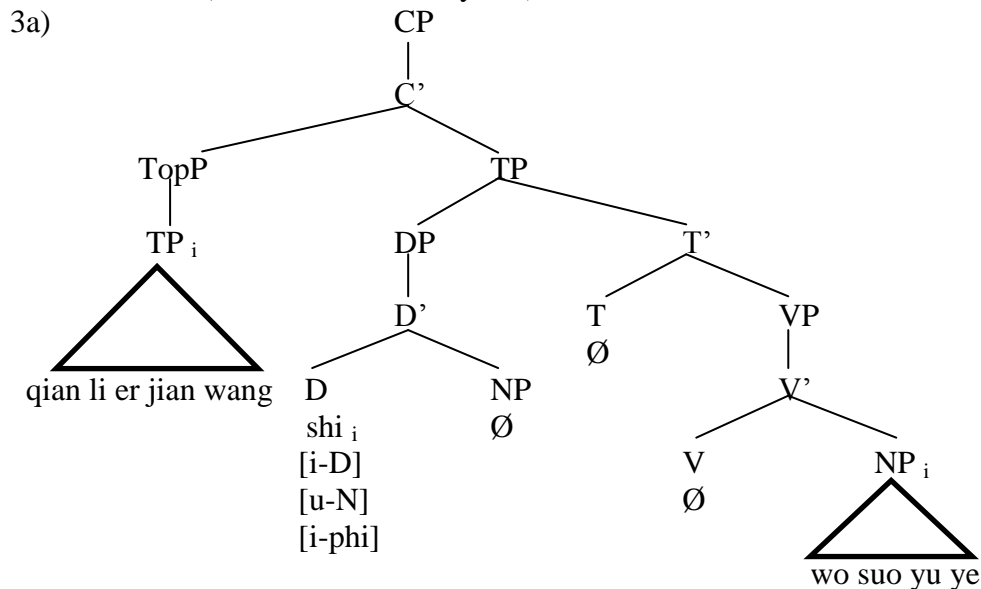


Chinese *de* therefore conforms to R & R and van Gelderen’s definitions of ‘feature economy’. However, it does not conform to R & R’s ‘upward feature analysis’, since the features in *de* under T ([i-T], [u-V], [u-phi]) are not re-analysed from a lower syntactic position but are rather the results of pragmatic implicature, namely the tendency for *shi-de* constructions to imply that the embedded action is past. More will be said about this below.

3.2 cross-linguistic distribution

The ‘feature economy’ in the ‘lateral grammaticalization’ of Chinese *de* makes one expect cross-linguistic distribution, and S & W (2002:199-202) and Wu (2004:149-153) do indeed give cross-linguistic counterparts that also undergo ‘feature economy’, namely copula verbs derived from (demonstrative) pronouns e.g. Chinese *shi* (Li and Thompson (L & T) (1977)).² Chinese *shi* is originally used in equational constructions where it is the subject of the clause in apposition with the topic³ and the predicate (3a) (L & T (1977:420), van Gelderen (2011:130), Feng (1993:284)), and since identity is implied, *shi* can be re-analysed as a copula verb linking the two and the topic is hence re-analysed as the subject (3b) (van Gelderen (2011:130-131), Feng (1993:301)):

- 3) qian li er jian wang
 thousand mile then see king
 shi wo suo yu ye
 this I NOMINALISER desire DECLARATIVE.PARTICLE
 ‘To see the king after travelling a thousand miles, this (is) what I want.’ (3a)
 OR ‘To see the king after travelling a thousand miles is what I want.’ (3b)
 (Mencius, 4th century BC)



² As L & T (1977:436) argue that copula verbs are often omissible cross-linguistically and are often used only to bear tense, all copula verbs in this paper are analysed as auxiliary verbs under T. This might also explain the subsequent development in Panare of copula verbs becoming auxiliary tense markers (Gildea (1993:63ff)).

³ According to Rizzi (1997), topics are part of the CP layer.

