EDITORIAL

Welcome to this special edition of the *Salford Working Papers in Linguistics and Applied Linguistics.* The *Working Papers* are an open access, peer-reviewed online journal which showcases the research of both academic staff and postgraduate researchers at the Centre for Research in Linguistics and Applied Linguistics at the University of Salford. On this occasion the *Working Papers* are kindly hosting the proceedings of the *19th International Postgraduate Linguistics Conference* organised by The University of Manchester & the University of Salford on the 16th and 17th September 2010.

In March 1992, the Department of Linguistics at the University of Manchester hosted its first Postgraduate Conference. Since then this annual event has grown, and for the first time representatives from both The University of Manchester and the University of Salford have co-organised the event. The aim of the Conference is to bring together postgraduate research students from local, national, and international institutions working within the various areas of Linguistics and to allow them to present papers to their peers.

The theme of the conference was language variation and change, which is represented in numerous research areas and emphasises the value of both synchronic and diachronic studies. We invited papers on language contact, historical linguistics, language variation, and general language change. The authors represented in this volume are all junior researchers who presented a paper at the *19th International Postgraduate Linguistics Conference.*

Contributions to this volume deal with a range of issues raised by previous research on language variation and change. Two of these are cross-linguistic in orientation, for instance, Suzie Holdsworth's contribution, which considers notions of subtle linguistic variance or non-equivalence in translational phenomena. She analysis the conceptualization of citizen(ship) in parallel extracts in English, French, German and Dutch from a key 2009 European Commission communication. Another cross-linguistic contribution is that of Rachel Nye, which looks at apparent instances of variation between two closely-related languages, English and Dutch, concerning the distribution and categorial status of declarative clauses introduced by a complementiser-like use of *how.* A more diachronic focus is found in the contribution by Thomas Hoelbeek, who brings to attention a marginal case of the French expression *au travers de* 'way through', 'across' found in the sixteenth century only. The paper examines whether the use of *au travers de* with a curved surface is an anomaly or an instance of peripheral membership. A synchronic approach to the structural position of *lá* 'there' in Brazilian Portuguese is offered by Bruna Karla Pereira. In her paper she argues that *lá* is not an expletive in Spec, IP as previously assumed, but rather an adverbial merged directly in Spec, TopP, Spec, FocusP or Spec, ForceP depending on the function of *lá* within the sentence.

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The use of French *au travers (de)* for describing a movement along a curved surface: peripheral membership or anomaly? *

ABSTRACT

This paper aims at providing a thorough analysis of a rare use where French *au travers (de)* (meaning 'way through' or 'across') expresses a movement along a curved surface. I try to determine whether this use should be considered a peripheral member of a prototypical category or an anomaly. After a short methodological section, the entire group of expressions containing French *travers* 'through' is briefly presented; particular attention is devoted to the different uses of *au travers (de)*. Subsequently, I rely on precise analytical tools in order to carry out an in-depth analysis of the utterances under study (all dating from the 16th Century) and to compare them with semantically close examples from the same period. Finally, I come to the very subject of this contribution: I argue that the flatness of the surface is a fundamental characteristic of the category at hand, which entails that the tokens analysed should be viewed as anomalous side steps that did not involve any real extension of the category.

Keywords: *spatial prepositions*, au travers (de), *historical semantics, diachronic linguistics, cognitive linguistics, corpus linguistics*

1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper, I propose a thorough analysis of a rare use of French *au travers (de)* 'way through'/'across' that is documented for the 16th Century only. Though this phenomenon may look, at first sight, as a mere curiosity, its study contributes to a better comprehension of the past and present semantic structure of the entire group of expressions containing *travers*.

During my work on large French corpora, I noticed that the preposition *au travers (de)* was used, on very rare occasions, for describing the movement of an entity along the surface of a curved reference entity whose roundness is clearly expressed and even emphasized. Such a phenomenon proves all the more remarkable since language, when describing space, usually resorts to an idealisation by assuming the soil level of the reference entity to be a flat surface. This particular use shares features with the very frequent case where the moving entity moves along a flat reference entity. Since the exceptional use became almost immediately obsolescent, one may wonder whether one should

consider its occurrences as members of a prototypical category or as anomalous side steps.

After a short methodological section, I will briefly present the entire group of expressions that contain French *travers*; I will devote particular attention to the different uses of *au travers (de)*. Subsequently, I will analyse the utterances under study, and compare them with semantically close examples from the same period. Finally, I will come to the very subject of this contribution, by trying to determine whether the use of French *au travers (de)* for describing a movement along a curved surface should be considered a peripheral member of a prototypical category or an anomaly. I will argue that the tokens at hand should be viewed as anomalous side steps that did not involve any real extension of the category.

2. METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS

First of all, let us define some concepts that will be used in this contribution. For the sake of clarity, I will illustrate my theoretical assumptions by means of Modern French examples and my English translations of them.

In the theoretical framework of cognitive linguistics I am adopting here, two entities are distinguished when describing space: the reference entity (the object of the spatial relation) and the located entity (the subject of the spatial relation). In Talmy's (1983) terminology, which I will adopt in this paper, the located entity is the **Figure** and the reference entity is the **Ground**.

In order to distinguish and categorise the different uses observed, I rely on different kinds of parameters, such as grammatical information (the syntactic property of the analysed expressions), referential information (see Table 1 below), the level of abstraction (see Table 2 below) and functional parameters (the functional character of the Ground – section 4 – and the functional notion that best describes the expressed relationship – sections 5 and 6). This way of analysing the data allows me to reformulate in fine-tuned terms the more conventional categorisation of spatial, perceptual and metaphorical uses adopted, for example, by Stosic (2002a). I will comment in more detail on the terminology I am using (see Tables (1) and (2) below) as far as it proves relevant for the present contribution. The Tables contain examples with the Modern French prepositions *à travers* and *en travers (de)* (the former often meaning 'through', the latter rather 'across').

Table (1) shows that the relation between Figure and Ground can be Dynamic (the Figure moves) or Static (the Figure occupies a stable position). Contemporary French *à/au travers (de)* does not express Static relations anymore, but in the past it was able to convey them. The Table also indicates that a movement or a position can be of a Concrete or Fictive nature. A Concrete movement is a spatial configuration that involves an actual transition from one place to another, while a Fictive movement (see Talmy 2000:99-175) applies to a static scene where a movement is only suggested (e.g. because the Figure is a Fictive entity).

