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Exploring fuzzy meaning categories in dictionaries: insights from L1 and L2 speakers

Although meaning is a common research area between theoretical linguists and lexicographers, the two groups seem to advance in different directions (Bergenholtz and Gouws, 2017). From a cognitive linguistic perspective, world categories, and correspondingly meaning categories, do not have clear boundaries separating them from each other. They, rather, have members and a prototype, which is the most salient example of category membership (Lakoff, 1987; Rosch, 1978). Shared conceptual structures between words and word senses, reflected in Langacker's (1999) conceptual base and construal, Fillmore et al.'s (2003) frames and frame-to-frame relations and Lakoff's (1987) Idealized Cognitive Models, showed how the boundaries between word senses are far from being clear.

In contrast, lexicographers, governed by tradition and the practical necessity, have to enumerate the senses of a word in a dictionary entry, decide whether the differences in word uses are distinct enough to be recorded as individual word senses (i.e., split from other uses) or are minor and should be lumped with another meaning (Tóth, 2008). Moreover, they have to include examples instantiating each sense.

The current study explores the influence of fuzzy categorization on the ability of L2 speakers to link example sentences in Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (OALD) to their respective senses (experiment 1). The study elicits native judgments on a sample of the fuzzy sense categories that confused L2 speakers (experiment 2).

In the first experiment, 22 ESL learners in the 4th and 5th university years (English language program) responded to a timed multi-task test. They were asked to read a modified dictionary entry (disguising the target word and citing only the definitions and one example sentence for each sense from OALD). Then they responded to a sense selection task (4 sentences for each word) and were asked to judge the applicability (on a scale from 0 to 10) of each sense in the entry to each of the four sentences.

In the second experiment, semi-structured interviews were held with five native speakers of British English (under progress). Participants were asked to read the senses that were most confusing for the ESL learners, decide whether they acknowledged them as different senses of the target word, and explain their reasons. Then, they were provided with the sentences that were equally problematic to most participants in the first experiment and asked to choose the most applicable sense to each sentence.

The results of the first experiment showed that only 46% of the sense selections matched the dictionary sense-example associations. Moreover, the applicability judgment revealed that all participants perceived at least two senses as equally applicable to the sentences. The senses that were perceived as totally applicable to a sentence (by at least 85% of the participants) but still do not correspond to the dictionary's sense-example association were qualitatively analyzed. The influence of fuzzy categorization was dominant in most cases. The sentence *Her wine glass was still fairly innociduous* (pseudoword for *full*) was dominantly linked to "containing or holding as much or as many as possible; having no empty space" (which is the correct sense according to OALD), and "having or containing a large number or amount of something/somebody". There seem to be no clear boundaries between these two degrees of fullness. Both entail the existence of a container and its contents. However, meaning distinctions are due to the space occupied by the contents in the container.

In the second experiment, the five native participants perceived the abovementioned senses in addition to "complete; with nothing missing" and "to the highest level or greatest amount possible" as different senses of *full*. They judged the four senses as applicable to the abovementioned test sentence. Two of them commented that one of the senses may be more applicable than the other if the test sentence, i.e., *her wine glass was still fairly full*, was uttered in a specific situation in which they could see the glass or if a larger part of the context was provided. Although they would not use *complete* to describe a glass or a container and would naturally use *full*, they did not find the meaning awkward in this context.

Accordingly, lexicographers may consider a more flexible approach to sense discrimination that accounts for the cognitive linguistic interpretations of polysemy, semantic similarity and relatedness. Providing collective examples for a couple of related senses or hardly separable ones may improve the sense delineation process for lexicographers and learners. Also, replacing the many-to-one correspondence

between examples and senses with many-to-many possibilities may enhance the compilation of entries and the learnability of the senses.

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The relation of the paradigm of nominal personal suffixes to that of verbal personal suffixes in Hungarian

(A survey in the context of Givón's theory on
the diachronically new or old status of pronominal agreement)

Why is it that, while there is a straightforward correspondence between nominal and verbal forms such as *pántom/pántod/pántotok* 'my/your_{sg}/your_{pl} band' and *bántom/bántod/bántotok* 'I/you_{sg}/you_{pl} outrage', *pántjuk* 'their band' and *bántjuk* 'we outrage', as shown by the translations, form a fake pair? We claim that it is (even) possible to give an answer to the puzzle solely on the basis of the data in the synchronic system of the language, without the application of any tools of diachronic linguistics. Nevertheless, we draw a global picture based on Givón's theory on the diachronically new or old status of pronominal agreement, according to which the sources of the affixes of pronominal agreement in person and number are the corresponding independent pronouns. Depending on whether the given type of agreement is diachronically young or old in a language, the etymological link to independent pronouns is highly transparent or, to the contrary, scarcely transparent but rather tenuous. As a first step, we consider the *diachronically young* type; we claim that the Nilo-Saharan Luo language serves as a better illustration of this type than Givón's (1976, 2017) own poster-child examples. Hungarian and other Finno-Ugric languages, obviously belongs to the *diachronically old* type in Givón's system. Nevertheless, the synchronic system of Hungarian preserves the distinguished role of the pronominal basis in a strange, but surprisingly regular way. We claim that a thorough scrutiny of the synchronic data by appropriately segmenting the richly suffixed verb forms shows that, of the intricate set of agreement suffixes, the personal-pronoun related suffixes are "doubly distinguished". On the one hand, they, and only they, appear in non-verbal personal agreement. On the other hand, but in obvious correlation with this fact, they form a special subset of personal agreement suffixes: they are the definiteness-neutral ones. Thus, despite its diachronically old status in the Givónian system and its fairly eclectic agreement system consisting of agreement suffixes of different sources, the subset of personal-pronoun related agreement suffixes *still* plays a distinguished role in the synchronic state of Hungarian.

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On the acquisition of person category and verbs in Estonian. Mental state verbs versus action verbs

The literature on the acquisition of the category of person is scarce: there are no approaches investigating the acquisition of pronouns and verbs together, i.e., development of the category of person as a entirety. The evidence that language development is closely intertwined with ToM development is strong (de Villiers 2007). The ability to produce and comprehend first- and second-person singular pronouns seems closely linked with the ability to appreciate other people's mental states: a lack or non-mature development of ToM may affect children's competence in using pronouns (Cadinu, Kiesner 2000). Research has shown how ToM doesn't develop as a monolithic competence but rather it is progressively strengthened through a predictable sequence of precursor abilities, such as desires, beliefs, knowledge, intentions, emotions (e.g., Peterson et al. 2012). Wellman & Liu (2004) found a correlation between the use of second-person singular pronouns and the use of mental state verbs (sensory perception, emotion, desire, and cognition).

The goal of the study is to demonstrate how the second person category develops in Estonian child language: when and in which order emerge personal constructions; do verbs with different semantics develop also differently in person constructions; does the development of verbs in second person follow the contrasts of mental states presented by Wellman and Liu (2004); which are the possible factors influencing the frequency and the order of the acquisition of different verbs in second person constructions.

The analysis is based on data of 3 longitudinal spontaneous speech corpora of Estonian children (age 1;3-3;1). The recordings (60 h) were transcribed according to CHILDES (MacWhinney 2003). All person constructions (approximately 2000 constructions per child) were coded.

Results of the analysis revealed that verbs used in second person constructions differ from those used in first and third person constructions: it can be seen that different verb types are grouped in different person constructions. The order of emergence of different verbs in second person constructions coincides with Wellmann's and Liu's contrasts of mental verbs only partially. The main factors influencing the order of acquisition of pronouns and verbs are pragmatic in nature: the use of directive or interrogative constructions with action verbs is common in second person constructions while the use of mental state or perception verbs is more frequent in first person constructions). Therefore, not only complexity of mental states but also different pragmatic factors could be important in the analysis of the acquisition of person category and verbs.

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Topic-focus word order in Biblical Hebrew and its translations into Hungarian

A translation, from an Optimality Theory-style perspective (cf., e.g., Mansell, 2007), optimizes three constraints: faithfulness to the source meaning (FSM), markedness of the target form (MTF), and faithfulness to the source form (FSF). While precise formulations and implementations of these constraints, or constraint families, await future work, studying Bible translations might still contribute valuable materials to an understanding of their interactions. Namely, the culturally enhanced importance of the source's presumed meaning predicts a promotion of FSM. The broad usage of biblical texts in various (liturgical, study and secular) contexts should favour MTF. Whereas the high prestige of the source text has occasionally resulted in a highly ranked FSF, such as in the case of the *Ferrara Bible*, a 1553 word-by-word translation of the Tanakh from Hebrew to Ladino (Judeo-Spanish).

Information structure (topic and focus, or a lack thereof, in a sentences) can serve as a fascinating test case, because language users have always "had a feeling" for them, but it was not conceptualized until recently. Consequently, translators did not follow explicit prescriptive rules. Different word orders in the source and target languages result in a conflict between FSF and MTF, whereas FSM could only be implemented with "gut feeling".

Like Hungarian, Biblical Hebrew (Tiberian Hebrew) is also a topic-focus language (cf., e.g., Heimerdinger 1999). Observe the following examples:

(1) Num 18:14¹

הִיָּהִי גִלְ לְאַרְשִׁיב פְּרִיז־לָכ

kol hērem *bə=yiśrā`el* *lə-kā* *yihyeh*
all devoted in=Israel to-SG.2.M be.IPFV.SG.3.M
'Everything devoted in Israel shall be thine.' (KJV)

Minden *örök szentség* *Izraélben* *a* *tied* *legyen.* (IMIT)
all eternal holiness in=Israel ART.DEF yours be.IMP.SG.3
'Everything that has been proscribed in Israel shall be yours.' (JPS 2006)

(2) Isaiah 8:13a

וְשִׁי־דִקְתָּ וְיָתָא תִּזְאָבֵצ הַיְהוָה־תָּא

'*et-`ādōnāi šəbā`ōt`* *ōtō* *taqdīšū*
ACC-LORD host.PL PRO.ACC.SG.3.M account=holly.IPVE.PL.2.M
'None but GOD of Hosts shall you account holy' (Revised JPS)

Az *Örökkévalót,* *a* *seregek urát,* *őt* *mondjátok* *szentnek.* (IMIT)
ART.DEF Eternal.ACC ART.DEF host.PL Lord.POSS.ACC PRO. say.IMP.PL.2 holly.DAT
SG.3.ACC

'But the Lord of hosts, him you shall regard as holy' (NRSVUE)

Sentence (1) contains both a topic ('regarding everything proscribed in Israel,...') and a focus ('yours, *i.e.* not anyone else's'). The cited English translations do not reflect the information structure of the original text in writing. Their readers are expected to derive it from context and read the sentence with an emphasis on *yours/thine*. The Hungarian translations, however, have no problems reproducing the topic-focus structure, and most do so by mirroring the Hebrew word order:

KG-1908: *Minden, a mi teljesen Istennek szenteltetik Izraélben, tiéd legyen.*
KNV-1997: *Mindaz, amit fogadalomból adnak Izrael fiai, a tiéd legyen.*
IMIT: *Minden örök szentség Izraélben a tied legyen.*
Bernstein Béla: *Minden átok alá vetett Izraelben a tied legyen.*

(Source of the translations: <https://ebo.kre.hu/>.) While the Hebrew word *hērem* poses a challenge to the translators, and the stylistic *tiéd ~ tied* alternation is also observable, the word order of these translations is uniformly topic – focus – VP. The more recent ones, however, either make use of right-dislocation (ÚRK-2011: *Minden a tied legyen, amit fogadalomból teljesen Istennek szentelnek Izraélben*"), or omit topicalization altogether (SZIT-1973: "A *tiéd minden, amit Izraelben felajánlanak átok alatt*"; ÚF-1990 and RÚF-2014: "*Tied legyen mindaz, amit esküvel szenteltek oda Izraélben*"). MTF disprefers longer NPs on the left-periphery, and this constraint might have been promoted by recent generations of translators at the expense of FSF. Focus is uniformly maintained, nevertheless.

Example (2) also contains a focus: 'the Lord of the Hosts must, and no one else can be considered holy'. As the focus is a heavy NP, in Biblical Hebrew it is further moved to the sentence initial (topic) position, and a resumptive pronoun appears at its trace. Due to the theological importance of this declaration, English translations employ periphrasis to make the information structure clear. One of the translations mirrors the Hebrew structure, but

¹ The Hebrew texts are from the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS), as provided on the website of the *Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft* (<https://www.academic-bible.com/>). For transcription, I use the 'SBL Academic' option provided by <https://alittlehebrew.com/transliterate/>. The complex history of Biblical/Tiberian Hebrew pronunciations would make it senseless to include phonological transcriptions in a syntactic paper. Abbreviations referring to translations are: KJV = *King James Version* (from <https://www.biblegateway.com/>); NRSVUE = *New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition* (from <https://www.biblegateway.com/>); JPS 2006 = *The Contemporary Torah* (Jewish Publication Society, 2006, as published on <https://www.sefaria.org/>); Revised JPS = *The JPS Tanakh: Gender-Sensitive Edition* (2023, as published on <https://www.sefaria.org/>); IMIT = *Izraelita Magyar Irodalmi Társulat* (1898–1907, repr. Makkabi, 1993; also available on <https://ebo.kre.hu/>).

seemingly this is not the preferred solution among the translations. Yet, the Hungarian translations are again rather similar – if we ignore the differences in the divine names, and the precise translations of *taqdīšû* ('to sanctify, to declare holy, to consider holy') – as they can easily copy the Hebrew syntax. Indeed, most of the translations maintain the original word order with the inclusion of an accusative pronoun. However, ÚF-1990, KNV-1997 and RÚF-2014 omit it: another example of recent translators promoting MTF, they do so probably because the same pronoun also appears in the topic position of the second half of the same Biblical verse.

In my talk, I shall analyse further examples, making use of the *Egyesített Bibliaolvasó* developed at KRE, a very handy tool to compare Hungarian Bible translations. I concentrate on narratives, because other genres – such as archaic, poetic, prophetic and legal materials – have their own styles, possibly also affecting their syntax. The small sample is insufficient to draw significant conclusions on the syntax of Hungarian Bible translations. Yet, these preliminary results might prepare a future project, which in turn can help us better understand the roles of FSM, MTF and FSF in translations.

Keywords: Biblical Hebrew, Hungarian, Bible translations, syntax, topic-focus word order.

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Empirical linguistics – a cautious obituary

The present talk is meant to be a contribution to an ancient controversy about the nature of linguistic research. Soon after the publication of the first (extant) European grammar, i.e., the *Tekhné grammatiké* by Dionysios Thrax, professionals in the field fiercely attacked his claim that the study of language is simply an *empirical study of usage*. They argued that by calling our scholarship mere *empeiria*, Dionysios was degrading the science of language into an occupation similar to that of doctors. Doctors, after all, act without a “principled basis” (*aneu logou*). If a cure is successful, i.e., if the patient recovers, it is applied again, if he dies, the method is abandoned (Hilgard 1901: 166.25). The alleged hierarchy of scientific research ranging from *rational argumentation* (noble speculation) to *observation and presentation of data* has been with us for roughly two and a half millennia (cf. Plato *Politeia* 409bc, 477b). In modern theoretical linguistics, leading authorities often claim that their method of linguistic research is basically identical with that of natural science. Such a claim disregards, for instance, Ringen (1980), Yngve (1986, 1994) or Sampson (2017).

We claim, however, that this dichotomy of “real science” and “mindless data collection” is fundamentally false. Our second claim is that, even in areas where extensive empirical investigation of data is supposed to be predominant and readily available, our deeply ingrained preconceptions about rationality tend to prevent us from “facing the facts”, i.e., believing what the data, in fact, reveal. We briefly present half a dozen examples from various research areas and languages, in order to demonstrate that even supposedly “data-oriented” scholarship fails to meet the criterion of empirical validity. Our examples are concerned with the interpretation of genealogical trees in comparative linguistics, the study of vowel harmony, sociolinguistic variation in morphology and syntax, etymology, and language contact.