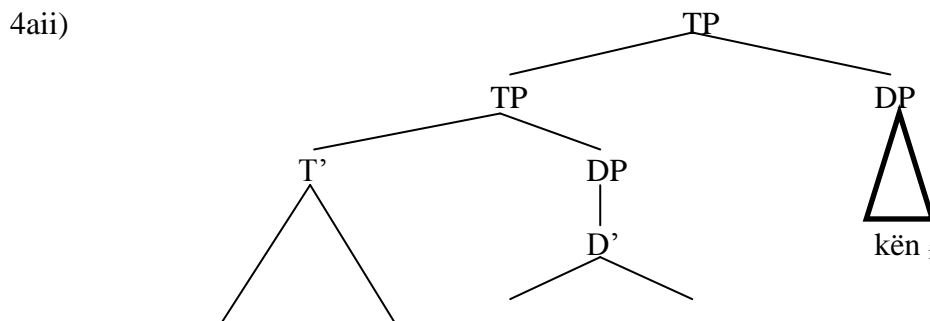
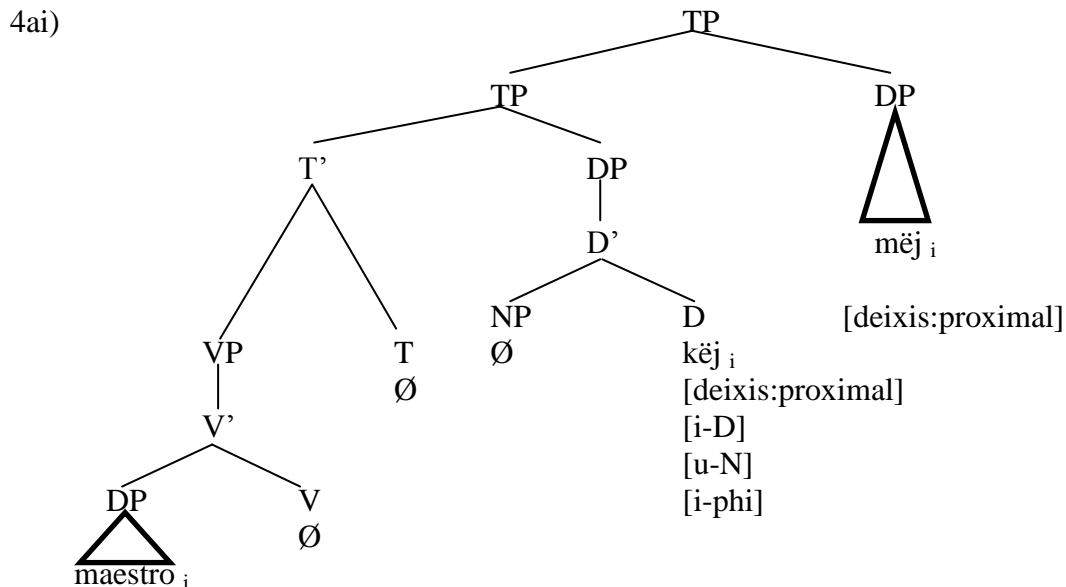
wo suo yu ye⁴

3b) is ‘simpler’ than 3a), since the Agree relations in 3a) between shi and its (empty) nominal complement⁵ and between the three constituents are lost, and there are fewer feature holders in 3b), namely the elimination of the empty NP and the TopP. Furthermore, like Chinese de, the original interpretable phi-features of shi as a demonstrative pronoun become uninterpretable in 3b). 3b) is therefore preferred in language acquisition.

Similar changes have occurred in several other languages (L & T (1977), van Gelderen (2011:chapter 4), Heine and Kuteva (2002:108-109)) e.g. Panare, where there are two such copula verbs, though Panare is head-final and shows leftwards complementation and right dislocation (Gildea (1993:57-58)):

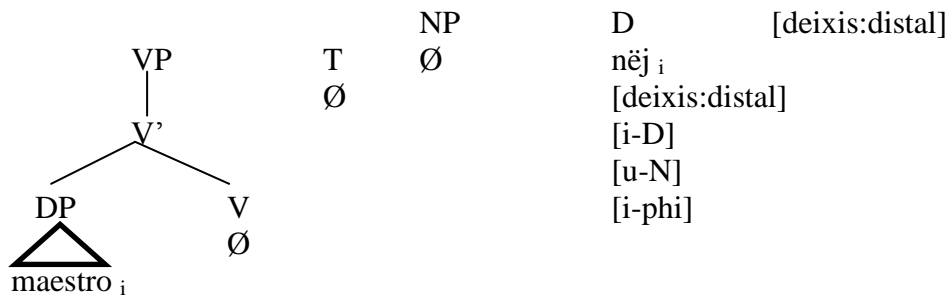
4ai) maestro kěj měj
teacher DEM.PRO.PROXIMAL PRO.PROXIMAL
‘A teacher (is) he here, this guy.’ (4ai) OR ‘This guy here is a teacher.’ (4aiii)