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Nature of the relation between Figure and Ground		Nature of the movement/position that is expressed	
Dynamic (movement)	**Static** (position)	**Concrete**	**Fictive**
Jean marche *à travers* la ville 'John walks *through* the city'	Jean est étendu *en travers de* la route 'John is lying *across* the road'	Jean chemine *à travers* le désert 'John trudges *through* the desert'	Jean regarde *à travers* la fenêtre 'John looks *through* the window'

Table (1): Referential information

Talmy distinguishes a large range of configurations with Fictive motion. Concerning perceptual uses, as illustrated by the example in Table (1) above, he speaks of 'axial fictive motion along the line of sight' (2000:110) and defines the line of sight as a 'visual path' belonging to the category of 'sensory paths' (2000:115). Moreover, he distinguishes between two types of sensory paths – the 'Experiencer as Source' path and the 'Experienced as Source' path – depending on the direction of the **Probe** (from the Experiencer to the Experienced or vice versa) (Talmy 2000:115-116). However, this distinction is not relevant to the data discussed here.

Meaning of the verb (or verbal derivatives)		Interpretation of a sentence	
Concrete	**Abstract**	**Literal**	**Figurative**
Jean court *à travers* la salle 'John runs *through* the hall'	Jean est passé *à travers* beaucoup de difficultés 'John went *through* many difficulties'	Jean a évité le combat en se sauvant *à travers* champs 'Jean has avoided the fight by running away *across* the fields'	Jean ne répond pas à la question: il se sauve *à travers* champs 'John does not answer the question: he avoids the question (literally, he escapes *across* the fields)'

Table (2): Level of abstraction

Table (2) illustrates the different levels of abstraction I distinguish in this paper, starting from the ideas that: (i) the concrete, spatial domain is the source-domain for the expressions analysed and the verbs they combine with; and (ii), that a metaphorical mapping onto another (target-)domain can take place. To deal with the uses that involve such a mapping, I make a distinction between Concrete and Abstract Verb meaning. When an abstract relation is expressed, it is similar to a spatial one, but the verb acquires 'a metaphorical

meaning where the semantics are less defined in terms of spatial context' (Wallentin et al. 2005:222). This means that the Figure and the Ground fail to entertain a spatial relationship with each other within a three-dimensional medium.

Finally, whole sentences (defined here as containing the Figure, the verb, the expression and the Ground) can convey a figurative meaning when the literal, spatial meaning it normally conveys is clearly not corresponding to the abstract domain of the context. The semantic structure of such a sentence is constituted by a concrete (literal) action that serves 'as a vehicle for abstract (figurative) mental states and events' (Cacciari and Glucksberg 1995:43).

3. THE SPECIFICITY OF *AU TRAVERS (DE)*

Au travers (de) is an analytic preposition that belongs to the limited group of the main markers of spatial dynamic relations with a medial polarity (any movement includes the initial phase of departure, a medial phase, and the final phase of arrival). Similar to French *par* 'through' and *via* 'via' (Borillo 1998), *au travers (de)* has a directional meaning that involves reference to a path.

This expression exhibits very specific usage patterns which give rise to subtle differences with the use of similar prepositions. For example, both *au travers (de)* and *par* can introduce the medial Ground of a movement. However, *au travers (de)*, unlike *par*, does not take in consideration the relations of that entity with other elements of the environment and does not presuppose that the motion verb involves some kind of alteration of such relations. Aurnague and Stosic (2002) argue that the same holds true for *a travers (de)*.

The first difference can be illustrated by example (1), where the medial Ground (the glass canopy) is not a connecting entity. This raises no problem for the use of *au travers (de)* but *par* proves unacceptable:

> (1) La tuile s'est décrochée du toit et est allée s'écraser sur le sol *au travers de*/**par* l'auvent de verre.
> 'The tile came loose from the roof and crashed to the ground *through* the glass canopy.'

The second difference can be illustrated by example (2). Although the verb expresses a movement, the relation between the Figure and the Ground does not change (Aurnague and Stosic characterise these kinds of verbs by stating that they can introduce a change of location, but do not obligatory do so; they thus involve only a *potential* change of location (2002:118)). Again, *par* is not compatible with this kind of configuration (except in archaizing language):

> (2) Jean a marché pendant deux heures *au travers de*/?**par* la forêt.
> 'John walked for two hours *across* the forest.'

4. THE DIFFERENT USES OF *AU TRAVERS (DE)*

In this section, I will briefly comment on the various uses of *au travers (de)*.

4.1. Concrete uses (mostly movements) with Concrete verb meaning

The category of concrete uses with concrete verb meaning is the largest and the best-know group of uses of *au travers (de)*. In this category, we have to distinguish between various types of configurations. The following overview takes its main inspiration from the typology established by Stosic (2002a), who proposed a systematic inventory of the synchronic uses of Modern French *à travers*. We find, among others:
- Grounds that are functionally designed for passage (*pipes*, *tunnels*, *holes*, etc.);
- Grounds that are not functionally designed for passage (*cities*, *countries*, *forests*, etc.);
- Grounds that do not constitute or include obstacles (*open plains*, *deserts*, *empty rooms*, etc.);
- Grounds whose constitution or composition creates an evident frontal opposition to a movement (*crowds*, *walls*, *windows*, etc.).

4.2. Fictive uses (mostly perceptual) with Concrete verb meaning

The various configurations observed in the category of fictive uses with concrete verb meaning are very similar in Fictive uses (mostly perceptual uses dealing with sight, hearing or touch), but *au travers (de)* selects different kinds of Grounds. Stosic (2002a:240-247) remarks that it is not always easy to distinguish between Figure and Ground when analysing perceptual utterances, because the Figure often remains unexpressed. This means that a sentence like (3), repeated from Table (1), does not contain an NP that would be able to denote the moving entity to which one could attribute the role of a Figure:

(3) Jean regarde *à travers* la fenêtre.
     'John looks *through* the window.'

As mentioned before, Talmy (2000:99-175) deems this phenomenon Fictive Motion. In the case of visual perception, the Fictive movement follows the line of sight. Schwarze (1989:312) observes that if the perception is not visual, a connection similar to the line of sight is fictively postulated between the organ of perception and the perceived object.

When distinguishing between different types of Grounds, we have to take into account the presence vs absence of a physical barrier which the line of perception is fictively assumed to go through. Indeed, some Grounds include a real physical barrier (although, this does not prevent perception), while others exhibit gaps or interstices through which the line of perception may fictively pass. Example (3) above illustrates the former situation, example (4) the latter:

(4) Jean regarde *à travers* le tuyau.
     'John looks *through* the pipe.'