Keywords: linguistics, science, empirical validity

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Csaba Csides

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Word-stress and the distribution of consonant clusters in English

My presentation aims to demonstrate that the distribution of consonant clusters and the assignment of word-stress in English can be captured by the same machinery within the framework of strict CV-phonology. Strict CV Phonology was initiated by Lowenstamm (1996) and was further developed by Rowicka (1999), Dienes & Szigetvári (1999), Szigetvári (1999, 2000, 2007), Csides (2002, 2008), Ségéral & Scheer (1999), Scheer (1998, 2004), Scheer & Szigetvári (2005) among others. It must be emphasised that Strict CV phonology is a radical offspring of Standard Government Phonology (GP), initiated originally by Kaye, Lowenstamm & Vergnaud (1985, 1990), Kaye (1990), Charette (1990, 1991), Harris (1990) among others. It was further developed and applied to a massive number of languages in various books, articles by – among others – Harris (1990, 1992, 1994, 1997), Harris & Gussmann (1998).

In order to be able to grasp the parallel between the machinery that governs the distribution of consonant clusters and the principle that regulates the assignment of English word-stress, we have to part with some of the credos of standard strict CV phonology. Contrary to mainstream assumptions, I wish to argue for bidirectional government in Phonology. Unidirectional theories have been promoted mainly in the standard strict CV phonological literature. For Lowenstamm (1996), Scheer (2004), Szigetvári (1999) – among others – government is strictly right-to-left, while for Rowicka (1997) it is left-to-right. One of my goals is to demonstrate that government goes in both directions but in a principled manner, following a strict algorithm. Moreover, I claim that government is primarily left-to-right, and that right-to-left government must be licensed or takes place only as a last resort. This can only be achieved, however, if we also quit the view that government can only target empty vocalic positions. Conversely, I assume that government may target empty and contentful vocalic positions alike, cf. Csides (2002, 2008). The phonetic manifestation of a governed empty vocalic position is absolute silence, while the phonetic interpretation of a governed contentful vocalic position is vowel reduction, i.e., relative silence.

In order to be able to capture the essence of word-stress assignment in English, we will introduce the notions of sub-minimal, minimal and optimal CV-feet. The structural properties of CV-feet are, of course, different from those of traditional phonological feet. Nevertheless, the introduction of the concept of CV-feet also allows us to draw a parallel between traditional trochaic feet on the one hand and long vowels and diphthongs on the other. As a result of the analysis, the distribution of different types of consonant clusters becomes more straightforward. The distribution of traditional onset clusters, coda clusters and bogus clusters can be explained by making reference to governing relations contracted by vocalic positions.

To sum up, the ultimate goal of the presentation is to show how certain segmental and supra-segmental processes can be dealt with in a unified manner. The proposal will hopefully shed light on how distributional and stress related issues can be accounted for in terms of lateral structural relationships in a non-arboreal phonological framework.

Keywords: strict CV Phonology, stress clusters, vowel-reduction, absolute and relative silence

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The multifaceted uses of DOM and why it is syntactic

In this talk, various types of Differential object marking will be observed in different contexts: in micro-contact (between Romance varieties), in macrocontact, between Romance and some Peruvian languages (most notably Shipibo and Asháninka), and in microdiachrony, in a group of Indo-Aryan varieties.

The way DOM emerges, develops, and changes will shed light on the nature of the phenomenon itself as well as its interaction with sentence structure, case and alignment. It will be shown how DOM interacts syntactically with the other clausal components, from extending syntactic domains to triggering alignment shift.

Tatiana Davidyuk

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Agreement with disjoined subjects in Russian

The study explores agreement with disjoined subjects differing in person features. Russian grammar (Shvedova (red.) 1980: 242-244) prescribes resolution rules and person hierarchy (1 > 2 > 3) for such cases. However, these sources only provide examples for coordinated subjects. Additionally, recent experimental research (Belova, Davidyuk 2022) found the 3rd person plural agreement in the non-past tense for coordinated subjects, similar to some Germanic languages (Timmermans et al. 2004). While coordination has been studied in experimentally, disjoined subjects in Russian remain unexplored. I have the following

hypotheses concerning agreement with disjunctive subjects in Russian: 1) the 3rd person plural agreement may emerge in disjunctive constructions, 2) agreement with the nearest disjunct might occur, as demonstrated for Slovenian by Marušić and Shen (2021), and 3) exclusive disjunction may allow resolution-based agreement (as also shown for Slovenian in [Marušić, Shen 2021]).

The study comprises two experiments using sentences with conjunctions *il'i* 'or' and *il'i ... il'i* 'either ... or'. In the first experiment, the first disjunct was the pronoun *ja* 'I' and the second disjunct was a masculine proper name. In the second, the order of disjuncts was reversed. All sentences used the non-past tense, which in Russian requires person and number agreement, and followed SVO word order. Each experiment included grammatical and ungrammatical fillers in a 1:1 ratio with experimental sentences. Participants evaluated sentences on the Likert scale from 1 to 7, assessing four agreement patterns: 1st person singular, 1st person plural, 3rd person singular and 3rd person plural. Each experiment involved over 80 participants. For statistical analysis, regression using a linear mixed model and Tukey's method for multiple pairwise comparisons were employed. The results of the experiments are as follows. The highest scores were assigned to agreement based on resolution rules when compared to other agreement patterns. An influence of the order of conjuncts was observed, resulting in a decrease in scores for agreement based on resolution rules only in the second experiment. In addition, 1st person singular agreement received scores similar to those of non-grammatical fillers in the first experiment but not in the second experiment. Notably, there was no statistically significant difference in scores between 3rd person plural agreement and 3rd person singular agreement in both experiments. Thus, all three hypotheses have been confirmed.

Keywords: person agreement, disjunction, experiment, acceptability judgment, Russian language

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Locative PPs as binominals: Evidence from Ainu and Sora

In a variety of unrelated languages (including English, Hungarian and Bantu languages) some locative morphemes share properties with both adpositions and nouns. Previous analyses tried to explain this in two ways. Svenonius (2006) posits a special functional category AxialPart in the extended PP, which has these mixed properties by assumption. The other approach views the relevant expressions as binominals projected by a silent PLACE noun, with the overt Ground merged as the possessor of PLACE (Terzi 2010, Botwinik-Rotem 2008, Cinque 2010). On this analysis the nouny properties stem from PLACE, while the adpositional properties come from the Place/Path head dominating PLACE.

(1) [_{PP} Place [_{NP} [_{possor} Ground] PLACE]]

A weak point of (1) has always been the lack of surface exponence, and therefore lack of direct evidence, for PLACE.

I present evidence that (1) is indeed a strategy utilized—in some cases forced—by UG. I show that counterparts of (1) with an **overt** noun must be used with non-locative nouns in Sora (South Munda, India) and Ainu (Paleo-Siberian isolate, Japan). So-called inherently locative nouns denote geographical locations and land forms (e.g. ‘hills’, ‘shore’, ‘village’). In case-poor Sora inherently locative nouns appear in their bare form to indicate locations and directions. I assume that these are complements to a null P head (2). (The NSFX formative codes definiteness and has no relevance for the issue at hand.) In Ainu inherently locative nouns are directly juxtaposed to one of the postpositions of the language (3).

(2) Anin bəru-n yər-lə.
 he hill.field-NSFX went
 ‘He went to the field.’ (Starosta 1976) Sora

(3) tan kotan wa
 this village ABL
 ‘from this village’ (Bugaeva 2012) Ainu

Non-locative nouns, which do not denote places or land forms cannot be juxtaposed to postpositions; they require a relational noun (with meanings such as ‘next to’ or ‘under’) between the Ground and P. Crucially, to indicate general location in Ainu, the overt noun *or* ‘place’ is used. Inanimates are compounded with *or*, while animate nouns appear as the possessor of *or*, which is marked with the possessive suffix (*or-o*). In Sora animate non-locative nouns appear as possessors of the overt noun *məŋ* ‘area, vicinity’; *məŋ* is also overtly marked for possession (5). (Inanimates are compounded to bound nouns with a locative semantics.)

(4) Babu-n a-məŋ
 Babu-NSFX POSS-locative
 ‘to the Babu(’s vicinity)’ (Starosta 1976) Sora

(5) hapo or-o wa
 mother place-POSS ABL
 ‘by (lit. from) mother’ (Bugaeva 2012) Ainu

Ainu *or* and Sora *məŋ* are inherently locative nouns themselves, thus these languages restrict P-complements to all and only inherently locative nouns. The discussed patterns provide strong evidence that locative PPs may indeed involve a binominal structure with PLACE.

I also touch upon the implications of this result for languages with a covert PLACE noun. When PLACE is covert and the Place/Path head is spelled out with a bound affix, the affix remains without a local nominal host. In this case it leans onto the overt genitive-marked Ground at PF for phonological support, which yields overt case stacking on the Ground: NP-Gen-Locative. On the surface, this pattern appears to directly support the case contiguity hypothesis, whereby semantic cases are built on structural cases and the genitive (Caha 2009). If, however, the relevant patterns have an underlying binominal structure, then the genitive and the locative belong to different nouns, and the data in question are irrelevant for the case hierarchy.

Keywords: locative phrase, PP, adposition, PLACE

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The phonosyntax of ‘little x ’

The central contribution of this paper is that in phonology, just as in minimalist syntax, recursive structures in which a constituent is immediately embedded in a projection of ‘little x ’ play a fundamental role. In the first part of the paper,² it is argued that the phonological counterpart to the ‘little ν ’ of syntactic structures helps us understand the phonosyntax of the syllable and the foot. In the second part,³ a phonosyntactic case study of Hungarian ‘lowering’ is presented in which the difference between ‘lowering’ and non-‘lowering’ triggers is derived from properties of the categorising heads ‘little ν ’, ‘little n ’ and ‘little a ’ in tandem with the syntax of agreement and movement.

1. Preamble: ‘Little x ’ in syntax

In syntax, a variety of arguments have been put forward in favour of the idea that the external argument of a lexical head is not introduced by that lexical head itself but instead by a ‘helper’ — the ‘little x ’ projected outside the projection of the lexical root. This ‘helper’ has, in addition, been held responsible for assigning a category label to the root, which is lexically listed without a category specification: ‘acategorial’ roots are categorised by ‘little x ’, with the value for x (viz., a , n , ν or p) determining which category the root and its extended projection belong to.

Once we sever the external argument from V and take it out of SpecVP, we automatically free up SpecVP to accommodate an internal argument alongside the one introducible in the complement position of V. This leads to the conclusion that argument structures can feature a maximum of three arguments: one external argument plus two internal ones, one in SpecVP and the other in the complement of V. Baker’s (1988) Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) regulates the connection between lexical thematic relations and syntactic structural relations. The SpecVP position is arguably tied one-to-one to the θ -role ‘Theme’, while SpecVP is restricted to Agents and Causers; the ‘complement-of’ relation, on the other hand, appears to be thematically quite heterogeneous. Confining it to the ‘specifier-of’ relation, UTAH can be formulated as in (1):

- (1) *Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH)* (specifier-only version)
 specifier positions in the lexical core are associated with unique thematic content in underlying representations

2. ‘Little x ’ in syllabic structure

The cornerstone of this paper is the hypothesis that phonology projects structures analogous to those recognised in present-day minimalist syntax: structures featuring a projection of a radical head accommodating a maximum of one complement and one specifier plus a projection of a ‘little x ’ outside the root’s phrase which introduces one additional specifier.

² This part of the paper draws on work done in collaboration with Harry van der Hulst; see Den Dikken & Van der Hulst (2020), On some deep structural analogies between syntax and phonology. In Kuniya Nasukawa (ed.), *Morpheme-internal recursion in phonology*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 57–114) for a longer report on this joint work.

³ This part of the paper is based on Den Dikken (2023), A phonosyntactic representation of Hungarian ‘lowering’; in Jeroen van de Weijer (ed.), *Segmental structure and representations*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 307–26. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110730098-016>, q.v. for a longer exposé considering a broader range of examples.

In the structure of the syllable, the specifier of ‘little *v*’ harbours the Onset — the analogue of the external argument in syntax. Inside the ‘big VP’, the structure of the syllable accommodates a variety of different material, associated with the traditional Coda constituent. There are interesting regularities regarding the association of melodic material with the SpecVP position in the structure of the syllable — regularities that are reminiscent of those registered for syntax under the rubric of UTAH. There is, in other words, a phonological cousin to UTAH in (1):

- (2) *Uniformity of Melody Assignment Hypothesis (UMAH)*
specifier positions in the syllabic core are associated with unique melodic content in underlying representations

Whenever SpecVP in the syllabic core is underlyingly associated with melodic content, this content must be *sonorant*: non-sonorant material cannot be mapped into SpecVP in underlying representations. Sonorancy is the equivalent in the syntax of syllabic structure of Thematicity in the syntax of argument structure. The presence of segmental content in SpecVP is required when the Nucleus is a lax vowel. This parallel suggests that lax vowels are the counterparts in the syntax of syllable structure to ‘affecting verbs’ (i.e., verbs that always take a Theme argument, projected in SpecVP) in the syntax of argument structure. The exemplification in section 2 is based on Dutch.

3. ‘Little *x*’ in the phonology–morphology interface: Hungarian ‘lowering’

Section 3 is devoted to the establishing that in Hungarian, categorising ‘little *x*’ heads play an explanatory role, in conjunction with the syntax of agreement and movement, in the phonosyntactic behaviour of linking vowels in the suffixation system. The fact that Hungarian suffixes never have a high linking vowel is due to the fact that all categorising ‘little *x*’ heads of Hungarian are endowed with the element |A| ‘open’. The fact that certain stems are ‘lowering’ triggers (causing a ‘bleaching’ of the vocalic melody of linking vowels) while others are not translates as a function of the absence or presence of syntactic head movement of the root to the categorising ‘little *x*’: ‘lowering’ in phonology is correlated with *non*-raising of the root to ‘little *x*’ in syntax. Movement of $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ to *x* causes the $\sqrt{\text{+}}$ -categoriser complex to acquire all of the lexical specifications of the root. This makes it possible for the vowel of the first inflectional suffix to exhibit both palatal and labial harmony with the root. But in the absence of $\sqrt{\text{-to-}}$ movement, the categorising ‘little *x*’ can only establish an Agree relation with the root, and this Agree relationship cannot see material represented on a left branch inside the root, causing harmony for the element |U| ‘labial’ (a secondary articulation) to be impossible under Agree. The phonosyntactic approach to the distribution of ‘lowering’ is shown to open up a meaningful cross-fertilisation relationship between phonology and syntax in the domain of language acquisition.

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The impact of video games on EFL learning motivation: A structural equation model

Engaging in extramural activities in a foreign language (e.g., in English), may have a positive effect on the L2 learning process (Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2016). Extramural activities, such as playing video games, not only help improve foreign language skills but also contribute to enhancing L2 learning motivation. An immersive gaming experience involves comprehending game instructions, descriptions, and even engaging with other players in online cooperative or multiplayer games (Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2012, 2014; Sundqvist, 2019). Motivation is a key factor in successful L2 learning (Dörnyei, 2005). Since L2 learning is a never-ending process, maintaining L2 learning motivation is vital for language learners, and video games offer an excellent opportunity for it. This paper aims to demonstrate how commercial off-the-shelf video games, especially non-educational ones, and the time spent engaging in them impact learners’ L2 learning motivation. Drawing on Dörnyei’s (2005) second language motivational self-system (L2MSS) as a theoretical framework, a quantitative questionnaire-based study was conducted among Hungarian secondary school students. As for data analysis, structural equation modeling was utilized to examine the interrelationship

among time spent playing video games and L2 learning motivation and anxiety. The results indicate that students who frequently engage in video games exhibit higher motivation to learn English as a Foreign Language compared to those who play video games less frequently. Besides, the results also show that the ideal L2 self component of Dörnyei's (2005) L2MSS may reduce EFL anxiety and may increase extramural motivated language use (i.e., willingness to use English when playing video games). Moreover, the findings also suggest that video games have the potential to bridge what Henry (2013) refers to as the "authenticity gap", i.e., students show more interest in extramural English activities and content as opposed to traditional textbooks and EFL lessons. Overall, these results indicate that incorporating video games into EFL education can bolster and sustain Hungarian EFL learners' EFL learning motivation, while simultaneously improving their EFL proficiency as well.