4aii) maestro něj kěn
teacher DEM.PRO.DISTAL PRO.DISTAL
‘A teacher (is) he there, that guy.’ (4aii) OR ‘That guy there is a teacher.’ (4aiiv)

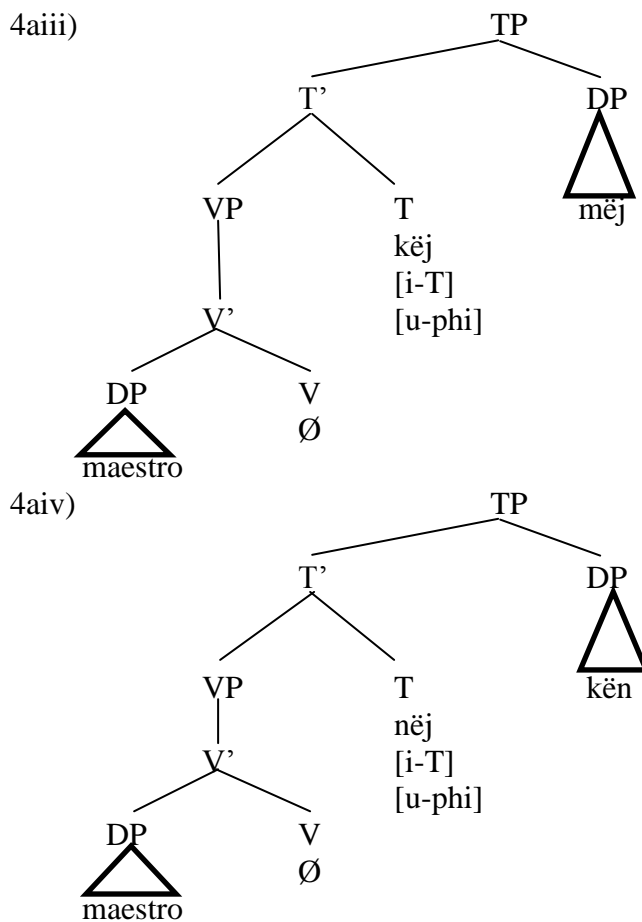


⁴ My representations differ from van Gelderen’s (2011:129-132) since she represents copula verbs as raising verbs under V while I represent them as auxiliary verbs under T for the reasons given in note 2.

⁵ As shi in Middle Chinese is attested with nominal complements (L & T (1977:422-423)), the DP it heads should contain an empty NP complement.



Alternatively, these two demonstrative pronouns could be re-analysed as copula verbs, since identity between the topic and the predicate is implied:

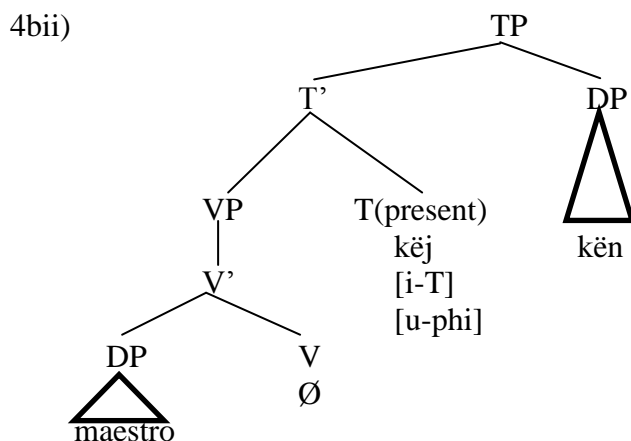
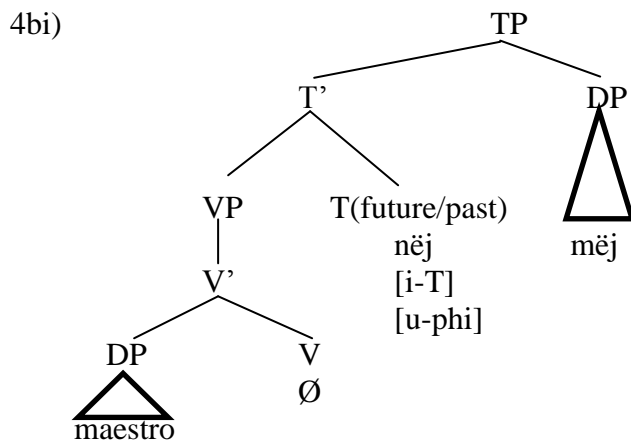