4.3. Concrete uses with Abstract verb meaning
In contrast to uses with Concrete verb meaning, uses with abstract verb meaning involve at least one abstract entity (the Ground or the Figure). We find the same kinds of configurations as above, that is:
- Grounds that are not functionally designed for passage (*mankind*, *feelings*, etc.);
- Grounds whose constitution or composition creates an evident frontal opposition (virtual obstacles to the continuation of an existence: *long period*, *crisis*, etc.).

4.4. Fictive uses with Abstract verb meaning
As these configurations are Fictive movements interpreted in a Figurative way, they select the Grounds I have mentioned earlier for Fictive uses with Concrete verb meaning (section 4.2.).

5. THE NOTION OF GUIDANCE
The functional approach I am adopting here belongs to the tradition of cognitive linguistics, as illustrated by scholars like Herskovits (1986) and Vandeloise (1991). In this approach, space is described by means of functional concepts inspired in naive physics and human bodily experience, like access to perception, potential meeting, and general vs lateral orientation. These concepts 'are tied to the extralinguistic knowledge of space shared by the speakers of one language' (Vandeloise 1991:13).

In order to capture the semantics of Modern French *à travers*, Stosic (2002a:106) has introduced the notion of Guidance as an alternative to the notion of an obstacle. The former notion also helps provide a functional analysis of the (spatial) semantics of *au travers (de)*. This functional concept corresponds to the lateral control that is exerted on the located entity (the Figure) by the reference entity (the Ground) where the movement takes place.

Stosic elaborates on Talmy's (2000) Force Dynamics in order to define the Figure as an Agonist that exerts a positive force with respect to the Ground, which plays the role of an Antagonist and thus opposes a passive force of resistance. He claims that, in contemporary French, the preposition *à travers* is used when this tension between force and counterforce takes place on the lateral axis. This means that the frontal opposition is not a crucial factor and that what is required is the presence and salience of the two poles that are defined with respect to the lateral orientation (Stosic 2002a:104-106). Even if the expressions *à travers* and *au travers (de)* cannot be considered to be synonyms (cf. Dominicy and Martin 2005; Martin and Dominicy 2001), their semantics are very similar, so that the notion of Guidance will prove useful for the description of *au travers (de)* as well.

6. THE DATA
All the examples discussed below contain the group *au travers (de)*. This means that I will not dwell on the peculiarities of the other existing expressions with *travers* (viz. *à travers (de)*, *en travers (de)*, *de travers (à)*, *par le travers*

(de), *par à travers (de)*). As said before, the expression *au travers (de)* can describe the movement of an entity (the Figure) along the surface of a curved reference entity (the Ground), in this case the earth.

Herskovits (1986:61) analyses the role of geographical object as grounds, where a geographical object is defined as an object that 'is or includes a part of the earth's crust.' She claims that English *through* 'implies movement in a volume,' which is generally the case with French *au travers (de)* as well, except in specific contexts where Figure and Ground are conceived as two-dimensional geometric entities such as lines and points. A sentence like (5) illustrates the fact that the meadow is viewed, here, as a three-dimensional Ground that includes part of the aerial space above the soil. It is in this three-dimensional volume that the Figure moves by following a trajectory parallel to the soil line.

(5)   Le chat marche *au travers du* pré.
       'The cat walks *through* the meadow.'

The relevant data are taken from the Frantext (under development) database, containing more than 4000 texts from 1500 until today. I searched Frantext as well as the sub-database Frantext Moyen Français (1330-1500) for combinations like *au travers* + *terre* 'earth' and *au travers* + *monde* 'world' in order to find additional examples of the use concerned, with negative results. This seems to indicate that the tokens I am interested in here illustrate a highly marked use of *au travers (de)*.

6.1. *Two exceptional tokens of* au travers (de)

The Frantext corpus records two examples from the 16th Century that contain *au travers (de)* and describe a movement along the surface of a curved reference entity. Both are written by the same author (Jacques Grévin, c. 1539 –1570) and appear in the same work (*César*, 1561):

(6)   [...] icy sera veu la mort tragique d'un des plus braves guerriers de
       son temps, assavoir d'un Empereur des Romains nommé César,
       lequel s'est fait voye *au travers de* ceste rondeur du monde, [...]
       '[...] here will be seen the tragic death of one of the bravest
       warriors of his time, namely of a Roman Emperor named Caesar,
       who has made his way *through* the roundness of this world, [...]'
       (Jacques Grévin, *César*, 1561:97)

(7)   Aborder un César, qui […]
       S'est faict voye *au travers de* ceste masse ronde,
       Arrondissant son heur par la rondeur du monde!
       'Deal with a Caesar, who [...]
       Made his way *through* this round mass,
       Achieving (literally, rounding) his fortune all over the roundness of
       the world!'
       (Jacques Grévin, *César*, 1561:102)

These tokens fit in the category of uses where the Ground is not functionally designed for passage. Indeed, the world, or a part of the world, is not an object of the Channel-type (*pipes*, *circuits*, *channels*); it does not belong to the category of communication-channels conceptualised as Bordered (*tunnels*, *streets*, *trails*, *paths*), nor to the category of Openings (*hole*, *opening*, *open window*, etc.). This means that the Figure itself has to create a passage in a Ground that may include obstacles, but does not necessarily block its movement. In other words, the Figure manages to choose a path more or less freely, by using the space between the potential obstacles that the Ground may contain.

Stosic (2002b:150) states that this kinds of Grounds can be described as 'surmountable obstacles'. According to him, they are conceptualised as obstacles in the speakers' shared knowledge while allowing the Figure to move from one place to another; that is, to reach a point located on the other side of the obstacle. This can be due to the properties of the Ground or to the properties of the Figure. The Ground can be either Spatial (*crack in a shutter*, *groove*, *door*) or Material (*window*, *glasses*, *membranes*, *partition*, *wall*). Even when it is Spatial, the Ground is conceptualised as an obstacle because of its existential dependency on a physical entity (e.g. a window existentially depends on a wall). Moreover, Stosic (2002b:151) reminds us of the well-known fact that the same word may designate, according to the context, either the Spatial or the Physical part of its referent (cf. Kleiber 1999; Vandeloise 1995).