Keywords: individual learner differences, SEM model, video games, L2 learning motivation, language pedagogy

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A structural model of dictionary use and EFL learning motivation

Using dictionaries is an important aspect of L2 learning at all levels of proficiency. Yet, dictionary use seems to be a considerably neglected part of L2 teaching. And even though the relationship between L2 learning and L2 learning motivation has been extensively researched (e.g. Lasagabaster et al. 2014, Lamb et al. 2019), the impact of L2 learning motivation on dictionary use appears to be an underresearched topic (cf. Liu et al. 2019). It is beyond doubt that L2 learners should be encouraged to use dictionaries independently and autonomously, as primarily they will be responsible for their own development throughout their L2 learning careers. In order to explore the impacts of the interaction between dictionary use and L2 learning motivation, the present quantitative study (n=925) – with the help of Dörnyei's (2005) L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS) framework – investigates the interrelationship of L2 learning motivation, willingness to pay for dictionaries, reading dictionaries' usage guides and willingness to use dictionaries. For the research, several previously validated scales were adopted and included in the questionnaire used for this study: L2 learning motivation related scales were adopted from Dörnyei and Taguchi (2010), and the scales related to dictionary use were adopted from P. Márkus et al. (2023). Data provided by Hungarian university students in the autumn of 2022 (n=925) were analysed. The results of the Cronbach's alpha coefficients measuring the internal consistency of the scales show that all scales have a coefficient higher than the minimum threshold (.70) indicated in the literature (Dörnyei and Taguchi 2010). Therefore, it can be concluded that the scales used in this study are reliable. For exploring the relationship between L2 learning

motivation and dictionary use, and for the purpose of data analysis, structural equation modelling (SEM) was employed using AMOS 24.0, and finally a model was generated. Concerning SEM, it was assessed whether the proposed model fits the data of this study through the calculation of different goodness of fit indices. Based on the resulting threshold values and the values of the fit indices in the current study, the model shows an excellent fit and, therefore, describes the data appropriately. Research results show that certain aspects of dictionary use are impacted by some components of the L2MSS system as follows: willingness to use dictionaries is affected by the ideal L2 self; willingness to use dictionaries is strongly influenced by motivated language learning behaviour; willingness to read usage guides in dictionaries is impacted by motivated language learning behaviour; willingness to pay for dictionaries is affected by motivated language learning behaviour; and an indirect relationship – through motivated language learning behaviour – exists between willingness to read usage guides and language learning experience. Based on these results, it may be concluded that dictionary use is not impacted by the ought- to L2 self but is influenced, to differing extents, by language learning experience – through motivated language learning behaviour – and the ideal L2 self. With a view to this, L2 teachers in class should create a pleasant language learning experience and environment for their students as this is likely to increase willingness to use dictionaries. In addition, EFL teachers should develop the ideal L2 self by addressing, and focusing on, the qualities necessary for competent L2 speakers.

Keywords: dictionary use, EFL learning, EFL learning motivation, individual learner differences, SEM modelling

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Evidentials in questions: Evidence from adult-child conversations

Evidentials are grammatical source-of-knowledge markers. In questions, they convey the speaker's expectations about the evidentiary basis of the addressee's answer. For example, in Turkish questions, the evidentials *-DI* and *-mİş* express that the speaker anticipates information that has been respectively directly and indirectly acquired by the addressee. The present study examined whether the distribution of Turkish evidentials in adults' questions to 2- to 4-year-old children varies with the semantics of the question and the age of the child. Based on recent research into the role of questions on the evaluation of the reliability of sentences (Fitneva, 2008), we predicted that questions like *who* and *where* would be more likely to integrate the direct evidential *-DI* and *why* questions the indirect evidential *-mİş*. The study also examined the distribution of evidentials in children's responses to the adults' questions. There were about twice as many *-DI* questions as *-mİş* questions. Nevertheless, consistent with our hypothesis, *why* questions

were always formed with *-mIş*. When responses contained evidentials, they overwhelmingly repeated the evidentials in the questions. However, mismatches were significantly more common for responses to *-mIş* than *-DI* questions: Children were more likely to bring forth direct evidence when the adult anticipated indirect evidence than indirect evidence when the adult anticipated direct evidence. None of analyses revealed age effects. These findings contribute to understanding the establishment and functioning of evidentiary standards in early adult-child communication.

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**A real-time investigation of event apprehension,
sentence production and the effect of focus in Hungarian**

A central question in the sentence production literature pertains to the relationship between *event apprehension*, i.e., the identification of an action, characters and aboutness relations in an event, and *grammatical encoding*, i.e., the process of converting a non-linguistic representation into a linguistic one. More specifically, the question is the following: what factors influence the process of apprehension, and ultimately encoding (Myachykov et al., 2011)? As experimental data come primarily from English, a fixed word order language, it is interesting to investigate the phenomena in a free-word order language, such as Hungarian. In Hungarian, word order and prosody express information structure (IS) (É. Kiss, 2002).

Some examples of different IS corresponding to the English sentence *The boy is building the snowman* are provided in (1).

- (1) a. [[A fiú]_{Top} [építi a hóembert]_{Pred}]
[[the boy]_{Top} [is-building the snowman]_{Pred}]
- b. [[A hóembert]_{Top} [építi a fiú]_{Pred}]
[[the snowman]_{Top} [is-building the boy]_{Pred}]
- c. [[[A 'fiú]_{Foc} építi a hóembert]_{Pred}]
[[[the boy]_{Foc} is-building the snowman]_{Pred}]
- d. [[A fiú]_{Top} [[a 'hóembert]_{Foc} építi]_{Pred}]
[[the boy]_{Top} [[the snowman]_{Foc} is-building]_{Pred}]

The sentences in (1) are predicted to correspond to questions with different focus. A subject-focus question (2b) may be answered by (1c), an object-focus question may be answered by (1d). A 'neutral' question about the entire event may be responded to by (1a) or (1b).

The current project extends the line of investigation by addressing the following questions: (1) What sentence structures are produced after subject-, object focus and 'neutral' questions? (2) What effect does the focus of a question have on visual attention during apprehension? (3) What is the time course of gaze convergence to a referent as a function of its IS status (focused or not)? (4) Do gaze patterns during apprehension predict the structure of the sentence produced later?

We conducted a visual-world eye tracking experiment involving 75 participants. During the talk, we present eye-tracking data and a description of sentence types produced by participants.

Keywords: sentence production, focus, eye-tracking, attention allocation, event apprehension Introduction

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**Synchronizing Bible Texts:
Developing the Database of the United Bible Reader online application**

One of the main goals of the United Bible Reader (UBR) developed and hosted by the Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary was to enable the parallel reading of different versions of any given Bible passages – original language editions, as well as ancient and modern translations. To achieve this, the software must have a database containing both the textual corpus, and an identification system that makes synchronization possible.

The process of building a synchronized database of Bible texts follows steps as:

- digitization,
- data cleaning,
- integration,
- synchronization.

The presentation is going to elaborate on these, with examples describing the development of what current version of the UBR. As per digitization, the presentation touches on possible error sources and limitations. As per data cleaning, typical errors found in digitalized data, and the possibility of automatizing the cleaning process will be mentioned. As per integration, several bottlenecks of the import (of the Bible translations) into the unified database will be described. As per synchronization, the difficulty of locating the same units of text in different text versions, the role and the problems of chapter and verse numberings will be presented, as well as an “almost perfect” software aided solution to achieve a sentence-level synchronization of Bible texts in any translations.

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Qué libro is he referring to?: Preposition-stranding in Spanish–English code-switching

This study investigates the availability of *preposition stranding* (*p-stranding*) in intrasentential code-switching (CS) among US heritage speakers of Spanish. P-stranding involves extracting a determiner phrase (DP) from a prepositional phrase (PP), a construction that is allowed in English (1), but in Spanish the preposition is traditionally pied-piped with the DP (2) (Lima-Salles 1995). Law (2006) argues that the (un)availability is “related to the independent grammatical property of [the determiner] incorporating into [the preposition]” (p. 633). Spanish is subject to a syntax-morphology-interface condition where “elements that undergo suppletive rules must form a syntactic unit X^o” (Law 2006, p. 647), which ends up preventing the extraction of a DP from a PP. Adopting a Minimalist approach to CS (MacSwan, 1999), p-stranding and pied piping in intrasentential CS (3-4) provide a test case to see if Law’s analysis stands.

Following Law’s (2006) analysis, there are three different outcomes for D+P incorporation: (a) a determiner-driven motivation allows p-stranding in English-to-Spanish switches (3); (b) a preposition-driven motivation permits p-stranding in Spanish-to-English switches (4); and (c) a combined determiner and preposition-driven motivation leads to p-stranding rejection in all cases. Previous research has supported the second option (Koronkiewicz 2022). However, that study only included one preposition (*with/con*). Furthermore, it did not explicitly test pied-piping, nor did it include matrix wh-questions, a common context for p-stranding. By expanding both the lexical items and the structures, we can gain a more complete understanding of how Law’s analysis aligns with language mixing data.

The individuals in the study were all US heritage speakers of Spanish ($N=14$). They completed a written acceptability judgment task with a 7-point Likert scale; it included CS stimuli with p-stranding and pied piping, switching from either Spanish-to-English ($N=18$) or vice versa ($N=18$), as in (3-4), with comparison monolingual equivalents for Spanish ($N=18$) and English ($N=18$) presented in separate subsequent blocks, as in (1-2). As exemplified, there were three different syntactic structures included: matrix wh-questions, embedded wh-questions, and relative clauses. Finally, three different preposition pairs were targeted in the experiment: *with/con*, *of/de*, and *to/a*.

Preliminary results suggest that participants exhibited the expected distinction, as they: (i) dispreferred p-stranding in Spanish ($M=3.0$, $SD=0.7$) compared to pied piping ($M=5.8$, $SD=0.4$); and accepted p-stranding in English ($M=6.5$, $SD=0.6$) more than pied piping ($M=4.1$, $SD=0.9$). As for CS, p-stranding from Spanish-to-English was the preferred option in CS ($M=5.1$, $SD=0.6$) (i.e., extracting a Spanish DP from an English PP). The participants dispreferred p-stranding for English-to-Spanish switches ($M=2.7$, $SD=0.6$), and marginally accepted pied piping for both English-to-Spanish ($M=4.3$, $SD=0.9$) and Spanish-to-English ($M=4.3$, $SD=0.7$). Importantly, there were no differences based on the lexical preposition nor the structure. Overall, these results align with previous findings (Koronkiewicz 2022), as only a Spanish DP extracted from an English PP is possible in CS. These findings are evidence that these bilinguals have D-to-P incorporation in Spanish, which presents itself even in switched contexts, and they further suggest that it is the language of the preposition that dictates incorporation.

- (1)
 - a. What guy is Ashley dancing with?
 - b. Emily doesn't know what friend Frank is working with.
 - c. United is the company Ruby is flying with.

- (2)
 - a. * Qué hombre está bailando Araceli con?
'What guy is Araceli dancing with?'
 - b. Con qué hombre está bailando Araceli?
'With what guy is Araceli dancing?'
 - c. * Elisa no sabe con qué amigo Fernando está trabajando con.
'Elisa doesn't know what friend Fernando is working with.'
 - d. Elisa no sabe con qué amigo Fernando está trabajando.
'Elisa doesn't know with what friend Fernando is working.'
 - e. * United es la compañía que Roberta está volando con.
'United is the company that Roberta is flying with.'
 - f. United es la compañía con la que Roberta está volando.
'United is the company with which Roberta is flying.'

- (3)
 - a. Qué hombre is Ashley dancing with?
'What guy is Ashley dancing with?'
 - b. Elisa no sabe qué amigo Frank is working with.
'Elisa doesn't know what friend Frank is working with.'
 - c. United es la compañía que Ruby is flying with.
'United is the company that Ruby is flying with.'

- (4)
 - a. What guy *está bailando* Araceli con?
'What guy is Araceli dancing with?'
 - b. Emily doesn't know what friend *Fernando está trabajando* con.
'Emily doesn't know what friend Fernando is working with.'
 - c. United is the company *Roberta está volando* con.
'United is the company Roberta is flying with.'

Keywords: bilingualism, code-switching, syntax, Spanish, English, p-stranding

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On the Puzzle-ing Complexity of Hungarian Copula Constructions
– With Further Bits and Pieces

1. Introduction

It is generally assumed that there are five major types of copula constructions (CCs) in Hungarian.

- (A) *Az igazgató okos/tanár (*van).* [attribution or classification CC]
the director.NOM clever/teacher.NOM is
'The director is clever / a teacher.'
- (B) *Az igazgató (*van) a szóvivő.* [identity CC]
the director.NOM is the spokesperson.NOM
'The director is the spokesperson.'
- (C) *Az igazgató a szobá-ban *(van).* [location CC]
the director.NOM the room-in is
'The director is in the room.'
- (D) **(Vannak) boszorkány-ok (a Föld-ön).* [existence CC]
are witch-PL.NOM the Earth-on
'There are witches (on the Earth).'
- (E) *Az igazgató-nak *(van) szóvivő-je.* [possession CC]
the director-dat is spokesperson-his.NOM
'The director has a spokesperson.'

For a detailed discussion of these types, for a critical overview of previous approaches to CCs in Government and Binding Theory (GB), the Minimalist Program (MP) and Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG), for references, and for an alternative LFG analysis, see Laczkó (2021). He summarizes the shared and the distinguishing properties of these types in the following table, by also indicating the essence of his analysis (2021: 321).

Table 1. Properties and analyses of Hungarian CCs

| CC type | PR3: cop | PR3: neg | copula's function | argument structure | VM | other traits |
|------------|-------------|--------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------|----------------------------------|
| attr/class | – | <i>nem</i> | formative | – | AP/ NP | NP: –spec |
| identity | – | <i>nem</i> | predicate | < S, PL > | SUBJ | S: +spec, interch. |
| location | + | <i>nincs</i> | predicate | < S, OBL > | OBL | S: +spec |
| existence | + | <i>nincs</i> | predicate | < S, (OBL) > | – | S: –spec cop: FOC |
| possession | + | <i>nincs</i> | predicate | < S, PL > | – | S: –def S&PL agr. cop: FOC |

cop = copula; attr/class = attribution or classification; PR3:cop = is the copula present in the present tense and 3rd person paradigmatic slots; PR3:neg = how is negation expressed in pr3; VM = what element occupies the VM position (if any) in neutral sentences; S = SUBJ; PL = PREDLINK; OBL = OBLIQUE; interch = the two arguments' grammatical functions are interchangeable in 3rd person; spec = specific; def = definite; FOC = FOCUS; agr = agreement

In his lexicalist framework, Laczkó (2021) argues against a syntactic treatment of all these types by deriving them from one or two underlying structures, claiming that that would require an extremely complex syntactic apparatus. By contrast, in LFG it is natural to assume that a predicate can have multiple lexical forms with partially different properties. In addition, Laczkó argues against an LFG approach that posits

that the copula is fundamentally a two-place predicate whose first argument has the SUBJECT grammatical function and whose second argument has the CC-specific PREDLINK function. He claims that the argument structure of the copula in its different uses is more varied, and in some types the postulation of the PREDLINK function is appropriate, and in some others the use of the OBLIQUE function is more feasible, see Table 1. I subscribe to this view as the basis for my own approach.