4aiii) and 4aiv), like 3b), have fewer ‘feature syncretisms’, since the Agree relations between the demonstratives and their (empty) nominal complements and between the demonstratives, the dislocated constituents (měj and kěn) and the predicate (maestro) are lost, and formerly interpretable phi-features ([i-phi]) have become uninterpretable ([u-phi]). There are also fewer feature place-holders, namely the elimination of the empty NP and the dislocated constituent. 4aiii) and 4aiv) are therefore preferred in language acquisition, which is evidenced by examples (4b) where there is a conflict of deixis between the dislocated constituents and the demonstratives and so there cannot possibly be Agree between them. Furthermore, the deixes of the demonstrative pronouns in these examples must be interpreted temporally and not spatially: kěj, which is a proximal demonstrative pronoun, must be interpreted as a present tense verb, whereas něj, a distal demonstrative pronoun, must denote

either past or future tense (Gildea (1993:57, 59, 61-62)). All this suggests that these demonstrative pronouns are re-analysed as copula verbs:

4bi) maestro nēj mēj
 teacher DEM.PRO.DISTAL PRO.PROXIMAL
 ‘This guy here was/will be a teacher.’

4bii) maestro kēj kën
 teacher DEM.PRO.PROXIMAL PRO.DISTAL
 ‘That guy there is being a teacher right now.’



‘Lateral grammaticalization’ is therefore strongly cross-linguistic,⁶ and this conforms to the fact that all its examples display ‘feature economy’ and are hence natural changes. This is powerful evidence in support of R & R and van Gelderen’s account, since their hypotheses have independently and coincidentally predicted and explained the cross-linguistic distribution of ‘lateral grammaticalization’.

However, like Chinese *de*, these copula verbs acquire features that are not re-analysed from a lower syntactic position, since the uninterpretable phi-features [u-phi] and the

⁶ See L & T (1977), Heine and Kuteva (2002:108-109) and Van Gelderen (2011:chapter 4) for more examples of pronouns > copula verbs which go through the same mechanisms of ‘feature economy’.

interpretable auxiliary verbal features [i-T] do not exist in the original equational constructions (3a), 4ai), 4aii)) where there is no verb. These are also the results of pragmatic implicature, namely the implied identity between the topic and the predicate. This also puts them at odds with R & R's 'upward feature analysis'.

4 'lateral grammaticalization' and grammaticalization

There are some empirical differences between 'lateral grammaticalization' and grammaticalization, namely 'phonological weakening', 'univerbation' and 'semantic bleaching', all of which are diagnostic traits of grammaticalization (Campbell (2001), Campbell and Janda (2001)) and are displayed by grammaticalization but not by 'lateral grammaticalization'.

4.1 'phonological weakening' and 'univerbation'⁷

In section 2, ex. 1-4, R & R's grammaticalization is defined as an upward shift of goal features as the result of probe features, which formerly caused Move or Agree, being lost, and nearly all of their examples display 'phonological weakening' and even 'univerbation' (see note 7).⁸ The underlying factor in R & R's model is that goal features are shifted upwards, either along with the grammaticalized item (if Move is lost) or onto the grammaticalized item (if Agree is lost), and so 'phonological weakening' and 'univerbation' of the grammaticalized item can be defined as the effect of features being shifted upwards, since the grammaticalized item always holds upwardly shifted features.