6.2. *The notion of Sweeping*

Besides uses expressing a path, Stosic distinguishes those expressing Sweeping, applying to a spatial configuration where the Figure occupies the entire extent of the Ground, due either to the plurality of its (dispersed) elements or to its meandering movement, full of twists and turns (Stosic 2002a:94). This concept adds a significant parameter, but it proves necessary to distinguish between two different types of Sweeping. In the first case, a singular Figure that does not consist of a plurality of elements exhibits a meandering movement; example (8) illustrates this use, which I will call **sweeping of a singular Figure**:

(8)   il n'était pas possible […] qu'il se promenât *à travers* tout le royaume.
        'it was not possible [...] that he might walk *across* the entire kingdom.'
        (Jean Guéhenno, *Jean-Jacques*, 1952)

In the second case, the Figure consists of a plurality of elements; I will call this use **sweeping of a plural Figure**; see example (9):

(9)   [...] une très grande rivière [...] se répand *au travers* les basses terres.
        '[...] a very big river [...] spreads *through* the lowlands.'
        (Gauthier de Lapeyronie, *Voyage en Islande*, 1802)

The tokens that concern us here belong to the first kind of Sweeping: in examples (6) and (7) above, Caesar is a singular Figure that makes several movements and thus **sweeps** the Ground. Obviously, Caesar was accompanied by his legions, but their joint movement can be seen as the movement of one single entity, since they did not disperse but stayed together all the time.

The notion of Guidance seems to describe these attestations in a quite accurate way. Caesar naturally met resistance during his campaigns, in the form of natural obstacles or enemies, but the Ground did not succeed in stopping him, and he **made his way** through it by creating a passage for himself. In accordance with Stosic's hypothesis, Caesar's actions assign the status of salient lateral poles to potential points of frontal resistance: objects in the Ground that might constitute obstacles are transformed into lateral forces that control the movement on the lateral rather than frontal axis. Yet Stosic does not address the fact that, when describing space, speakers usually assume the world to be flat. Vandeloise does notice this phenomenon when stating: 'Even though the earth is round, no one takes into account the curve of the earth's surface in a linguistic description of space' (1991:14). In fact, even though we know the earth is round, a sentence like (10) encodes a mental scheme where the moving entity follows a more or less straight, horizontal line in the aerial space above a flat soil:

> (10) Nous voyageons *au travers de* la France.
>   'We travel *through* France.'

Obviously, hills or mountains can alter the course of the Figure, but its trajectory is defined with reference to the soil level of the Ground, which always remains a flat surface. It follows that examples (6) and (7) appear as strange exceptions to this general rule.

6.3. *Semantically close uses*

As I mentioned before, the use illustrated by examples (6) and (7) above shares features with the very frequent construction where the Figure moves along a flat Ground. I have selected some tokens from the same period that convey this much more common meaning. The prevailing idea, here, is that of a movement, a change of place, a transversal trajectory of the Figure from one extremity to the other within or along a Ground that may be a place, a medium or a surface:

> (11) Plutarque exaltant l'excellence de l'homme escrit, qu'Archimedes traina d'une seule main et d'une seule corde *au travers du* marché de Syracuse, un grand navire chargé de marchandise, [...]

'Plutarch, extolling the excellence of mankind, writes that
Archimedes dragged with one hand and a single rope, *through* the
Syracuse market, a large ship loaded with goods, [...]'
(Pierre Boaistuau, *Bref discours de lexcellence et dignité de
l'homme*, 1558:58)

(12) Ou comme on voit couler la neige des montagnes,
Et les ruisseaux glacez *au travers des* campagnes;
[…]
'Or as we see the snow flowing from the mountains,
And the icy streams [flowing] *through* the lands;'
[…]
(Étienne Jodelle, *Didon se sacrifiant*, 1573:187)

It can be noticed that, except for the flatness of the reference soil, these
tokens exhibit (almost) all the properties present when the Figure moves along
a curved surface: (i) the Ground is not functionally designed for passage, (ii) the
Ground belongs to the 'agglomeration' or 'country' type and (ii) the Figure is
singular (in example (12) this is not the case though).

7. DISCUSSION

It is difficult to determine a priori whether Jacques Grévin's examples should be
interpreted as peripheral members of a prototypical category or as sheer
anomalies. Yet several arguments support the idea that we are faced with an
anomalous use.

First of all, the tokens at hand are due to one author only. Since I did not
find other examples, it is possible that Grévin developed this innovation by
himself, and that he may have been aware of its incorrectness and produced it
on purpose. Indeed, the diction of (7), in particular the paronymic collocation of
ronde 'round' - *arrondissant* 'rounding' – *rondeur* 'roundness' —, strongly
suggests that a poetic motivation is at work. Notice, furthermore, the wordplay
involved in the use of *arrondissant* 'rounding, rounding off, achieving'.

As said before, speakers normally consider the earth flat when describing
space in ordinary language. It follows that the anomaly of Grévin's examples
does not stem from the choice of the Ground (a part of the earth and part of the
corresponding aerial space), but from the fact that he emphasizes the
roundness of that Ground so explicitly, maybe due to the poetic motivation just
mentioned. He (maybe deliberately) refrains from applying the usual idealisation
of a curved Ground as a flat one, and doing so produces an anomalous use. As
Traugott and Dasher (2002:20) have said, in producing speech or writing
"linguistic material may be used in novel ways". Yet innovative uses are often
considered incorrect (or at least idiosyncratic) at their first appearance, and it
takes time for a linguistic community to accept them. Traugott and Dasher
(2002:34) recall as well the frequent case where innovation "do not spread to
other speakers", which is exactly what happened in this particular case where
the new use never got accepted by the community.

The apparition of a new use is not surprising in itself. In the past, as today, a certain liberty existed in matters of linguistic expression. For example, I pointed out elsewhere (Hoelbeek 2007) that 16th-Century French allowed for more combinatory possibilities than Modern French regarding the use of the preposition *de*, which could be combined with *au travers* or *à travers*, while neither *au travers* in its prepositional function nor *à travers de* exist in Modern French anymore. However, the fact that Grévin's innovative use was not adopted by other speakers might suggest that the expressions with *travers* where not judged suitable to express such a meaning. The very marginal status of this meaning could indicate that the preserved prototypical characteristics were not numerous enough, or not strong enough, to make the new use an acceptable member of the category. As I argued elsewhere (Hoelbeek 2010), the shift from one domain to another should be interpreted in terms of a preservation of a so-called 'image-schematic structure' (Sweetser 1988:390), which in this case could be formulated as follows: 'The internal phase of a movement of a Figure that runs across a Ground.' The novelty of a curved Ground seems to have gone one bridge too far, which means that the flatness of the Ground is a fundamental characteristic of this category.