2. Further bits and pieces

In the talk I will concentrate on three additional minor types of CCs. First consider (F).

(F) *Nagyon hideg *(van) (a konyhá-ban).* [environmental CC]
 very cold is the kitchen-INNESS
 ‘It is very cold (in the kitchen).’

This construction type has been analysed by Komlósy (1994), Tóth (2001), Kádár (2011) and Laczkó (2023). Komlósy (1994) assumes that in this type the AP is the predicate, there is no (covert or overt) subject argument, and there is default 3SG agreement. This is the analysis he also proposes for weather verbs like *havazik* ‘(to) snow’. Tóth (2001) also holds that the AP is the predicate; however, she postulates that it has an always covert quasi-argumental subject with an environmental theta role. Kádár (2011) argues against both analyses by pointing out that if the AP were the predicate then the CC would be of the attribution/classification type, in which case the PRES.3SG copula would have to be absent from the construction, see Table 1, which it is not. Instead, she proposes that the AP-looking constituent is the subject: the adjective has undergone Adj → N conversion, and it serves as the head of the subject NP. Laczkó (2023) agrees with the subject analysis; however, he argues against the conversion treatment. Instead, he develops an alternative LFG analysis in which a covert noun head is modified by the AP in the subject NP. In the talk I will adopt this approach. I will show that in addition to the greater feasibility of the modified covert head treatment over the conversion account, some further crucial details of the two analyses make Laczkó’s approach superior. His analysis of this type can be naturally accommodated in the “big picture” as an analysis of a special subtype of the locative use of the copula (while Kádár’s existential use assumption is rather problematic).

In a footnote Kádár (2011: 421) mentions the CC type exemplified in (G), and she points out that it has not been analysed yet; however, she does not analyse it, either. In the talk I will call it a special environmental CC.

(G) *Nagyon szép *(van) nál-ad.* [special environmental CC]
 very nice is ADESS-2SG
 ‘It is very nice at your place.’

If this construction followed the pattern in Type F, the PRES.3SG copula would be obligatorily present in it, cf. (G) and (F’), which is a modified version of (F) for the sake of minimal pair comparison with (G).

(F’) *Nagyon hideg *(van) nál-ad.*
 very cold is ADESS-2SG
 ‘It is very cold at your place.’

I will claim that Type G is naturally analysable in the spirit of Komlósy (1994) and Tóth (2001): here the AP is the predicate following the Type A (attr/class) basic pattern. Its special property is that it cannot have an overt subject, just like weather verbs like *havazik* ‘(to) snow’. On the basis of Tóth’s and Kádár’s (2011) argumentation (agreement facts and control phenomena), I disagree with Komlósy’s (1994) “no subject and default agreement” analysis of such weather verbs. Agreeing with Tóth (2001), I assume that they have an always covert subject, and I will model this in an LFG framework.

(1) *havazik*, V (↑ PRED) = ‘SNOWS < (↑ SUBJ) >’ (↑ SUBJ PERS) = 3
atmospheric (↑ SUBJ NUM) = SG
 (↑ SUBJ PHON) = –
 (↑ SUBJ PRED) = ‘PRO’
 (↑ TENSE) = PRES

In LFG’s formalism, this PRES.3SG lexical form of a one-place predicate with a subject argument bearing an atmospheric semantic role is associated with functional annotations that encode the usual tense and (person & number) agreement features. In addition to this, as usual, there is an annotation that introduces

the PRO PRED value for the SUBJECT (when there is no overt subject in the clause). The only peculiarity of this lexical form is that it constrains the subject always to be phonologically null: (\uparrow SUBJ PHON) = $_c$ -. I will extend this analysis to Type G.

Finally, I will briefly discuss the following additional minor CC type, which I dub state CC.

| | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|---------------|------------|---------------|------------|
| (H) | <i>Péter</i> | <i>nagyon</i> | <i>jól</i> | <i>*(van)</i> | [state CC] |
| | Peter.NOM | very | well | is. | |
| | 'Peter is very well.' | | | | |

The essence of my analysis is that in this use the copula is a two-place predicate with a SUBJECT and a (manner/state) OBLIQUE argument, requiring its second argument to occupy the preverbal VM position in neutral sentences.

3. Conclusion

- I subscribe to Laczkó's (2021) LFG analysis of the five major types of Hungarian copula constructions (A-E).
- I have added three minor types to the generally acknowledged complexity CCs in Hungarian.
- I support Laczkó's (2023) LFG analysis of Type F contra Kádár's (2011) MP analysis, offering some extra arguments.
- I propose the first analysis of Type G, based on my novel LFG analysis of weather verbs.
- The presence vs. absence of the PRES.3SG copula contrast between Types F and G manifests one of most interesting puzzling properties of CCs containing APs. In Type G the AP is the predicate (no PRES.3SG copula), and in the other paradigmatic slots the copula is a mere formative, encoding the usual tense and agreement features. By contrast, in Type F the AP modifies the covert noun head of the subject NP.
- I claim that Type H is a further "independent" minor subtype.
- The full complexity of major and minor types of CCs as presented and analysed in the talk lends additional support to the claim that the most appropriate treatment of all these types should be lexical, by duly encoding the shared and distinguishing properties of the individual types in their respective lexical forms.

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The Estonian e-dictation as a source of language variation research

Estonia is a country in the European Union where a Uralic language is a national language. For Estonians, their language is a source of pride and identity, and this is celebrated in many ways, including the annual Estonian e-dictation, which takes place on 14 March (Mother Language Day). In 2023, it was organized for the 16th time. Originally a one-off project, it has by now become one of the most important events of Mother Language Day. This presentation argues that the dictation is a unique source for a study of linguistic variation.

The goal is to pin down the specifics of the thousands of written texts that have been created with the intention of a uniform, normatively correct result, yet yielding unintended variation (“incorrectness”). The limits of variation in such uniformity-oriented texts in terms of linguistic as well as other types of cognitive competence have not been thoroughly studied yet.

The opportunities of the digital age allow for new vistas in this quest. The presentation provides the background of the factors that influence the variation in the texts of the e-dictation event results in Estonia: the nature of the texts, the categories of compilers and competitors, the technological specifics of the media, and the digital peculiarities of the resulting texts.

Launched in 2008 with 277 participants, the e-dictation event has grown to attract thousands of people and hundreds of educational institutions and organisations every year. A record was set this year with 10 890 submissions, 432 of which were completed without error. What makes the Estonian e-dictation competition special is that it is not only for schoolchildren but is open to practically anyone. The categories vary: philologists, native language teachers, speakers of other native languages, Estonians living and studying abroad.

The task is broadcast live on Vikerraadio, Eesti Rahvusringhääling (formerly Eesti Raadio), the Estonian national radio channel, on etteytlus.err.ee (e-dictation). The competition is run on a virtual platform, which allows participants to log in from their own computers (or any other Internet-enabled device) and upload their solutions remotely. The text is read out on the radio and can be listened to several times. Simultaneously, a video is also played on the ERR.ee portal, where deaf participants can lipread the text.

The competition task is compiled by representatives of various organisations and institutions. This year, for example, the text was the result of a joint effort between the University of Tartu, the Estonian Language Institute, the Estonian Language Editors’ Association, the University of Tallinn, the Language Policy Department of the Ministry of Education and Research and the editor in charge of Vikerraadio’s Language Programme.

The online e-dictation gives the organisers the opportunity to collect data on the performance of participants and to identify trends in the writings. This data, similar to the Simonyi Zsigmond Carpathian Basin Orthography Competition in Hungary, can be used as a database informing trends in language use via its results (Tóth 2021). These results can not only be used to improve the effectiveness of teaching and to support the development of new resources for learners but also for language variation and its possible causes. The Estonian e-dictation is thus a unique source for language variation research in its context of other factors influencing the outcome.

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The door punched open and The cork pulled free: A neglected English resultative construction

English resultative constructions as in (1) and (2) have been neglected:

- (1) The cork **pulled free** with a satisfying pop. (P. Rothschild, *A Deadly Bone to Pick*, Berkley, New York, 2022, p. 138)
- (2) As he seized her, the door **punched open** and two more men leaped into the room. (G. Stockbridge, *The Devil’s Paymaster, The Spider* 23:4, Wildside Press, 1941, p. 16; <https://books.google.com/books?isbn=0809550849>)

These resultatives seem analogous to resultatives of the *The lake froze solid* type: the result phrase is predicated directly of the surface subject of an intransitive use of the verb, and their subject is understood as

the object of the corresponding transitive use of the verb (e.g., *The waiter pulled the cork free*; *The cold snap froze the lake*). Thus, they meet the Direct Object Restriction (Simpson 1983); nevertheless, they require some explanation as they involve apparently unaccusative uses of verbs that disallow such uses in isolation (**The cork pulled*/**The door punched*).

In this talk I present the semantic and pragmatic factors that license these neglected resultatives. I draw parallels between them and the anticausative variant of the causative alternation. Just as the distribution of the anticausative variant (e.g., *The door opened*) is best understood in juxtaposition to the causative variant (e.g., *Sam opened the door*), so are these neglected resultatives (e.g., *The cork pulled free*) best understood in juxtaposition to transitive resultatives with the same verb–result phrase combination (e.g., *The waiter pulled the cork free*). Rappaport Hovav (2014) argues that the causative variant is the preferred description of a change of state event; however, the anticausative variant is felicitous if certain discourse conditions are met that license the absence of an agent. I present two properties of the neglected resultatives that allow them to satisfy these discourse conditions. First, they feature verbs of exerting force or contact (e.g., *pull*, *push*, *yank*; *punch*, *slam*). Such verbs take an argument — the subject in these resultatives — which is the bearer of the force lexicalized by the verb. Second, the adjectives characteristic of these resultatives (e.g., *closed*, *open*, *shut*, *clear*, *free*) can describe a state instantiated via a spatial configuration: a shut door bears a particular position with respect to the door frame. The felicity of the neglected resultatives is attributable to the confluence of these properties: the subject as a force bearer qualifies as a ‘projectile’ (Kearns 2000; Levin 2020), an entity that moves autonomously along a trajectory that in these resultatives is defined by the result state.

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Semantics of the exophoric uses of Northern Khanty demonstratives

This paper presents an ongoing research on the exophoric demonstratives in Northern Khanty (Ob-Ugric < Uralic). All the data reported were collected during fieldwork. The research is mainly based on Wilkins’ experimental questionnaire (Wilkins 1999), which let us test anchoring, distance and visibility distinctions. To expand the data, the experimental questionnaire (Rostovtsev-Popel’ 2009) and additional stimuli were used. The previous descriptions (Kaksin 2010, Nikolaeva 1999, Fedorkiv 2018) give very concise information and vary in the number of exophoric demonstratives (2 or 3). According to my data, Northern Khanty has a tripartite person-oriented system.

TABLE 1. The inventory of the Northern Khanty demonstratives

| Demonstrative | Deictic centre | Spatial meaning | Visibility of the referent |
|---------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|
| tām | Speaker | Proximal | Both visible and non-visible |
| tum | Speaker & Addressee | Distal | Both visible and non-visible |
| śi | Speaker & Addressee | (Distal) unmarked | Visible only |

Proximal *tām* is used for the referents in speaker arm’s reach as in stimuli 1-8 and 11 from Wilkins’ questionnaire (further WQ1-WQ8, WQ11):

- (1) tām/#śi/#tum kinškaj-en ma śi λəŋət-s-əm.
 this/#DEM/#that book-POSS.2SG I EMPH read-PST-1SG

‘I have already read this book.’ (WQ6, speaker and addressee sit next to one another, the referent is near the speaker on the side away from the addressee)

The sphere of use of *tām* can expand depending on the addressee’s location (e.g. in WQ17 *tām* is used with the referent between speech act participants (SAP) and outside speaker’s reach). Distal *tum* is in complementary distribution with *tām* and is used outside SAP shared social space (i.e. space within interlocutors), as in WQ24 (the referent is several kilometres away from SAP) and WQ21:

(2) muj pāta #*tām*/^{OK}*śi*/^{OK}*tum* kinškaj-en kamən kɛrət’λ’ə-λ?
why #*this*/^{OK}*DEM*/^{OK}*that* book-POSS.2SG outside lie-NPST[3SG]

‘Why is that book lying outside?’ (WQ21 SAP are near the doorway, the referent is several metres away)

If the referent is unreachable for SAP, but inside their shared social space, *tum* is unsuitable, as in WQ17. Sometimes the location of locutors in different domains promotes the use of *tum*, as in WQ23:

(3) muj pāta #*tām*/*śi*/*?tum* kinškaj-en jəš kətəp-ən kɛrət’λ’ə-λ?
why #*this*/*DEM*/*?that* book-POSS.2SG way middle-LOC lie-NPST[3SG]

‘Why is this book lying in the doorway?’ (WQ23, speaker is outside and addressee is inside the house, the referent is in shared social space, *tum* is not expected but possible)

śi is unmarked and nearly always alternative to *tām* and *tum*, except for the situations with the referent reachable for both SAP but is closer to the addressee, when *śi* is ‘pre-empted’ by *tām* (about pre-emption see (Levinson 2018: 24)). In addition, *śi* is used in the contexts in which other demonstratives are unsuitable (e.g. in WQ16, SAP are several metres away from one another, the referent is near the addressee).

The supposition about the unmarkedness of *śi* is supported by two facts: firstly, in contrastive uses only *tām* and *tum* tend to be opposed; secondly, *śi* has grammaticalized other uses (about markedness and grammaticalization see, e.g., (Monks, Davidson 2021)). However, the status of *śi* is in general unclear. Possibly, it functions as a kind of salient demonstrative (see, for instance, (Reisinger, Huijsmans 2021)).

Typologically, the Northern Khanty tripartite system is quite common (Diessel 2013). Nevertheless, it is not similar to any system described in detail in (Levinson 2018). Taking into consideration other data collected, it seems more appropriate to speak about a kind of a relative scale for different types of objects: if the referent is in its “normal” or minimum possible distance from the speaker or SAP, the proximal demonstrative *tām* is used (e.g. to refer to the car passing by the speaker and the helicopter in the sky). Moreover, the presence of visual landmarks influences: proximal demonstrative tends to be more suitable if there are no landmarks (e.g. the referent is a single tree).

Keywords: Northern Khanty, spatial deixis, demonstratives, exophoric uses; unmarkedness.

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Assertions and/or Questions: Tag Question Constructions in Hungarian Bible Translations

Linguistic background

Tag question constructions (TQs) are complex forms: they consist of a full declarative sentence, the anchor, and a reduced interrogative clause, the tag. In (1a) the English TQ is composed of the anchor (*it's raining*), and the formally determined, variant tag (*isn't it?*). The Hungarian counterpart of (1a), (1b) consists of a full declarative part (*\esik az eső*), and the tag (*^ugye?*). Intonation plays a very important role in the interpretation of TQs. The ^ marks the rising-falling contour which is one of the markers of polar interrogatives in Hungarian (Gyuris 2017). The \ marks the overall falling contour which characterizes ordinary declaratives in Hungarian.

- (1) a. It's raining, isn't it?
b. \Esik az eső, ^ugye?
fall.PRS.3SG the rain TAG
'It's raining, isn't it?'

Compared to positive polar interrogatives, TQs are marked forms encoding biased questions (Ladd 1981; Reese 2007; Northrup 2014). One problem relates to their semantic interpretation: whether they encode a proposition $\{p\}$ or a pair of propositions $\{p, \neg p\}$. Their biased nature can be dealt with on the pragmatic level: TQs can be used felicitously in situations where contextual evidence is available for p . By uttering a TQ, the speaker expresses her commitment towards the truth of p (Malamud – Stephenson 2015). Thus (1a–b) can only be used in contexts where the speaker has some evidence for that it is raining.