With 'lateral grammaticalization', however, the evidence for 'phonological weakening' and 'univerbation' is much harder to find. Chinese *de* is already 'phonologically weak' (i.e. toneless) and 'univerbated' as a determiner, as is its use as a past tense suffix (S & W (2002:173-174, 186, 190-194), Wu (2004:123-124, 138-139, 142-144)). Chinese *de* as a past tense suffix can be said to be more 'univerbated' than as a determiner, since while the former is a lexical suffix attached to a verb (see section 3.1, ex. 2), the latter is a syntactic suffix attached to a clause (see section 3.1, ex. 1). However, this is not necessarily the result of 'phonological weakening', since in both cases Chinese *de* is phonetically realised as toneless with no perceptible difference.⁹ The greater 'univerbation' of Chinese *de* as a verbal suffix is probably best seen as the syntactic reflex of the [i-T] and [u-V] features of *de* under T, since verbal affixes marking tense and aspect (T) are typically attached to the main verb in Chinese (S & W (2002:174-175)). 'Phonological weakening' is therefore a sufficient, not necessary, condition for 'univerbation' (see note 7).

⁷ In Minimalism, the interfaces and spell-out options of syntax only include 'Phonetic Form' (PF) and 'Logical Form' (LF) (R & R (1999:1017-1018, 2003:27-30), Chomsky (1995:21-23), Chomsky (2000:90-91, 94-98)), and so 'univerbation' is best seen as the consequence of 'phonological weakening' i.e. the weakening of PF, since it is caused by bound morphemes like clitics and affixes which are phonologically weak and coalesce with phonological hosts (Zwicky (1985:286-287)).

⁸ R & R (2003:224-232)) give all the relevant evidence for 'phonological reduction' and 'univerbation' in all of their examples.

⁹ I have consulted two speakers of northern Mandarin dialects (Beijing and Dalian), both of whom agree with me (Chinese is my L1 too) that *de* is toneless in both examples with no perceptible phonetic difference.

I find no evidence for copula verbs in L & T (1977), Gildea (1993), Heine and Kuteva (2002:108-109) or Van Gelderen (2011:chapter 4) undergoing ‘phonological weakening’ or ‘univerbation’ either, and this is supported by native speakers of some of these languages.^{10 11} The absence of ‘phonological weakening’ and ‘univerbation’ is perhaps due to the fact that there is no ‘upward feature analysis’ in ‘lateral grammaticalization’ (see section 3).

4.2 ‘semantic bleaching’

The upward shift of features in grammaticalization is caused by the loss of the probe features which formerly triggered Move or Agree. ‘Semantic bleaching’ can therefore be defined as the relative number of features in the cue, since with the loss of probe features the grammaticalized structure necessarily contains fewer features than before and is hence ‘semantically bleached’.¹²

With ‘lateral grammaticalization’, however, although it does undergo ‘feature economy’, Chinese *de* and copula verbs also gain features that were not in the original cues but were implied by pragmatics, namely auxiliary verbal ones ([i-T], [u-V]) (see section 3).¹³ ‘Lateral grammaticalization’ involves gaining new features from pragmatics, despite also undergoing ‘feature economy’. It therefore cannot be said to involve ‘semantic bleaching’.

5 Conclusions

The relationship between grammaticalization and ‘lateral grammaticalization’ is such that it depends on the relative positions and number of features. In grammaticalization, features are re-analysed upwards, whereas in ‘lateral grammaticalization’ features are re-analysed from pragmatics and discourse. This upward shift of features allows us to account for ‘phonological weakening’ and ‘univerbation’ while the cause for this upward shift (loss of probe features) accounts for ‘semantic bleaching’, all of which occur in grammaticalization but not in ‘lateral grammaticalization’.

My analysis significantly revises Minimalism as a model for grammaticalization. S & W (2002:200) and Wu (2004:151) define ‘lateral grammaticalization’ as the re-analysis from

¹⁰ Chinese *shi* is still toned (tone 4) in modern Mandarin i.e. phonologically and syntactically independent, as far as I know. I am grateful to two anonymous L1 speakers of Palestinian Arabic for confirming the absence of ‘phonological reduction’ and ‘univerbation’ for *hiyye* and *huwwe* (L & T (1977:431-433)), to Joanna Kowalik for that of Polish *to* (van Gelderen (2011:134-135)), to two Russian speakers for that of Russian *eto* (van Gelderen (2011:134-135)), and to Anat Greenstein for that of Hebrew *hu* and *ze* (L & T (1977:427-431)), since they inform me that their native pronunciation of these words as pronouns and as copulas is the same.