8. CONCLUSION

This contribution is part of a broader research project that belongs to the research tradition of Romance historical semantics and aims at giving a complete diachronic-semantic description of all uses of the total set of expressions containing French *travers* and Italian *traverso*. By relying on insights provided by various semantic descriptions and personal elaborations of them, I attempt to provide answers to questions such as: In what measure were the analysed expressions subjected to a grammaticalisation process? Why did *à travers* become significantly more frequent from the 18th Century on (see Hoelbeek 2007)? What are the differences between the evolutions of the expressions at hand in the two languages?

The uses examined in this paper are characterised in terms of the functional concept of Guidance and the functional notion of Sweeping. The interest of the exceptional examples discussed here stems, quite paradoxically, from the fact that we have to qualify them as isolated anomalies. Indeed, the marginality and the poetic overtones of the use of *au travers (de)* for describing a movement along a curved Ground (only two tokens, limited to one author) allow us to consider those contexts which involve a non-idealised, explicitly curved Ground as unsuited for an encoding by *au travers (de)*. Consequently, the flatness of the Ground should be considered a fundamental characteristic of the relevant category.

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Conceptual Representations of European Citizenship

A Commission Narrative at the Multilingual Interface

ABSTRACT

The EU's key institutional discourses are produced in 23 languages, each carrying 'multiple authenticity'.[1] However, this multilingual interface demonstrates subtle linguistic variance or non-equivalence in translational phenomena. A cognitive linguistic interpretation of conceptualization throws light on the discursive influence of specific linguistic features which are: (1) embedded lexically and/or syntactically in individual language grammars; or (2) the result of linguistic choices not related to grammatical constraints or conventions. This paper presents a cross-lingual analysis of parallel extracts in English, French, German and Dutch from a key 2009 European Commission Communication. The analysis isolates an eclectic set of construal mechanisms which cause incoherence in the conceptualization of citizen(ship). The overall findings are that: (1) there are both subtle and significant differences in cross-lingual conceptualization; and (2) these differences can generate linguistic and discursive subjectivity in key semiotic areas.

Keywords: *EU discourses, multilingualism, translation, citizenship, conceptualization, subjectivity*

1. INTRODUCTION

Much academic inquiry into language and the European Union has been directed towards two main areas: (1) describing and researching in detail the institutional and technical processes of multilingual text production and translation at the micro-level (e.g. Wagner et al. 2002; Koskinen 2008); and (2) the wider macro issues of EU language planning and diversity to which these processes relate (e.g. Nordland 2002; Phillipson 2003). However, this paper seeks to demonstrate that exploring the role of EU institutional multilingualism, translation and cross-lingual text production is also of considerable relevance to the ongoing European citizenship narrative.

The multilingual legislative process of the European Union institutions is a fertile ground for language research as it straddles the three interrelated disciplines of translation studies, linguistics and discourse analysis. Discourses which form part of the institutional co-decision process of dialogue are routinely translated into and out of the various 23 European languages, each carrying **equal authenticity** (validity) as official languages of the Union. The purpose of such multilingual translation is to create an optimal synergy in support of developing a 'European public sphere' (European Commission 2008: 13) which respects diversity, while also promoting intercultural dialogue (European Commission 2008: 14).

However, it is also crucial that Europe's prism of diverse languages is capable of producing a single voice or message in key conceptual areas of discourse which are of vital importance in furthering coherence within the European integration process. One such key conceptual area, first introduced by the Maastricht Treaty on European Union of 1992, is the notion of European citizenship (Koslowski 1999: 155). A recent Open University project investigating into the current notion of democratic citizenship and citizen mobility found that: 'while European citizenship is modelled upon national ideas of citizenship, the EU as a multilevel project questions the primacy of the national' (ENACT 2010). Therefore, the most fundamental difference between the notion of Union citizenship and previous notions of political citizenship (i.e. the dominance of individual nation-state territorialism and sovereignty resulting from post-war capitalism, e.g. Marshall 1950; Turner 1986) is that EU citizenship cannot be classified under conventional statist categories for the simple reason that it is not a state in its own right and may not necessarily become one in the future (Koslowski 1999: 155). This very basic fact throws up some equally basic implications for considering the nature of EU citizenship as a concept. The Amsterdam Treaty of June 1997 described this dichotomous relationship - or dual political identity (Koslowski 1999: 155) - by stipulating that Union citizenship 'shall complement and not replace national citizenship', a situation afforded further legitimacy by the Lisbon Treaty of December 2009.

Clearly, the idea of European citizenship is no longer a mere symbolic notion. This has been reflected more recently in discourses on the Union's ongoing Europeanization and citizenship (identity) narratives, which are becoming increasingly significant within the overall process of current European integration (e.g. ENACT 2010; Goodman 2010; Risse 2010).

Moreover, emergent political sensitivities among some Member States concerning the relationship of EU citizenship to issues such as migration and asylum (Stevenson and Schanze 2009) and security (Blackledge 2009) may produce conditions for subjective linguistic variation (subjectivity) in such discourse narratives. Linguistic subjectivity is understood to mean the expression of the individual views, opinions or attitudes of the speaker (see Lyons 1977: 799 and also Lyons 1981, 1995; Sanders and Spooren 1997; Wolf 2006). In other words, the interpretation of a statement or piece of information may be coloured by the nature of linguistic expression originating with the speaker. In this context, Von Stutterheim (1993) comments that certain features of discourse (such as qualifying adjectives or adverbs, for example) describing the attitude of a speaker to a particular state of affairs can create a subjective interpretation of that state of affairs.

Assessing degrees of cross-lingual subjectivity or non-equivalence within key concepts of EU multilingual discourse would be of interest not only to scholars of translation studies, linguists and discourse analysts but also to European policy-makers. This is because cross-lingual subjectivity in conceptualizing, in this case, the notion of citizenship, may infer a particular perspective or viewpoint on the part of the originating agent (i.e. the institutions and their policy-makers). Any subjectivity reflected could then also go on to influence the interpretation of other interested parties further down the

discourse chain (i.e. policy-makers involved in future decision-making processes).

This paper will therefore pose and attempt to answer the following research questions:

- Given the dichotomy between national and European citizenship, how is the notion of EU citizen(ship) conceptualized across parallel language versions of institutional discourse?
- To what extent do cross-lingual differences in the conceptualization of citizenship suggest subjectivity? And what particular linguistic mechanisms convey this subjectivity?
- To what extent is European citizenship represented as a unified conceptual entity at the multilingual interface of discourse?