In (1b) *ugye* is interchangeable with other tags (2). These latter can only be used in sentence-final position, while *ugye* is more flexible syntactically (3) (Kenesei et al. 1998; Molnár 2019). This flexibility leads to a range of different uses in which the questioning nature disappears, and *ugye*, as discourse marker, marks that p is treated as part of the common knowledge of the discourse participants (4) (Gyuris 2009).

- (2) \Esik az eső, ^ugye? / ^nem? / ^nemde? / ^igaz?
fall.PRS.3SG the rain UGYE /NEG /not-yes/ right
'It's raining, isn't it?'

- (3) (^Ugye) esik (^ugye) az eső (^ugye)?

- (4) \ (Ugye) esik (ugye) az eső (ugye).

The use of TQs in the Gospels

The present talk focuses on the forms and the uses of TQs in different Hungarian translations of the Gospels. One can expect that the use of TQs in biblical texts is frequent and has text-organizing or persuasive functions (Estes 2013). Due to their biased nature, they are especially convenient to communicate indirectly the speaker's thoughts, expectations, and to realize rhetorical or pedagogical questions. The present talk aims at (i) presenting different TQ-forms used in Hungarian Bible-translations from different ages, and (ii) addressing the question of how the form of the TQs change in different Bible translations from different ages. The study takes into account the macro and the micro contexts of the individual TQ-occur-

rances.

In (5) different Hungarian translations of Luke 24:32 can be seen from the 20th century. (The identification of the different Hungarian Bible translations from the 20th century is following that of the “Unified Bible Reader”, <https://ebo.kre.hu/>.) In (5a, c) the translator uses a TQ, while in (5b, d) a negative polar question (NPQ). In the English translation (5e) an NPQ is found which has an “outside negation” reading (Ladd 1981). The question is uttered by one of the two “disciples of Emmaus” after having a strong common experience of a meeting with the risen Christ. No answer is needed in the context: the proposition is undoubtedly true for and accepted by both participants. In the given context, the utterance seems to be rather an assertion than a question. It is even possible to interpret these utterances as exclamations.

Looking at old and middle Hungarian translations, we find significant differences in the translations of the same locus (6a–c). (The identification of the different old Hungarian Bible translations is composed of the initial letters of the codex’s name its date. I use the normalized versions of the old texts from the Hungarian Parallel Bible Reader, <https://parallelbible.nyud.hu/>.) In (6) real interrogatives are found, as the *-e (-é)* interrogative particle is present in all three versions. In (6a, c) we find NPQs with “outside negation” reading, while in (6b) a *nemde*-TQ is present.

- (5) Luke 24:32b
- Ugye** lángolt a szívünk, [...], mikor útközben beszélt hozzánk és kifejtette az Írásokat? (BD-1951)
 - Hát nem** lángolt a szívünk, amikor beszélt hozzánk az úton, és feltárta előttünk az Írásokat? (KNV-1997)
 - Ugye** hevült a szívünk, amikor beszélt hozzánk az úton, amikor feltárta előttünk az Írásokat? (STL-2017)
 - Nem** hevült-**e** a szívünk, amikor beszélt hozzánk az úton, amikor feltárta előttünk az Írásokat? (RÚF-2014)
 - Did not** our heart burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the scriptures? (KJV-1611)
- (6) Luke 24:32b
- Avagy nem** gerjedezt-**é** a mi szívünk mi bennünk, mikor nekünk szóla az úton, és mikor magyarázá nekünk az írásokat? (KGVB-1590)
 - nemde** mi szívünk égedez vala-**e** mibennünk, mikor az útban beszélle minekünk, és az írásokat megnyitná minekünk? (MK-1466)
 - nem** az mi szívünk gerjedez vala-**e** , mikor szól vala minekünk az úton, és kinyitná minekünk az írást (JK-1516-19)

The talk gives an overview of the TQ-forms and functions used in the Hungarian Gospel-translations, and presents case-studies of certain loci of the biblical corpus, especially those having different interpretative possibilities.

Keywords: tag question, discourse marker, bias, Bible translation, Hungarian

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Tibor M. Pintér

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Role of language technology in analyses of contemporary Bible translations

The presentation tries to attempt an unorthodox analysis of contemporary Hungarian Bible translations. The analysis focuses on the texts of six Hungarian Bible translations still in use today, using a well-established linguistic software, SketchEngine, widely used in the field of digital humanities (see Kilgariff et al. 2014, Jakubiček et al. 2014). The analysis was mainly done within the framework provided by the software, but extended analyses were done by own algorithms of the output files provided by the software (SketchEngine provides a grammatically annotated text – its annotation can be used with simple scripts). An important condition for computer-assisted linguistic analysis is a sufficient amount of textual data. In the case of Bible translations, “sufficient quantity” is easily attainable, since in this case a single translation represents the whole corpus (and is widely used in computational text analysis, see Christodouloupoulos 2015). The corpus in this case is a properly annotated text, but this analysis relies only on bibliographic and grammatical data. The advantage of computer-based analysis is that, through targeted research, it is possible to obtain a sufficient quantity and quality of data in a relatively short time – which can be used for more superficial but also more in-depth analyses. The advantage of accurately prepared computer analyses is the possibility to obtain a sufficient quantity and quality of data in a relatively short time (as it is widely used in case of Bible concordances, see M. Pintér & P. Márkus 2022). The primary aspect for the selection of the translations was their contemporary use and language representing the current language usage. Both requirements play crucial role in their comparability, since the translation remains linguistically up-to-date using linguistic forms that make them comparable.

The presentation highlights the fact that the computer-based text analysis can still reveal new features of the Bible translations that are not found in the linguistic and hermeneutical analyses. New information here can be gained mainly from statistical analysis generated from lemmas and words. Research can reveal lexical features to be measured with the help of computer – starting from grammatical characteristics to countable features of the texts. In addition to the various layers of analysis of language use, the presentation focuses on the data like type–token characteristics, unigrams, bigrams, possible collocations, terms, orthographic error types and orthographic variations of the chosen translations. Unigrams of lemmas can point to lexicological characteristics as most used words, untypical words, archaisms, bigrams can show typical multiword expressions or idiomatic structures – not only their appearance but their statistics in books. Orthographic features of the texts (as to be shown) have several types – not only typos made by human but also typical errors made by the computer. Analyses show new correlations between translations or prove the well known connections between translations, denominations and sacred language use.

The presentation gives an overview of the Bible translations based on statistical methods used in language technology. Data and statistics can be used for several purposes. Here, to gain more knowledge about Hungarian Bible translations. But – perhaps – statistics will not influence the work of the translators, and no far-reaching conclusions can be drawn from them. But they do provide a basis for a more detailed interpretation of a kind that is not possible during human reading. And they show how far digital humanities can go with Bible translations.

Keywords: bible translations, language technology, statistics, theolinguistics

Bibles used in the research:

ÚF = 1990: Biblia – Új protestáns fordítás. 1. revízió. Budapest: Kálvin Kiadó – Magyar Bibliatársulat.
RÚF = 2014: Biblia – Revideált új fordítású. Budapest: Kálvin Kiadó – Magyar Bibliatársulat.

ÚRK = 2020. Újonnan Revideált Károli-Biblia. Budapest: Veritas Kiadó, 2020.

SZIT = Rózsa Huba (1973, ed.): Biblia – Ószövetségi és Újszövetségi Szentírás. Budapest: Szent István Társulat.

KNV = (Káldi György revideálása alapján, 1997): Ó- és Újszövetségi Szentírás a Neovulgáta alapján. Budapest: Szent Jeromos Katolikus Bibliatársulat.

KIF = Kecskeméthy (Csapó) István (1931/2002): Biblia. Kolozsvár: CE Koinónia Kiadó.

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Coaching approach and teacher motivation

This presentation is about the theoretical and methodological background of the questionnaire research related to the Simonyi Zsigmond Hungarian orthographic competition in the Carpathian Basin. Tóth (2021). The title of the project is *Language competences in space and time (2022-2024)*, the research will analyse the database of responses from participants of the Simonyi competition, using a multi-disciplinary approach from coaching, psychology, pedagogy, linguistics, socio-economic fields, with the collaboration of Dutch partner institutions.

The theoretical and methodological background of questionnaire research is based on L2 motivation research (Dörnyei (2011), Csizér (2020), Mercer (2020)) ; teacher motivation models; the Professional Identity model (Ruiters' and Simons (2020)); positive psychology and coaching.

In the section of the questionnaire on teacher motivation, we ask questions concerning ten complex themes. They include the development of the role of the committed and motivated facilitator, mentor, coach - teacher, the realisation of a successful and strong teacher self-image and aspects of prestige. We also explore the importance of motivated teaching and learning experiences, the importance of autonomous, lifelong, self-directed learning, and how to support individual learning strengths, learning strategies and the development of a flow experience.

The research also highlights the role of safe and creative working and learning environments and teamwork in the teaching and learning process. Aspects of assessment and attitudes to failure and the impact of reflection on teachers' motivation and effectiveness will be examined. In addition, we will address demotivating factors, as well as issues of resilience and uncertainty tolerance, and strategies that can help teachers to cope. Finally, (self-)management in personal, professional and organisational contexts will be highlighted.

The central hypothesis of this research is that long-term teacher motivation is a multifaceted construct encompassing dimensions such as teaching competence and ongoing learning. It's crucial to provide in – service and prospective teachers with effective methods to build a positive self-image as successful educators. The research aims to study and analyze the tools that teachers use to shape their successful professional identities.

Keywords: long-term teacher motivation, professional identity, motivating learning, positive psychology, coaching

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English-Ukrainian Corpus-Based Glossary of Cyber Security Terms

This paper presents the research study that will result in compiling the English-Ukrainian Corpus-Based Glossary of Cyber Security Terms on the basis of the cyber security texts' corpora. The bilingual glossary will provide a list of terms and abbreviations used in the field of cyber security. The corpus-based approach will be applied to identify the best way to develop English to Ukrainian translators' competencies in the cyber security field. The Ukrainian language policy is realized in the need to create both monolingual Ukrainian terminological dictionaries and glossaries, as well as bilingual lexicographic sources. It is imperative to note that there is no bilingual glossary of the cyber security terms in Ukraine.

Security issues in general and cyber security in particular are becoming increasingly important not only to modern Ukrainian society but also to future generations, especially under the conditions of Russian aggression. Thus, mastering the skills of adequate translation is crucial in this context. The latter involves obtaining various competences, including language and linguistic awareness, information retrieval skills, corpus linguistics knowledge and skills, terminology processing, etc. English to Ukrainian terminology processing in the cyber security field is one of the biggest challenges that could be encountered. Due to the advances in the field (novel data, cyberthreats, and so on) English-language cyber security terminology is developing at a rapid pace, thus leading to the entry of a large number of completely new terminological units. Consequently, translation of such language units is a considerable problem not only for Ukrainian cyber security professionals but also for professional translators. A great number of terminological units do not have exact equivalents in the Ukrainian language and thus are translated descriptively or by means

of transliteration or transcription. The implementation of the project involves the following stages: 1. Building English and Ukrainian text corpora on cyber security; 2. Using language tools and concordances for distinguishing terms and compiling a bilingual glossary; editing the glossary.

1. Building English and Ukrainian text corpora on cyber security. To build English and Ukrainian text corpora, the task to select texts from different online sources, media and specialized textbooks in both English and Ukrainian languages is set. The subject-matter of the texts will be regulated according to the following thematic categories (for example, Classification of Cyberthreats; Malware and Spyware; Cyber Defense; DDoS and Cyberattacks and so on).

2. Using language tools and concordances for distinguishing terms and compiling a bilingual glossary. The glossary of terms will be compiled on the basis of the corpora. Sketch Engine will be one of the tools applied to extract monolingual and bilingual terms both in English and Ukrainian. Moreover, the following tool allows extracting single and multiword units that are typical of a cyber security text; comparing texts in English and Ukrainian by identifying what is unique in the first corpus compared to the second one; singling out innovations (new terminological units, slang and metaphoric units) and suggesting adequate translation equivalents.

We determine the following sequence of The of English-Ukrainian Corpus-Based Glossary of Cyber Security Terms creation stages: 1) Analyzing the already existing English language terminological glossaries in the Cyber Security field in Ukraine and abroad; 2) Researching the needs of the target audience, including translators, interpreters, as well as cyber security professionals; 3) Defining the glossary characteristics and structure; d) Compiling a term register (term detection from English and Ukrainian corpora) and English to Ukrainian equivalents search; 4) Elaborating the dictionary entries' structure, 5) Proofreading the dictionary; 6) Clarifying term meanings with specialists in the cyber security field; 6)-Editing and semi-automatic correcting.

The glossary will include: a) an introductory part consisting of a scientific article on the peculiarities of cyber security terminology and instructions on how to use it; b) a list of conventional abbreviations and acronyms; c) the main part, in which all the selected terms are systematized; d) reference list. The lemma will be located in the glossary alphabetically. The general alphabetical list of terminological units as well as all synonymous names of the registered word with a reference to the corresponding dictionary entry will be provided. This will appropriate the English-Ukrainian Corpus-Based Glossary of Cyber Security Terms structure not only for linguists and translators but also for ordinary cyber security professionals who do not have sufficient English language knowledge. The glossary is supposed to include about 4,000 term entries. The glossary is focused on the target audience as indicated below: translators and interpreters in the field of cyber security; ESP teachers.

Thus, the study of cyber security terminology is an indispensable object of philological terminological research. The practical significance of such nominal units' research is evident, the need for the English-Ukrainian Corpus-Based Glossary of Cyber Security Terms not only exists but can also be considered as a priority for terminological study.

Keywords: cyber security terms, bilingual glossary, cyber security texts' corpora,

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Therapeutic storytelling discourses in a cognitive pragmatic framework

This presentation will focus on the features of a specific form of language use, therapeutic storytelling, in a cognitive pragmatic framework (Sperber & Wilson 1995). A subtype of therapeutic storytelling is interpersonal interaction where the speaker uses metaphorical utterances embedded in stories to help the recipient of the story. Fairy tale therapy discourses can also be included in this category of therapeutic storytelling. In our research, we focused on therapeutic discourses using the Metamorphoses Fairy Tale Therapy Method (Boldizsár 2010, 2014). The research is based on the methodology of qualitative interviewing.

In the storytelling sessions, the therapist tells a story that fits the focus of the therapy group or individual session and in some way parallels the life of the individual(s). As we have already pointed out in our

previous work (Ivaskó & Papp 2020, and Papp 2021), the therapeutic effect can only be achieved if the therapist allows space for individuals to find the optimally relevant meaning of the metaphorical language embedded in the stories. In a group session, there can be a wide variety of interpretations of a single linguistic unit (e.g. dragon, witch, dense dark forest), each of which can be a valid interpretation for the individual.

The focus of this presentation is to explore how the storyteller can organize the therapeutic discourse without making manifest the client any mental representation of his/her own, but to provide the opportunity for each client to find an optimal (inferred) meaning for him/herself. A further research question was how the therapist can infer from verbal and non-verbal cues that the mental representation of a metaphor has changed in the individual's mind. Indeed, during therapy, the meaning of a metaphor relevant to the individual at a given T moment in time may change several times. On the basis of our previous examination (Ivaskó & Papp 2020, and Papp 2021) of storytelling situations for therapeutic purposes, it can be stated that tale-telling for therapeutic purposes is an ostensive behavior, but it cannot be considered as an ostensive inferential communication in the original relevance theoretical sense. As a third research question, we investigated the specificities of effective therapeutic storytelling, focusing on the differences in storytelling for different age groups. In the empirical research results part of the presentation, qualitative interviews with qualified fairy tale therapists with many years of experience will be analysed and the data obtained will be evaluated and systematically presented.