¹¹ Campbell (2001:121-122) argues that ‘phonological weakening’ is not a necessary (nor a sufficient) condition for grammaticalization, since its occurrence in grammaticalization is probabilistic rather than absolute (cf van Gelderen (2011:6)). Nonetheless, the total absence of ‘phonological weakening’ in the entire corpus of copula verbs is striking and is a real empirical difference that must be accounted for.

¹² This conforms with R & R’s model (1999:1017, 2003:4-5, 27-29, 218)) which only admits features that are LF-interpretable. If a structure has fewer features, it is necessarily semantically weaker.

¹³ My analysis here differs from van Gelderen’s (2011:131-132) since in the grammaticalization of copula verbs she argues that there is [i-T] even in the original equational constructions (3a), 4ai), 4aai)) where T is empty. This is an extremist position since she is postulating verbal features in constructions which do not even have a verb. In any case, the features of copula verbs are not re-analysed from a lower position, which separates them from R & R’s grammaticalization.

one functional category (e.g. D) to another (e.g. T),¹⁴ and they regard the grammaticalization of English complementiser *that* as ‘lateral’, since in certain dialects the complementiser *that* shows T-to-C raising (Pesetsky and Torrego (2001)), and given that it was originally a demonstrative pronoun (D), it may have gone through the same categorial change as Chinese *de*, namely D-to-T re-analysis. However, the grammaticalization of English *that* as a complementiser displays ‘upward feature analysis’ (R & R (2003:110-121, 196)):

- 5) [TP T [VP V *that*_i] [CP_i] > [TP T [VP V [CP *that* [TP...]]]]
- 6) [CP *that*_i [C [IP ...*t*_i...]]] > [CP [C *that*]

This ‘upward feature analysis’ ties in with the fact that English *that* is phonologically reduced as [ðət] when it is used as a complementiser whereas as a demonstrative pronoun it is not (R & R (2003:111, 224)). English *that* is best seen as an example of grammaticalization, even though it is the same as ‘lateral grammaticalization’ in terms of syntactic categories (D > T).

Conversely, van Gelderen (2011:chapter 4) classifies (demonstrative) pronouns > copula verbs as grammaticalization, since it undergoes the same feature re-analysis (interpretable phi-features > uninterpretable phi-features (see ex. 1-4)) as the development of subject markers (van Gelderen (2011:chapter 2)) and negative cycles (van Gelderen (2011:chapter 8)), when the latter two are analysed by R & R (2003:136ff, 175ff) as grammaticalization (7)-10)), given their ‘upward feature analysis’ (cf van Gelderen (2011:42-43, 295)):

- 7) French *n*-words:
[DP [D Ø] [NumP [Num *rien*] [NP *t*_{rien}]]] > [DP [D Ø] [NumP [Num *rien*] NP]]
- 8) French Stage-Two negation of Jespersen’s Cycle:
V [DP *mie/pas/point* ([PP *de* DP])] > V [Neg *mie/pas/point*] [VP ([DP Ø *de* NP])]
- 9) Northern Italian subject clitics:
[PersP DP_i [Pers V] [NumP... [VP *t*_i...]] > [PersP [Pers D [NumP [Num V]...]]
- 10) Welsh agreement:
[Agr V + D [YP ...]] > [Agr V [YP...]]

These examples display ‘phonological weakening’ (R & R (2003:224)) and ‘semantic bleaching’ (R & R (2003:218-224)), while copula verbs do not (see sections 4.1-4.2). It is therefore theoretically sound to consider the grammaticalization of copula verbs from pronouns a different change altogether i.e. ‘lateral grammaticalization’.

The key towards understanding the relationship between grammaticalization and ‘lateral grammaticalization’, therefore, lies in the relative positions of features, which is always shifted upwards in grammaticalization but re-analysed from pragmatics in ‘lateral grammaticalization’, despite also going through ‘feature economy’ in both.

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¹⁴ Vincent and Borjars (2010:293) also define ‘lateral grammaticalization’ thus.

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