The issue of whether cross-lingual subjectivity is characteristic of the European Union's language community as a whole falls outside the scope of this paper. However, the analysis will undoubtedly shed some light on the implications of cross-lingual difference within the overall context of multilingual citizenship narratives. Exploring such implications fully would of course necessitate highly targeted empirical research on a much larger scale. The aim of this paper is therefore limited to exploring the cross-lingual conceptual representation of European citizen(ship) within a small bounded corpus of data. The examples discussed are extracts from the English, French, German and Dutch versions of a key 2009 European Commission Communication on *An area of freedom, security and justice serving the citizen*[2], drafted according to the EU's policy on institutional multilingualism as set out above.

2. DISCOURSES OF CITIZENSHIP AND LINGUISTIC SUBJECTIVITY

In the words of the European Commission, the 'harmonious co-existence of many languages in Europe is a powerful symbol of the European Union's aspiration to be united in diversity, one of the cornerstones of the European project' (European Commission 2008: 3). However, this aspiration may also represent a paradox of central importance to the research questions posed in this paper. While the EU aims to both respect diversity and provide a 'harmonious' and democratic discourse setting, can this 'powerful symbol' that is multilingualism also divide as well as unite? In other words, do individual language versions convey different conceptualizations, identities or perspectives?

Researchers within cross-cultural pragmatics (e.g. Wierzbicka 1997; 2003) and socio-linguistics (e.g. Williams 1983) have identified that key words or concepts tend to carry the linguistic imprint of their own particular language community. Coupled with the fact that all languages also have unique linguistic systems, complete correspondence in the conceptualization of key discourse themes, such as citizenship, may be an impossible ideal. In this way, an individual language is 'a self-contained system and, in a sense, no words or constructions of one language can have absolute equivalents in another' (Wierzbicka 2003: 10). However, if we relinquish the notion that we may somehow find such 'absolute equivalents' and instead set about examining the existence of partial correspondences, this could be infinitely more useful as a

way of comparatively assessing the behaviour of a variety of languages within parallel discourses (Wierzbicka 2003: 10).

Refocusing our attention on the European Union's multilingual institutions, one may then question what the potential influence of such cross-lingual discrepancies may be? Furthermore, one would envisage that differences in the linguistic expression of a key concept such as citizen(ship) would be further complicated at the multilingual interface.

In recent years, there has been considerable pressure to redefine the concept of citizenship and revive the idea of democracy in Europe. As a consequence, writers and researchers have started to concentrate much more on *how* citizenship is being expressed, framed and understood (Footitt 2002: 106). For example, a recent study of citizenship discourses found differences in the discourse styles of male and female Members of the European Parliament (Footitt 2002: 76). In this way, what has been loosely termed 'grammars of citizenship' may reveal more about both 'the nature of relationships within the citizenship concept' (Footitt 2002: 106) and how these relationships are constructed within the multilingual discourses of the Union. It is relationships of this nature that are of interest in the analysis of this paper, which will compare several short parallel text excerpts in English, French, German and Dutch from the 2009 Commission Communication on *An area of freedom, security and justice serving the citizen*.[3]

3. EU MULTILINGUALISM AND TRANSLATION EQUIVALENCE

It is important to recognize two key features of EU parallel language documentation. Firstly, the European Union does not profess to strive for absolute **equivalence** in its multilingual text production, although, as discussed above, it does stipulate that its key documentation should be equally authentic across all language versions; in other words, there is an ideational single version represented by all the (currently 23) languages in which documents are produced (Wagner et al. 2002: 8). However, it will be assumed here that **equal authenticity** of all language versions may reasonably entail an attempt to conceptualize key citizenship themes in a relatively coherent manner cross-lingually.

A second significant feature of the EU's multilingual text production process is the phenomenon of **hybridity** (e.g. Trosborg 1997; Schäffner 1997; Schäffner and Adab 2001; Tirkkonen-Condit 2001). Hybridity is the term used in the fields of linguistics and discourse analysis to describe a certain genre or text type (Schäffner and Adab 2001: 168) and occurs typically within global organizations characterized by their multilingual or multicultural communicative settings such as the European Union and its institutions. Hybridity refers not only to the processes but also to the final-product outcome of translation and can lead to either homogenous or heterogeneous discourse production. In the case of the EU institutions, texts are generated either: (1) concurrently as parallel versions in dominant languages (usually English and French); or (2) through translation into minority languages (such as Dutch), whereby no one single language version is used as the source text (Schäffner 1997; Wagner et al. 2002; Koskinen 2008).

Therefore, translation **equivalence** cannot be used as a comparative yardstick as individual language versions are not produced based on direct correspondence with any one other version designated as either a source or a target text. For this reason, the discourse narratives of each language should be assessed on their own terms as stand-alone authentic versions. Moreover, from a translational perspective, it is not clear what the relationship between **equivalence** and conceptual representation should be within the EU's parallel language versions, which are, as emphasized earlier, deemed to be all **equally authentic**. The following section introduces the notion of conceptualization and describes how cross-lingual difference or **non-equivalence** can be isolated by analysing subjective construal mechanisms.

4. CONCEPTUALIZATION AND SUBJECTIVE CONSTRUAL

There is a fairly general consensus within cognitive linguistics/semantics (Langacker 1991/2002: 315; Langacker 1999: 206; Croft 2001: 93; Croft and Cruse 2004; Langacker 2008: 43) that two basic assumptions govern the interpretation of conceptual representation in language: (1) construal operations constitute the fundamental building blocks for conceptualization; and (2) any construal operation is by definition inherently subjective as it is determined by the particular perspective or 'viewing arrangement' (Langacker 1999: 206) afforded to it by its linguistic expression. The exact semantic value of this linguistic expression is governed by a number of **construal** features, which may encompass, for example, 'the level of specificity at which the situation is characterized, background assumptions and expectations, the relative prominence accorded various entities, and the perspective taken on the scene' (Langacker 2002: 315). In other words, construal operations define how discourse is linguistically presented to an audience. Therefore, following Langacker, these construal operations also govern how discourse is conceptualized by a given speaker according to the subjective perspective of that speaker. Even in a monolingual situation, construal operations can create considerable subjectivity among a set of utterances which use only slight variations in lexical choice. However, construal operations that differ cross-lingually further increase subjectivity between speaker perspectives.

The multilingual extracts in example (1) below are taken from the Commission Communication data set and concern the right of citizens to diplomatic and consular protection in third countries. This example demonstrates how the choice of quantifier can affect the perspective from which a reader is directed to view a scene and can then therefore also subjectively influence the conceptualization of that scene (based on an example in Langacker 2008: 295).