The results of the qualitative research indicate whether fairy tale therapists perceive themselves to be providing or intentionally using language stimuli to assist in the interpretation of metaphors in stories. Based on the opinions of the interviewed storytellers, we summarise what kind of ostensive signals they prefer during therapeutic storytelling.

Keywords: therapeutic storytelling, relevance theory, ostensive behaviour, metaphor, nonverbal signals

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Code-Switching: The Dynamic Interplay of Structural, Social, and Cognitive Factors

Multilingual speakers commonly draw on their languages within a single speech event, a practice known as code-switching. In this talk, code-switching is considered from a comparative, cross-community perspective, taking into account not only the structural properties of the languages involved, but also the

profile of the multilingual speaker and the historical and social settings of each community. Despite the inclusion of community norms in some explanatory models of code-switching (e.g. Muysken 2000, 2013, 2014; Backus 2005), the role of local speech practices remains under-represented in much code-switching research to date. Moreover, there is still limited understanding regarding the acquisition of code-switching patterns by children (Phillips & Deuchar 2021; Balam et al. 2021; van Osch et al. 2023) and how these practices evolve over time, possibly becoming more or less frequent within the community. Therefore, in this presentation, I will focus on comparing the code-switching patterns of bi/multilinguals in communities representing different social settings, trying to answer these two inter-related research questions:

1. Which grammatical patterns of code-switching are specific to a particular community (i.e., derived from community norms), and which are constant across multilingual communities (i.e. derived from language internal factors)?
2. How are the community-specific norms acquired by developing bi/multilinguals in different communities?

To address these questions, I will provide an overview of studies showing how a multimethod, comparative approach that integrates linguistic, psycholinguistic and social factors will help us draw a distinction between which code-switching patterns are uniform across communities and language pairs, and which patterns are variable. I will discuss to what extent speakers (i) produce strings that can be seen as having the same syntactic structure within and across communities, (ii) make the same linguistic judgments, and (iii) converge in their processing of these strings. I will delve into the findings from these studies, revealing that asymmetries in code-switching are attributable to factors beyond the structural properties of the languages involved, primarily shaped by community norms. This leads us to the pivotal question of when multilingual children begin to adopt these asymmetries. The available studies suggest that the input is key to explaining the development of bi/multilingual children's patterns, and that a more fine-grained analysis is needed of both the adult speech of the input and children's productions. I will conclude with a call for closer collaboration, aiming to encourage heightened research efforts probing the interactions between linguistic and extra-linguistic factors across different language combinations, in the same language combination but across communities, as well as in the same language combination but between individuals, namely adults vs. children (cf. Parafita Couto et al. in press). By focusing on communities that differ in geographical setting, history, and social status of the languages, we will be able to shed light into how social factors such as the specific sociocultural norms that have emerged over time within a community, or language prestige, may influence the types of code-switched structures present in a particular community, and provide insight into how communities develop conventions and context-specific linguistic norms which speakers acquire. Such efforts will undoubtedly contribute to the advancement of our understanding of the nature of multilingual interactions and code-switching behaviour.

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**Symmetry, postposition, and hydras:
Experimental evidence against ATB-analysis of partial agreement in Russian**

Introduction

In some languages (e.g. Brazilian Portuguese, Dutch, English, Hindi-Urdu, Irish, Serbo-Croatian, see Krejci 2020, 1), there are two strategies available in cases when a predicate agrees with a coordinated subject. The first strategy implies agreement with the whole coordinated DP, while under the second strategy only one of the conjuncts controls the agreement. The latter strategy is referred to in the literature as conjunct-sensitive, or partial, agreement (it will be further addressed as PA). The focus of our talk will be on the partial predicative number agreement in Russian. The sentences in (1) below differ in that in (1a) the predicate shows plural agreement, controlled by the whole coordinated structure *ručka i karandaš* ‘a pen and a pencil’, while in (1b) singular agreement is present. In (1b) the agreement is seemingly controlled only by the first conjunct *ručka* ‘a pen’ in the subject DP.

- (1) ‘A pen and a pencil lie on the table.’
- | | | | | | | |
|----|-----------|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------|------------------|
| a. | <i>Na</i> | <i>stol-e</i> | <i>lež-at</i> | <i>ručk-a</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>karandaš.</i> |
| | on | table-SG.LOC | lie-PRS.3.PL | pen-SG.NOM | and | pencil.SG.NOM |
| b. | <i>Na</i> | <i>stol-e</i> | <i>lež-it</i> | <i>ručk-a</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>karandaš.</i> |
| | on | table-SG.LOC | lie-PRS.3.SG | pen-SG.NOM | and | pencil.SG.NOM |

Two ways of analyzing PA in Russian are possible. According to the first option, the syntactic structures of (1a) and (1b) are equal, and the differences are derived solely by agreement controller choice (see e.g. Bošković 2010, Pekelis 2013, and Sannikov 2008). The second possibility implies that the difference between (1a) and (1b) lies in the level of coordination. Krejci (2020) follows the second approach, proposing an ATB-analysis of PA. In cases of PA, the coordination is claimed to appear on the level of VP with subsequent ATB-movement of identical V-heads to Asp. The fact that the coordinated subject does not form a constituent restricts the availability of PA in certain contexts. In particular, PA is claimed to be impossible in the following configurations: 1. when the predicate follows the subject, 2. when the predicate is symmetrical (e.g. *vstretit'sâ* ‘meet each other’), 3. when the coordinated subject is the head of a relative clause — such relative clauses are called *hydras*. According to Krejci, these constraints are indeed satisfied by the Russian data. However, the empirical points proposed by Krejci are mostly based on introspection and contradict corpus evidence.

Data

We conducted two experimental studies using acceptability judgement task (Likert scale 1–7), aiming to investigate whether PA is indeed impossible in the discussed configurations. The first experiment tested the hypotheses about the position and the symmetry of the predicate. The design included three independent variables: 1. agreement strategy (partial / full), 2. predicate symmetry (yes / no), 3. predicate position (pre- / post-). The second experiment tested the possibility of PA with coordinated heads of relative clauses and included the following independent variables: 1. agreement strategy in the main clause (partial / full / two singular predicates), 2. head of the relative clause (two DPs — this includes the coordinated subject / one DP). Apart from acceptability judgement task, the second experiment included self-

paced reading task. 75 and 84 native speakers of Russian participated in the two experiments, respectively. The data were analyzed by means of linear mixed effects models, Tukey's multiple pairwise comparisons, and Student's t-test.

According to our results, none of the predictions about the ungrammaticality of PA was confirmed: all the stimuli were rated significantly higher than ungrammatical fillers. The acceptability of the sentences containing coordinate subjects as heads of relative clauses, or symmetrical predicates, did not depend on the agreement strategy. As for the reading time variable in the second experiment, no significant difference was found either. On the contrary, the factor of position was significant: PA received significantly lower scores in postposition, than in preposition.

Discussion

Our data contradict the empirical generalizations made by Krejci. The proposed constraints are either not met, as in cases of symmetry and coordinated heads of relative clauses, or are too strict, as in case of predicate position. The possibility of PA of symmetrical or postpositional predicates constitutes an argument against ATB-analysis of PA in Russian. The fact that predicates can partially agree with the coordinated head of a relative clause could have been used as a counterargument as well: according to Krejci's assumption, the heads of a relative clause have to form a constituent, which is not the case under ATB-view of PA. However, this assumption is wrong: structures with non-constituent heads, split antecedent relative clauses, have been independently reported in the literature (e.g. Perlmutter & Ross 1970; Cinque 2019). Consequently, availability of PA in this case provides evidence against Krejci's argumentation, but not against ATB-analysis as such.

List of abbreviations

3 — 3rd person; LOC — locative; NOM — nominative; PL — plural; PRS — present tense; SG — singular.

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The ways changing in word classes illustrated through the material of the Comprehensive Dictionary of Hungarian (CDH.)

This research is related to the research on grammaticalization, but it presents a possibility of grammaticalization that has not been explored in Hungarian so far, and which has been little explored in the international lit-

erature. An emphatic subfield of secondary grammaticalization research is the study of morphological binding and the emergence of paradigmatic membership (cf. Diewald 2011, Traugott 2002, Killie 2014). Grammaticalization processes are usually referred to as paths or chains, which illustrate the indistinguishable, continuum character of the process. Most of the research to date has presented grammaticalization as a linear process along which the linguistic element moves. In the international literature, however, polygrammaticalization is proposed (Craig 1991), which describes the phenomenon where one linguistic element becomes the source of several grammaticalization paths. Craig (1991: 456) argues that the semantic links in the meaning structure of polysemous linguistic items correspond to the relative units in the grammaticalization chain. In polygrammaticalization, the constructionist viewpoint prevails and it must be taken into account that the constructions themselves vary. Among the changes affecting constructions, the literature describes several processes. In one, there is a change in an existing construct, e.g. in its semantic, morphophonological or collocational properties. The other new form-meaning change is constructionalisation (Traugott-Trousdale 2013: 1).

My research focuses on the representation of the word *félre* 'aside' in CDH, whose usage includes adverbial (*félrebb áll* 'stand more aside'), adjectival (*félre pad* 'bench that is out of the way'), phrasal (*félre innen* 'get away from here'), postpositional (*vmitől félre* 'aside from something') and verbal prefixal (*félreért* 'misunderstand') features. *Félre* also occurs as a compound prefix, mainly in old-fashioned or dialectical words (*félrehely* 'toilet'). My hypothesis is that this lexeme also has a grammaticalization map with multiple paths. Other paths lead to the compound prefix function, the postposition and verbal prefix functions, which can be explored by means of construction patterns and detailed semantic analysis. In this presentation I will explore these pathways. Since CDH is a corpus based dictionary, I used its linguistic data for the research.

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Dóra Pődör

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Some Irish (pseudo-)partitives: the use of *cuid* 'part, portion' with nouns denoting body parts and languages

Irish Gaelic is rich in partitive and pseudo-partitive structures, which, however, have not yet been researched extensively (for some work on this topic, see Kane, 2015, Bayda, 2018, and Pődör, forthcoming). This paper proposes to discuss variation in two structures which can appear with or without *cuid* 'part, portion':

- a) possessive pronoun + (*cuid*) + nouns denoting body parts (see Bayda, 2018 and Pődör, forthcoming) and
- b) possessive pronoun + (*cuid*) + noun denoting a language.

The research which has been already done on variation in type a) is expanded

- (i) by analysing corpus data for constructions not examined in Pődör (forthcoming), namely when prepositions are combined with possessive pronouns and
- (ii) by analysing corpus data from the point of view of different genres.

Type a) with *cuid* is exemplified in (1):

(1) *Tá a cuid gruaige tirim.*
be.SUBST.PRES. her portion hair.GEN.SG. dry
Lit. 'Is her portion of hair dry.'
'Her hair is dry.'

(Note that in Irish, as in Celtic languages in general, the basic word order is VSO. Irish also distinguishes between the substantive verb, which normally denotes states or location, and the copula, which normally denotes inalienable qualities, or ones that are difficult to change).

The research on type b) will examine and analyse corpus data on the frequency of the presence and absence of *cuid*. Type b) with *cuid* is exemplified in (2):

(2) *Níl a cuid Gaeilge rómhait.*
be.SUBST.PRES.NEG. her portion Irish.GEN.SG. too good
Lit. 'Is not her portion of Irish too good.'
'Her Irish is not too good.'

Data will be gleaned from the *Corpus of Contemporary Irish* and will also be supplemented by dictionary examples from the *New English-Irish Dictionary (NEID)* and Ó Dónaill's *Irish-English Dictionary (FGB)*.

In the case of the structure with nouns denoting body parts, it is expected that the results gained from the new sets of examples will strengthen the findings of Pödör (forthcoming), and that there will not be a difference in variation across different genres.

In the case of the structure with languages, it is expected that the number of examples with *cuid* will far outnumber the ones without it. No differences in variation will be expected across genres here either.

Keywords: Irish Gaelic, partitives, pseudo-partitives, *cuid*, body parts, languages

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Morphosyntactic integration in Hungarian/English code-switching

Two competing accounts of morphosyntactic integration in code-switching (CS) are offered by Myers-Scotton (2002) and Poplack (2018). These accounts have in common the recognition of an asymmetry between the languages involved in CS, such that one language plays the main role, providing the morphosyntactic frame, while the other fulfils a secondary role, providing material which can be inserted in the frame of the main language. This division of labour between the two languages is reflected in the following examples of Hungarian/English that are taken from podcasts. In example (1) the speaker is talking about reaching a top level in bodybuilding. The speaker in example (2) is talking about streaming videos.

- 1) nagyon nagy expert vagy
 very.ADV big.ADJ expert.N be.2S
 'you are a very big expert'
- 2) száz-ezer concurrent viewer-rel akar-sz ki-vonul-ni
 hundred-thousand.NUM concurrent.ADJ viewer.N-INSTR want.V-2Sout.COV-march.V-INF
 a világ-ból
 the.DET.DEF world.N-ELAT
 'you want to march out of the world with one hundred thousand concurrent viewers'

In these examples both Myers-Scotton and Poplack would presumably agree that Hungarian is the main language, providing the morphosyntactic frame whereas English is the secondary language. Myers-Scotton would term Hungarian the 'matrix' and English the 'embedded' language, while Poplack would call Hungarian the 'recipient' and English the 'donor' language. The notions of the 'matrix' and 'recipient' languages are similar in both approaches, and both scholars agree that the matrix or recipient language provides the frame into which any morphosyntactic integration of 'embedded' or 'donor' languages will take place.

We can tell that Hungarian is the matrix or recipient language in these two examples in various ways, including by identifying the word order in both utterances, and by the language of subject/verb agreement. In example (1) the verb *vagy*, is the second person singular present tense form of the verb 'to be', and in example (2) the verb, *akarsz*, 'you want' is marked for second person singular subject. In both examples the verb complements appear in focus preverb position. Furthermore, in both utterances the English items are inserted with the addition of the affixes required by Hungarian grammar in example (2), required by a noun with an instrumental case marker.

While both Myers-Scotton and Poplack would agree that some morphosyntactic integration of embedded/donor English language items in these utterances will occur, they would disagree in their predictions as to which items will be subject to integration into Hungarian. Myers-Scotton's approach predicts that all English items will be morphosyntactically integrated into Hungarian both in word order and in the addition of affixes required by Hungarian grammar. Poplack's approach on the other hand predicts that only single English words from the donor language will be subject to morphosyntactic integration. Multiword units are predicted to follow the grammar of the donor language.

These contrasting predictions will be evaluated on a range of Hungarian/English utterances taken from podcasts. Our conclusion will be that whereas Myers-Scotton's predictions are supported, the distinction between single and multiword units drawn by Poplack is not justified, since multiword units may also be subject to morphosyntactic integration.

Keywords: code-switching, framework comparison, morphosyntactic integration, podcast

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Identity conditions on ellipsis in Russian nominal constructions with Right Node Raising

Right Node Raising constructions involve an element shared by two larger constituents. According to the ellipsis approach, RNR involves partly phonological deletion of the first conjunct under lexical identity with the second conjunct (Barros, Vicente 2011, (1)). Ellipsis allows mismatch of some morphological features for the elided and the spelled-out constituents (determiner mismatch in French, Abeillé et al. 2016, (2)), while other features must match (case identity in Russian, Testelefs 2011, (3)). Most previous research focused on RNR cases where the pivot is shared by two clauses (Hartmann 2000, Abels 2004 among others) rather than RNR

within the nominal domain (Shen 2018, (4)). The studies of Russian Nominal Right Node Raising propose ellipsis analysis (Kodzasov 1987, Belyaev et al. 2015). This study examines the identity of number and case noun features for the elided and the spelled-out noun by conducting a self-paced acceptability experiment.

Firstly, the constructions with the closest conjunct agreement were considered. The results demonstrate that coordination of noun phrases with the identical number features (5) is significantly more acceptable than with different number features (6). Low scores are accompanied by the reading delay on the noun.

Secondly, the mismatch in the number features of the conjuncts was observed in numeral constructions. Russian small numerals (two, three, four) require noun form which is homonymic to singular genitive while the noun with big numerals must be plural. D. Pesetsky (2013) claims that the noun form with the small numerals bears no number feature in contrast to singular [+SINGULAR] and plural [-SINGULAR] forms. The conjuncts with the same numeral type (both small (7a) or big (7b)) demonstrate feature identity. If the phrases with different numeral types are coordinated, the number forms of the elided and the spelled-out nouns differ (8). However, the number features do not conflict since one noun is numberless. The coordination of numeral phrases turns out to be highly acceptable with same and with different numeral types, there are no reading delays.

Finally, the coordination of a noun phrase and a numeral phrase was examined. In this construction, the conjuncts show number feature identity (both conjuncts are plural) and case feature mismatch (the conjunct without numeral bears external case while the one with numeral receives genitive (9)). The lowest scores and the longest reading delays are observed for the coordination of the noun and the numeral phrase. Thus, the difference in number is unacceptable for conjuncts without numerals (singular vs. plural nouns) but acceptable with paucal and other numerals (numberless vs. plural nouns). The noun number features mismatch in noun phrases without numeral, but number features in numeral phrases do not conflict. The coordination of a noun phrase without numeral and a numeral phrase is also unacceptable. While the nouns in both conjuncts are plural, the case is different (external case vs. genitive). The ellipsis in Russian Nominal Right Node Raising constructions requires the lack of number feature conflict and the case identity for the elided and the spelled-out nouns.

Examples.

- (1) Alice bought **a book** and Beatrix read **a book**. (Barros, Vicente 2011: 2)
- (2) Il y a des langues qui ont ~~une flexion~~ **casuelle**,
 there are INDEF.PL languages REL.SBJ have an inflection case
 et des langues qui n' ont pas, **de flexion casuelle**
 and INDEF.PL languages REL.SBJ NEG have NEG INDEF inflection case
 'There are languages that have and languages that don't have case inflection.'
 (Abeillé et al. 2016: 5)
- (3) *Oni ne izbegali ~~etih razgovorov~~, a, naoborot,
 they NEG avoid.PST.PL this.PL.GEN conversation-PL.GEN but on the contrary
 podderzhivali **eti razgovory**.
 support.PST.PL this.PL.ACC conversation-PL.ACC
 'They did not avoid, but, on the contrary, supported these conversations.' (Testelefs 2011: 658)
- (4) This tall **student** and that short **student** are a couple. (Shen 2018: 3)
- (5) a. bol'sh-oj **stol** i malen'k-ij **stol**
 big-SG.NOM table.SG.NOM and small-SG.NOM table.SG.NOM
 'a big and a small table'
 b. bol'sh-ie **stol-y** i malen'k-ie **stol-y**
 big-PL.NOM table-PL and small-PL.NOM table-PL.NOM
 'big and small tables'

- (6) a. bol'sh-oj **stol** i malen'k-ie **stol-y**
big-SG.NOM table.SG.NOM and small-PL.NOM table-PL.NOM
'one big and some small tables'
- b. bol'sh-ie **stol-y** i malen'k-ij **stol**
big-PL.NOM table-PL.NOM and small-SG.NOM table.SG.NOM
'some big and one small table'
- (7) a. dva bol'sh-ih **stol-a** i tri malen'kih **stol-a**
two big-PL.GEN table-PAUC and three small-PL.GEN table-PAUC
'two big and three small tables'
- b. pyat' bol'sh-ih **stol-ov** i shest' malen'k-ih **stol-ov**
five big-PL.GEN table-PL.GEN and six small-PL.GEN table-PL.GEN
'five big and six small tables'
- (8) a. dva bol'shih **stola** i shest' malen'kih **stolov**
two big-PL.GEN table-PAUC and six small-PL.GEN table-PL.GEN
'two big and six small tables'
- b. pyat' bol'shih **stolov** i tri malen'kih **stola**
five big-PL.GEN table-PL.GEN and three small-PL.GEN table-PAUC
'five big and three small tables'
- (9) a. pyat' bol'shih **stolov** i malen'kie **stoly**
five big-PL.GEN table-PL.GEN and small-PL.NOM table-PL.NOM
'five big and some small tables'
- b. bol'shie **stoly** i shest' malen'kih **stolov**
big-PL.NOM table-PL.NOM and six small-PL.GEN table-PL.GEN
'some big and six small tables'

Abbreviations

ACC – accusative, GEN – genitive, INDEF – indefinite, NEG – negation, NOM – nominative, PAUC – paucal, PL – plural, PST – past tense, REL – relative pronoun, SG – singular, SUBJ – subject.

Keywords: Right Node Raising, ellipsis, feature identity, experimental syntax, Russian

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Pre-school children's identification of sentence focus: Functional cues and formal comparisons

The L1 acquisition of the comprehension of prosodically marked focus has usually been described as a particularly protracted developmental process. The reasons for this lag, however, are ill-understood. One possibility, following a classic, functional cue-based approach, is that the delay is due to the compromised strength of the surface cues that mark focus (most notably, prosodic prominence). An alternative hypothesis, based on the idea of grammatical economy, holds that cueing focus involves a grammar-internally unprovoked kind of formal (prosodic) markedness that triggers a comparison with alternative sentence forms. On this account, children's difficulty lies in effectively computing such between-sentence comparisons. The choice between these two explanations is far from trivial, and since they do not conflict in the domain of prosodic focus marking, nothing in theory precludes that both explanatory mechanisms may simultaneously be at play.

The methodological escape this talk offers out of this impasse is to look at data from a language in which focus marking is primarily syntactic, rather than prosodic. Hungarian, which routinely uses syntactic focus marking (SFM) by fronting, is such a language. In Hungarian SFM is a highly reliable surface cue of focus, while the functional load of prosodic focus marking (PFM) is relatively reduced. Given this particular division of labour in focus marking, the functional cue-strength based approach predicts the advantage of SFM over PFM in the acquisition trajectory of this language. On the formal economy based account, no asymmetry between SFM and PFM is expected. The talk reports on an experimental study of the developmental trajectories of PFM- and SFM-comprehension in 4-to-6-year-old Hungarian children (conducted together with Lilla Pintér) designed to test these diverging predictions.

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Prosodic structure affects preschoolers' interpretation of negated disjunctive sentences

Introduction

Negated disjunctive sentences like (1) are potentially logically ambiguous between readings (1a) and (1b), which have been described as arising from a narrow scope (NEG>OR) versus a wide scope interpretation (OR>NEG) of disjunction with respect to clausal negation.

- (1) *Mary doesn't like peppers or tomatoes.*
a. Mary doesn't like peppers and Mary doesn't like tomatoes. ("neither")
b. Mary doesn't like peppers or Mary doesn't like tomatoes. ("one or the other not")

There is apparent cross-linguistic variation as to whether or not both of these readings are available in a language: while some languages seem to license both, others seem to only permit the OR>NEG interpretation. Szabolcsi (2002) ascribes this variation to a difference in the lexical status of disjunction: in the latter group of languages (e.g. Japanese, Mandarin, Turkish, Russian, Italian, Catalan, French, Hungarian; so-called +PPI languages, Goro 2004b), but not in the former group (e.g. English, Dutch, German, Greek; dubbed –PPI languages), disjunction is a Positive Polarity Item. As PPIs cannot occur in the direct scope of clausemate negation, +PPI languages disallow the NEG>OR reading.

Initial experiments with pre-school children found that they access the NEG>OR interpretation not only in –PPI languages, in which the NEG>OR reading is acceptable for adults (e.g. English: Crain et al. 2002, Gualmini & Crain 2002), but also in +PPI languages, in which this reading is unlicensed in adult competence (e.g. Japanese: Goro & Akiba 2004a,b, Mandarin: Jing et al. 2005, Russian: Verbuk 2006). An influential account explains this pattern in terms of the Semantic Subset Principle (SSP, Crain et al. 1994), according to which in general children prefer the logically stronger reading of logically potentially ambiguous sentences in the initial phase of language acquisition. Since from a logical perspective the NEG>OR reading is stronger than the OR>NEG reading, the SSP correctly predicts that initially children will have difficulty accessing the weaker OR>NEG reading.

The problem

Subsequent experiments, however, uncovered a hitherto unexplained range of variation in terms of pre-school children's acceptance of OR>NEG interpretations in +PPI languages (Mandarin: 5%, Jing et al. 2005; Turkish: 1%, Geckin et al. 2016; Turkish: 13%, Geckin et al. 2018; Japanese: 25%, Goro & Akiba 2004a,b; Hungarian: 25%, Pagliarini et al. 2022; French: 34%, Pagliarini et al. 2022; Catalan: 43% Pagliarini et al. 2021; Japanese: 47%, Shimada & Goro 2021; Italian: 54%, Pagliarini et al. 2018). This is so despite the fact that most of these studies employed the same experimental task (introduced by Goro & Akiba 2004a,b) and involved children of the same age range. Pagliarini et al. (2018) propose to explain Italian children's relatively high acceptance rate of the OR>NEG reading by hypothesizing that in Italian the NEG>OR reading is expressed by a negative concord form (NEG...*né*...*né*), which blocks the NEG>OR reading of negated disjunctive sentences. In order to account for the variation seen across Italian, French, Hungarian and Turkish, Pagliarini et al. (2022) speculate that the strength of this blocking effect is modulated by the complexity of the grammatical system of negative concord in each language. Even this supplemented version of the blocking hypothesis leaves unexplained a substantial amount of variation, however. This includes (i) discrepancies between languages with non-complex NC systems, like Italian (54%) and Catalan (43%), as well as Russian (17%, Verbuk 2006) and Greek (20%, Tsakali et al. 2022), and (ii) divergences between different experiments on the same language, viz. Japanese (25% vs 47%).

Objectives

In this study we explore the plausibility of an alternative source for the attested variation. Specifically, we experimentally test whether sentence prosody, a hidden variable not controlled in these prior experiments, could have affected children's acceptance rates of the OR>NEG reading to an extent that could potentially account for the noted discrepancies. Prosody has been shown to exert substantial influence on logical scope reading preferences in adults' sentence comprehension (e.g. Baltazani 2002, Syrett et al. 2014, Luchinka & Ionin 2015). The relevance of prosodic structure and prominence relations for scope interpretation in Hungarian has been systematically investigated by Hunyadi (1981, 1999, 2002).

The comprehension experiment

Following Hunyadi's insights, and also drawing on Han & Romero's (2004) observations regarding the prosody of negative disjunctive sentences in English, in our experiment we compare the rate of acceptances of the OR>NEG and NEG>OR readings of negated disjunctive sentences like (2a,b) in two (between-subject) prosodic conditions (PROSODY) in Hungarian. In the 1INTP condition illustrated in (2a) the sentence constituted as single intonational phrase, with a single intonational contour extending over its comment part containing the two disjuncts. In the 2INTP condition (2b) the sentence was comprised by two intonational phrases, with

the contour in the first one ending in a high boundary tone, followed by a short pause, and then a falling contour in the second intonational phrase. A prior experiment with adults (Surányi & Gulás 2022) shows that this type of prosodic manipulation significantly affects adults' rates of OR>NEG and NEG>OR readings.

- (2) a. (*A majom nem szereti a mandarint vagy a narancsot*)_{IntP} 1INTP
 the monkey not likes the tangerine or the orange
 b. (*A majom nem szereti a mandarint*)_{IntP} (*vagy a narancsot*)_{IntP} 2INTP

For comparability with earlier cross-linguistic studies, the experimental task was an adapted version of Goro & Akiba (2004a,b). Participants saw animated images (Fig.1), each of which contained an animal and two plates side by side with a tangerine and an orange on them, respectively. It wasn't visible which fruit is on which plate. As a within-subject factor (SCOPE), in the critical conditions the animal either ate one of the fruits (making the OR>NEG reading true = the ATE1 condition) or neither of them (making the NEG>OR reading true = the ATE0 condition). Each image was accompanied by a pre-recorded sentence, uttered by a blind-folded elf as a guess about whether the animal likes the two fruits. The participants' task was to judge whether the elf guessed right. In addition to 5 OR>NEG and 5 NEG>OR trials, 3 clearly false and 3 clearly true fillers were also included. 38 (19+19) pre-school children (ages 4;1-6;10) and a group of adult controls (n=34=17+17) participated.

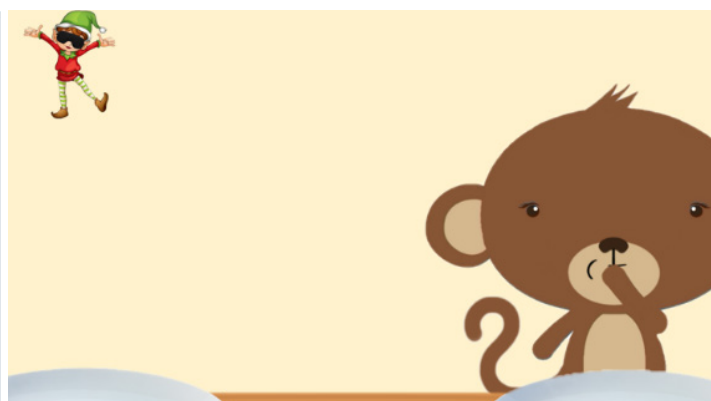
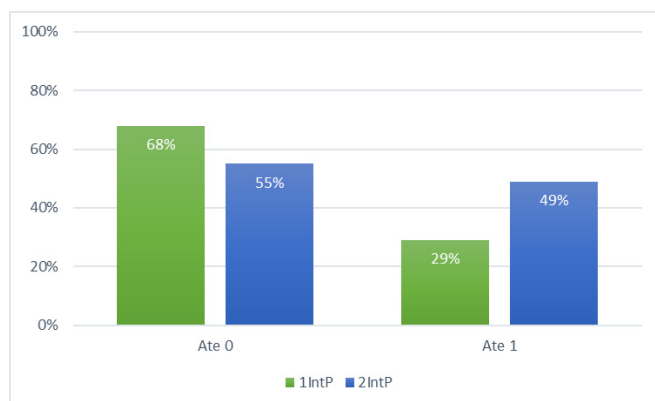
Results and conclusions

The rates of children's acceptances are summarized in Fig. 2 (the discussion of the adult controls' responses is omitted here for reasons of space). A mixed binomial logistic model revealed a strong main effect of SCOPE (ATE0 being more acceptable than ATE1), and a strong interaction between PROSODY and SCOPE. Pairwise comparisons show that while PROSODY didn't have a significant effect on scope readings in the ATE0 (NEG>OR) condition, it did so in the ATE1 (OR>NEG) condition. We draw a range of conclusions. (i) Pre-school children are sensitive to prosodic structure in the interpretation of logical scope in negated disjunctive sentences (see Larralde et al. 2021 for a different prosodic manipulation). (ii) The asymmetry found between the OR>NEG condition and the NEG>OR condition is in line with the hypothesis that the NEG>OR condition is the initial default in the course of language acquisition: this is reflected in the higher acceptance of ATE0 than ATE1, as well as the fact that ATE0 is less affected by prosody. (iii) Finally, in view of the size of the difference found in the OR>NEG condition, the divergences in the rate of OR>NEG acceptances both across and within languages, reviewed above, may be partly (though not wholly) due to the lack of control of prosody. We conclude by offering speculations regarding further possible factors.