(1) 'A Union citizen travelling to or living in a non-EU country where his or her Member State is not represented is entitled to protection ….'

French: 'Tout citoyen de l'Union se trouvant dans un pays tiers où son propre État membre n'est pas représenté a droit à une protection ...'

(Back translation: All/every citizen(s) of the Union finding themselves in a third country where his/her own Member State is not represented has the right to a protection …)

German: 'Jeder Unionsbürger kann im Hoheitsgebiet eines Drittstaates, in dem sein Herkunftsmitgliedstaat nicht vertreten ist, den diplomatischen und konsularischen Schutz ... in Anspruch nehmen ...'

(Back translation: Each/every citizen(s) can, in the sovereign territory of a third country in which his/her country of origin is not represented, claim diplomatic and consular protection ...)

Dutch: 'Iedere burger van de Unie die zich op het grondgebied van een derde land bevindt waar zijn eigen lidstaat niet vertegenwoordigd is, geniet de bescherming van de diplomatieke en consulaire instanties....'

(Back translation: Each/every citizen(s) of the Union who finds him/herself on the territory of a third country where his/her own Member State is not represented enjoys the protection of the diplomatic and consular authorities ...)

The provision states that citizens are entitled to the diplomatic or consular protection provided by any other EU Member State on the same conditions as nationals of that State. While, initially, it appears that all language versions are interpreting the beginning of this provision in the same way, i.e. 'all/every/each' (*a/tout/jeder/iedere*) Union citizen(s) have (has) this entitlement, on closer inspection there is a subtle difference in conceptualization in the English version. In contrast to the other versions, it does not use the unequivocal quantifier 'all' citizens and opts instead for the indefinite article: *A Union citizen* ... . The notion of collective inclusion encoded in the other language versions ('all/every/each' Union citizen(s) - *tout citoyen*, *jeder Unionsbürger* and *iedere burger*) is thus not inferred. The citizen therefore appears more distanced as it is not situated within the collective and inclusive Union of 'every' citizen. This non-inclusivity within the collective is also reinforced in the English version by the fact that any country not included in the EU is conceptualized as a *non-EU country*. This is in contrast to the more inclusive 'third country/state' (*pays tiers/Drittstaat/derde land*) expressions used consistently by the other languages. In the English version, the fact that these countries are excluded from the EU is emphasized, while the inclusive protection provided to those who do enjoy EU membership (the opposite of non-EU) is, by inference, also underlined. The other language versions do not foreground the notion of exclusion as these non-EU countries are referred to as simply not having a direct relationship with the EU. This is denoted by the qualification 'third' (i.e. compare a 'third party' - involved on the periphery but not completely excluded from a relationship).

A further example from Langacker's interpretation of conceptualization demonstrates how describing a glass as either half full or half empty produces a definite subjectification of perspective and therefore considerably affects the conceptualization of the glass. In the first instance, the potential of the glass to be completely full is emphasized, whereas in the second instance its inadequacy at not achieving fullness (as it is half empty) is highlighted (Langacker 2008: 295).

Applying this to the notion of cross-lingual conceptualization, in example (2) below the Commission Communication states in the four language versions analysed:

(2) 'In this area without internal borders citizens can move freely and enjoy their rights fully.'

French: 'Les citoyens peuvent circuler librement et jouir pleinement de leurs droits dans cet espace sans frontières internes.'

(Back translation: Citizens can move freely and enjoy their rights fully in this area without internal borders.)

German: 'In diesem Raum ohne Binnengrenzen können sich die Bürger frei bewegen und ihre Rechte uneingeschränkt ausüben.'

(Back translation: In this area without internal borders citizens can move freely and exercise their rights unrestrictedly.)

Dutch: 'De burgers kunnen zich binnen deze ruimte zonder binnengrenzen vrij verplaatsen en hun rechten uitoefenen.'

(Back translation: Citizens can move freely and exercise their rights within this area without internal borders.)

While the English and French versions express the ability to enjoy rights using the semantic domain of fullness (*fully/pleinement*), the German version is construed differently as it uses the semantic domain of unrestrictedness (*uneingeschränkt* - 'unrestrictedly'). Although expressing the same meaning ideationally as *fully* and *pleinement*, the notion of enjoying rights 'unrestrictedly' presents the exercise of these rights from a different perspective. This is because it conceptually foregrounds the wish to be free from restriction of rights rather than to take possession of rights fully. Ownership of rights is thus more assumed when the prospect of restriction is mentioned as it qualifies the way in which these rights are enjoyed, inferring that full ownership of rights already exists. A further notable aspect is the absence of a lexical item equivalent to either 'fully' or 'unrestrictedly' in the Dutch version. Effectively, therefore, this version does not offer any qualification of the nature of these citizens' rights. Presumably, then, 'fully' exercising rights is implicit. Arguably, from a conceptual viewpoint, this reduces the perceptual distance between citizens and their ability to exercise their rights in comparison to the other language versions.

Thus, linguistic expression does not necessarily evoke neutrality but may encompass a particular 'vantage point' or 'viewing relationship' (Langacker (1999: 297). This in turn may suggest a degree of linguistic subjectivity as the inclusion (or non-inclusion) of a certain construal feature or mechanism has been selected by the speaker over another. In the above case, this subjective viewing relationship (or perspective) involved the difference between evoking the semantic frame of fullness or unrestrictedness - or indeed the complete absence of any adverbial qualifier to further define the perspective taken on enjoying rights. Hence, the conceptual perspective of a situation is always construed 'in some specific fashion' from the many alternatives available (Langacker 1999: 206). It is these subjective alternatives which lie at the crux of the relationship between conceptual coherence and translation **equivalence**.

The following section (5) analyses and discusses two further examples from the cross-lingual data set in the light of subjective construal mechanisms and their effect on conceptualization.

5. FURTHER ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF DATA

5.1   Objective/policy/us – degree of responsibility

In the section of the Communication dealing with the challenges ahead, the overall objective of the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice is said to be to provide the best possible service to citizens. Example (3) below gives the cross-lingual language versions from this text segment.

(3) 'The objective is to provide the best possible service to the citizen.'

French: 'L'objectif est d'assurer le meilleur service possible au citoyen.'

(Back translation: The objective is to provide/ensure the best possible service to the citizen.)

German: 'Die EU-Politik soll dem Bürger bestmöglich dienen.'