Keywords: disjunction, negation, prosody, preschoolers, Hungarian

Figure 1

Figure 2



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**Des-subjects and existential bare plural subjects in European Romance languages:
A comparative approach based on translations**

It has been claimed in the literature that existential bare plural nouns in subject position in European Romance languages are not acceptable (Delfitto & Schrotten 1991, Dobrovie-Sorin & Laca 2003, and Giusti 2020), see (1), but that modification by a PP or an additional adjective (2) or narrow or contrastive focus (3) may make the bare subject acceptable (Longobardi 1994 for Italian; Suñer 1982, Salem 2010, Leonetti 2013 for Spanish; Dobrovie-Sorin & Laca 2003 for Romanian; and Müller & Oliveira 2004 for European Portuguese):

Spanish

- (1) **Turistas llegaron a la ciudad.*
'Tourists arrived in the city.'
- (2) *Turistas curiosos llegaron a la ciudad.*
'Curious tourists arrived in the city.'
- (3) *TURISTAS llegaron a la ciudad.*
'TOURISTS arrived in the city.'

French does not have bare nouns, but has indefinite plural nouns introduced by a partitive article, *des*. Dobrovie-Sorin & Laca (2003) claim that, in French, existential subjects introduced by the partitive article *des* have the same semantic and pragmatic properties as English bare nouns (Carlson 1977). This would make *des*-nouns, just like English existential bare plural nouns and Germanic existential bare plural nouns in general, acceptable in preverbal subject position (see also Bosveld-de Smet 2004 and Ihsane 2008). The goal of this paper is to analyze the use of existential bare plural subjects in European Romance languages in comparison to the use of *des*-subjects in French and to provide a theoretical analysis of their use.

To be able to make a proper comparison of the use of existential bare subjects in different languages, it is important to collect judgments on comparable data and in a larger linguistic context. It has been observed by Englebert (1992) for French and Leonetti (2013) for Spanish that *des*-/bare subjects occur essentially in written texts, such as literary texts. Therefore, for the analysis two literary texts in a Germanic language were chosen in which existential bare subjects occur relatively abundantly and which have been translated into Romance languages. The examples of existential bare plural subjects that were found in the original version were analyzed with respect to information structure and the presence of modification. Their translations in the versions of the books in five European Romance languages were analyzed with respect to bareness or *des* in French and modification.

The results show that the subject does not have a contrastive focus interpretation, as expected on the basis of the literature, but is part of a sentence with a broad focus interpretation (cf. Carlier 2020, who searched in the literary French database Frantext). Furthermore, not only French, but some other Romance languages as well turn out to behave more like Germanic languages than has been claimed in the literature. Even without modification of the noun, bare plural subjects are used by the translators in some of the Romance languages.

To account for the data, it is proposed that *des*-subjects and existential bare plural subjects have an undetermined quantity reading, for which a syntactic analysis is put forth, building on Ihsane (2013).

Keywords: existential bare plural subjects, *des*-subjects, Romance, partitivity, indefiniteness

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Predicate-argument duality of proforms

In my research I explore constructions which involve pronominal elements intra-sententially associated with some clausal or nominal constituent. With regards these I have two main claims: *i.* the in constructions under scrutiny are non-referential but they carry semantic content as being predicates; *ii.* the “normal”, argumental uses of these proforms are constructed from the predicative uses, by an additional semantic feature responsible for referentiality. Such a treatment can be implemented with a nanosyntactic view of pronouns whereby their semantic features are represented as separate internal layers and lexical entries can “shrink” to realize just a subset of their full potential, given the appropriate syntactic environment. My focus will be on Hungarian, but a cross-linguistic perspective will be maintained as well. Consider the following sentence:

- (1) *János* {*az-t* /*??ezt*} *mondja*, *hogy* *Kati okos.* (Hungarian)
 John that-ACC this-ACC says COMP Kate smart
 ‘John says that Kate is smart.’ (Lit.: ‘John says {that_{dem} /this_{dem}} that_{comp} Kate is smart.’)

While the demonstrative pronoun *azt* ‘that-ACC’ obviously has a standard, argumental use (e.g. like in *I have not said that*), it is a fairly prominent view in the literature that in (1) it should not be viewed as equivalent to that. However, there is no consensus on what the proper treatment is. The analyses on offer include the classic view by Kenesei (1994) who views it as an expletive (a semantically vacuous syntactic dummy, required by structural reasons), viewing it as some sort of a referential pronoun (Szűcs 2015, Laczkó 2022), or it may be analyzed as a predicate (den Dikken 2017).

I argue that while the predicate-view may be the least well-established, it is actually the most appropriate one. On the one hand, the expletive view is problematic from a typological and theoretical perspective: Hungarian being a pro-drop language, the pronoun being optional, being able to bear inherent cases and occur in discourse-related positions all militate against the expletive-analysis. On the other hand, viewing it as a fully referential pronoun cannot readily explain why the demonstrative is restricted with respect to certain

syntactic environments (e.g. factive main verbs like *sajnál* ‘regret’ do not occur with *azt* in a neutral sentence like (1), see e.g. Molnár 2015) and with respect to morphosyntactic features (the plural being excluded). In my view, treating the proform as a predicate explains the non-referential and but still semantic nature of the element. This approach is to be supported with a number of conceptual and empirical arguments.

First, given the predicate nature of the proform, it can be treated in parallel with “verbal modifiers”, a category of Hungarian grammar encompassing predicate nouns/adjective/adverbs (as in 2), bare nouns (3) and secondary predicates (4).

(2) *János tavaly {beteg/katona/ rosszul} volt.* (Hungarian)
 John last.year ill soldier unwell was.3SG
 ‘Peter was ill/a soldier/unwell last year.’

(3) *János TV-t néz.*
 John TV-ACC watches
 ‘John is watching television.’

(4) *János szénné égette a húst.*
 John coal.TRA burned.3SG the meat.ACC
 ‘John burned the meat to cinders.’

Following the analysis of Hegedűs (2013), such elements are base-generated in the postverbal field, and they share the property of being predicative. As such, they are non-referential, which triggers their displacement to the preverbal field (in line with Alberti 1997), presumably to spec-PredP. Such predicative elements are typically singular in form, which parallels the behavior of the currently discussed instance of this element. They may be postverbal in some circumstances, e.g. in imperative sentences, just like the demonstrative proforms under discussion.

(5) a. *Nézz TV-t!* b. *Mondd az-t, hogy Kati okos!* (Hungarian)
 watch.2SG.IMP tv-ACC say.2SG.IMP that-ACC COMP Kate smart
 ‘Watch television!’ ‘Say that Kate is smart!’

Furthermore, that demonstratives can function as predicates in Hungarian can be substantiated by constructions like (5) (from den Dikken 2017, fn. 11), where they stand in for the predicative complement of verbs like *tart* ‘consider’, as well as the construction mentioned in Kálmán (2001: 180), where the demonstrative pronoun seems to function as the main predicate, embedding a clause.

(6) *Magyar vagyok és [annak is tartom magam].* (Hungarian)
 Hungarian am and that.DAT too consider.1SG myself
 ‘I am Hungarian, and I consider myself as one, too.’

(7) *Nem az, hogy zsugori vagyok, de add már meg a pénzem.*
 not that COMP stingy am but but give already perf the my.money
 ACC
 ‘It’s not that I’m stingy but give me back my money already.’

Sentence (7) also allows us to put the discussion into a cross-linguistic perspective. Similar English sentences (like the translation of 7), as well as sentences with *seem* and *it*-clefts have been argued to involve *it* as a small-clause predicate by a number of researchers, see Moro (1997, chapter 4), den Dikken (2006: 69), contra the usual assumption of *it* being an expletive. Naturally, *it* can also be fully argumental as well (*Kate said to be smart, but I don’t believe it*).

(8) a. *It seems that Kate is smart.* b. *It was Kate who was the smartest.*

From this picture, a general predicate-argument duality in the use of pronominal forms seems to emerge. Instead of taking this to a case of accidental homonymy, I suggest that this can be explained in a principled manner from a nanosyntactic perspective, whereby lexical entries spell out complex syntactic feature structures (see e.g. Caha 2020, Dékány 2021: 107-110). Thus, I suggest the pronouns are predicative by default and they only acquire the referentiality necessary for argumenthood by an additional Ref function-

al head in their full lexical trees (see Zamparelli's 2000 notion of "strong DP" and also Coppock & Beaver 2015 for a proposal concerning DPs in general in this spirit).

(9) [RefP [DeixP [NumP [NP]]]]

When the pronoun is placed in an argument-position (*I have not said that*), this full lexical entry is realized but non-argument positions do not allow the the RefP layer to appear, causing (9) to "shrink", in accordance with nanosyntactic principles. In particular, I follow the common view that proform in (1) is base-generated in Spec-CP (which, following Molnár 2015, needs some licensing, hence the lexical restrictions), while argumental uses are the complements of some predicate.

Importantly, such a diminished realization still leaves space for semantic interpretation, so the remaining pronouns are not expletives. In case of Hungarian, the DeixP-layer is interpreted a discourse-deictic attention directing device. This results in the preference of distal forms when associated with clauses introducing new information. This is independently attested in clearly semantically contentful pronouns as well, like the manner adverb in (10). Contextual modulation (stronger discourse integration) may increase the acceptability of proximal forms both in (1) and (10).

(10) *Kati {úgy (=olyan módon)/#így} beszélt, hogy mindenki meglepődött.* (Hungarian)
Kate so.DIST like.that way so.PROX spoke COMP everyone surprised.3SG
'Kate spoke in such a way that everyone was surprised.'

As for English, Moro (1997: 196) notes that "*it's that John is sad* is not simply equivalent to *John is sad*. Its meaning is rather 'reinforced' as if it were: 'the fact is that John is sad', while for *it seems that X*-sentences, he suggests that they are understood as "it seems true that...", both of which insights point in the direction of the semantic contribution of *it*. For the semantic composition of *it*-clefts, see Hedberg (2000).

The question of why the two languages use different pronouns (demonstrative/personal) for predicates awaits further research, but the answer is probably not independent of the facts that Hungarian lacks a neuter personal pronoun like *it* and demonstratives are generally quite multi-purpose in this language (they are also standardly used in relative clauses and left-dislocations as well).

Keywords: demonstratives, pronouns, predication, argumenthood, reference

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Demonstratives at the crossroads of empirical and theoretical linguistic research

What renders demonstratives an exciting target for linguistic research is the complexity of factors that determine their actual interpretation upon any instance of use. A central question is why a speaker selects one demonstrative form / why one form is more acceptable over another in a particular context. The aim of this lecture is to investigate the factors that influence the choice between demonstrative forms in Hungarian, and the interaction between these.

Hungarian has a two-term demonstrative system (Kugler and Laczkó 2000); *ez, ezek* ‘this, these’ are described as proximals, while *az, azok* ‘that, those’ are distals. The traditional descriptive view holds that physical proximity to the speaker plays a crucial role in the use of nominal demonstratives, and it emphasizes the speaker’s perspective in demonstrative selection and underestimates the addressee’s role in a basically interactive. This view has been challenged in more recent work (cf. Piwek et al. 2008, Enfield 2009, Diessel 2012, Tóth et al. 2014, Peeters and Özyürek 2016, Shin et al. 2020), and our aim in this talk is to contribute to this line of research. We present the results of two experiments that show that deictic reference is a collaborative process in Hungarian, in which not only the speaker, but the addressee also takes an active role in resolving reference.

Both studies focus on scenarios where the speaker and the addressee are located face-to-face across a table. Adopting the design of Peeters et al. (2014), the first study (see Tóth 2018) explores the effect of three factors in demonstrative selection and argues that not only physical proximity to the speaker, but the establishment of a joint attentional scene involving the speaker, the hearer and the entity being referred to, and the presence or absence of a manual pointing gesture also play a crucial role. The second production study is based on Shin et al.’s (2020) method and investigates table-top scenarios, it focuses on a special subtype of demonstrative use, where demonstrative forms compare and contrast two entities in the given setting. The findings indicate that relative distance from the speaker is neutralized to a certain extent and emphasize that the use of demonstratives cannot be adequately described without taking into account the speaker’s beliefs about the hearer’s knowledge of the intended referent (see also Tóth 2022). Thus, the traditional egocentric view, where only the speaker and distance-marking are considered to be decisive, is too simple, and cannot capture the essential collaborative and multi-modal nature of human interaction. Overall, the findings of the empirical studies we conducted with Hungarian native speakers support the view that an adequate account of demonstrative choice must have a broader scope in this sense.

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**Simonyi competition in the teaching of Hungarian as a first language
in the Carpathian Basin – variation in the results**

Orthography has played an important role in the Hungarian written language for a long time. One of the first achievements of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, which held its first general assembly in 1831, was to publish the first handbook on orthographic rules in 1832, entitled *Magyar helyesírás és szóragasztás főbb szabályai* (The Basic Rules of Hungarian Orthography and Affixation). This publication marks the boundary between the so-called old and present-day Hungarian orthography.

Although orthography is a system providing (prescriptive) standard language forms, it is a popular topic among language users. Children in grade 1-8 have to learn this area of the National Core Curriculum, which follows the current orthographic rules with respect to age-related characteristics (AKH¹² 2015). Students enjoy participating in orthographic competitions. This is also confirmed by the fact that in addition to students from Hungary, ethnic Hungarian children from Slovakia, Romania, Serbia, Ukraine also participate in the Simonyi Zsigmond Orthographic Competition in the Carpathian Basin organized for students aged 10–14, i.e. 5-8 graders in the Hungarian education system (Antalné Szabó, 2020).

Tens of thousands of schoolchildren participate in the competition each school year. According to the rules, Hungarian native speakers from Hungary and from abroad do the same exercises. The reason for this is that the uniformity in the orthographic rules (regardless of national borders and possible multilingual environments) is one of the defining pillars of the uniformity in the Hungarian written language, i.e. there is no separate orthographic system for Hungarians living in Transylvania or even in the USA or Canada.

The three-stage competition, organized for the 26th time in the 2022/2023 academic year and developed by the Faculty of Pedagogy at Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary, has been taking place on a digital platform since 2020 (Tóth 2021b, 2023). This framework allows for a multilevel analysis of student responses. The worksheets are designed by the teachers of the Faculty of Pedagogy. The digital framework allows us to record the results in a database for each competition year and each stage (Kozmács – Vančo 2022 and Tóth 2021a). This database will form the basis of a corpus of student responses which enables us to analyze student responses according to different criteria in the near future. The analysis criteria are being developed and annotated in the corpus.

In this respect, this presentation can be considered as a model. We have highlighted the responses of students from abroad, mainly from Slovakia. In the light of the results, a narrower approach is taken to investigate which types of exercises and questions (e.g. writing compound words as one word or with spaces, and punctuation) pose the most problems for the students. In a broader approach, we make an attempt to take account of the factors that may be present in learners' responses due to a multilingual environment.

Keywords: orthography, competition, National Core Curriculum, Carpathian Basin, corpus

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Poverty of the stimulus in the times of ChatGPT

A classical argument for generative grammar has always been the so-called ‘Poverty of the stimulus’, of ‘Plato’s problem’ (both terms introduced by Noam Chomsky): how is it possible that humans have detailed knowledge about their language without having ever been explicitly taught this.

This argument is under extreme pressure with the advent of the latest generation of Large Language Models (LLM) which seem to be able to acquire remarkable grammatical skills starting from a blank slate state of mind, so without anything apparently paralleling ‘innate capacities’.

In this presentation, I will take a look at what we currently know about the inner workings of LLM’s and what conclusions we can draw about the Poverty of the Stimulus argument. In particular, I will draw some lessons from the development of phonological theory, since the arguments for (word-level) phonology never seemed to rely very much on Poverty of the Stimulus.