(Back translation: EU policy should serve the citizen as well as possible.)

Dutch: 'Ons doel is een optimale dienstverlening aan de burger.'

(Back translation: Our aim is an optimal service provision to the citizen.)

Here, the English and the French versions are the only two that are equivalent. Both versions refer to *the objective/l'objectif* being to provide the citizen with the best possible service. The 'objective' is not defined further and can therefore be seen as relating to anonymous agency, even though one may logically conclude that the objective is implicitly that of the Union. However, the Dutch version produces a deictic shift in focus, in that 'the' objective becomes 'our'

aim/objective (*ons doel*). By using the possessive pronoun *ons* - 'our', ownership of the 'objective' is no longer agentless and is linguistically claimed by the Union. In this way, the Union also appears to be taking more overt responsibility for acting on this objective in the interests of its citizens.

While 'the objective' in the English and French versions carries the implicit meaning 'the objective of the Union', the German version takes this meaning in a different conceptual direction. In contrast to linking service provision to an agentless 'objective' (English and French) or explicitly to the Union by using the first person possessive pronoun *ons* - 'our' (Dutch), here responsibility is conceptualized only within the remit of EU 'policy' - *Politik*, rather than that of the EU as an institution. In this way, the Union itself as a conceptual entity becomes more distanced from responsibility for citizen service provision.

5.2 Union action to benefit citizens – degree of commitment

Example (4) below demonstrates how the degree of commitment to action to benefit citizens may be conceptualized differently cross-lingually.

(4) 'Action on the part of the Union should be focused where it can bring an appropriate response to citizens' problems.'

French: 'L'action de l'Union doit se concentrer là où elle peut apporter une réponse appropriée aux problèmes du citoyen.'

(Back translation: Action of the Union must be concentrated there where it can bring an appropriate response to the problems of the citizen.)

German: 'Die Union muss gezielt dort tätig werden, wo ihr Handeln geeignet ist, die Probleme der Bürger zu lösen.'

(Back translation: The Union must take targeted/concerted action, where its actions are appropriate, to solve the problems of citizens.)

Dutch: 'De Unie moet zich richten op het oplossen van problemen van de burger.'

(Back translation: The Union must aim at solving problems of the citizen.)

Taking firstly the question of passivity versus agentivity, the English version employs a more distancing passive construction, which is accentuated further by the additional use of the expression *on the part of*. Conceptually, this serves to further divorce the Union and its *action* from one another. Moreover, in the exactly equivalent English and French versions, the act of seeking to *bring an appropriate response* and *apporter une réponse appropriée* to the problems of citizens is also discursively distancing in comparison to the concrete aspiration to 'aim at solving problems of the citizen' (*zich richten op het oplossen van problemen van de burger*) in the Dutch version. Although the English contains a

passive verbal construction, this is not mirrored in the French, which employs the reflexive verbal construction *se concentrer* (literally, 'concentrate/focus itself'), commonly translated by a passive tense into English. However, conceptual equivalence in this instance is doubtful as the 'action of the Union' (*action de l'Union*) suggested in the French is clearly agentive (i.e. it is the grammatical subject) and is thus conceptually less distanced.

Of all the versions, the Dutch is the least linguistically complex, in that its grammatical subject is simply 'the Union' (*de Unie*). It is therefore the Union itself that must take action, rather than Union action that should/must *be focused*/*se concentrer* (English and French) as a passive subject of that action. This passivity in the English and French versions is a construal mechanism which produces conceptual distance as the 'action' by the Union is being made responsible rather than the Union itself.

The conceptual arrangement is in fact different in one very important respect only in the Dutch version. Moreover, this difference is quite decisive for the relative discursive distances between citizens and the Union. All the other language versions include the clause equating to the English: *where it can bring an appropriate response*; in French: *là où elle peut apporter une réponse appropriée* – 'there where it can bring an appropriate response'; and in German: *wo ihr Handeln geeignet ist* - 'where its actions are appropriate'. In this way, a notional limitation is placed on commitment to the action. However, the Dutch version reduces the conceptual space between citizens and the Union by abandoning this qualification and simply states directly and succinctly that the Union 'must aim at solving problems of the citizen' - *moet zich richten op het oplossen van problemen van de burger*. The Union is thus conceptually closer and more committed to the needs of citizens than in any of the other language versions.

6. CONCLUSION

This paper has demonstrated that the way in which the European citizenship narrative is expressed in institutional discourse within the four Union languages of English, French, German and Dutch is subject to differences in conceptualization. Moreover, a number of these conceptual differences have been highlighted and discussed based on parallel text extracts from a key Commission Communication.

More specifically, the paper has also suggested that conceptual difference is made possible and is linguistically constructed by subjective construal mechanisms (such as, for example, choice of quantifier, lexical choice of adverb or adjective, deictic features and active versus passive verb constructions). Furthermore, the discussion of examples has argued that this subjectivity in conceptualization can infer, in particular, a relationship of either proximity or distance between entities evoked in a discourse narrative. The subjective conceptualization thus construed can then inform discursive themes such as degrees of responsibility, obligation, commitment, containment, inclusivity and exclusivity.

While the various construal mechanisms identified do reveal a degree of conceptual subjectivity across language versions, these occurrences are far too

eclectic to suggest any overall linguistic or discursive trends. In addition, the small data sample can only give an indication of what kinds of translational phenomena may be revealed by a more systematic comparison of parallel corpora on the theme of EU citizenship.

In conclusion, the data findings have indicated, to a limited degree, that European citizenship is not necessarily always represented as a unified conceptual entity at the multilingual interface of discourse. However, a more systematic comparative analysis of a larger corpus of data would be able to explore this question more fully, and the methodology used could then be applied to other key themes of EU policy narratives. This, in turn, could then contribute to a wider debate on cross-lingual conceptual **equivalence** or difference and suggest implications for the Union's desire to achieve 'the harmonious co-existence of many languages in Europe' (European Commission 2008: 3). Finally, two further research considerations may also be: (1) how the phenomenon of cross-lingual hybridity inherent within the text production process may contribute to conceptual non-equivalence in the EU's multilingual voice; and (2) how differences in cross-lingual conceptualization could potentially influence future narratives within the various language communities of the Union.

Notes

[1] The principle of multiple authenticity was first introduced in Article 314 of the Treaty establishing the European Community (EC Treaty) – consolidated version C 340 of 10 November 1997 - and referred to the fact that all Treaty language versions were considered 'equally authentic'. 'Multiple authenticity' (Koskinen 2008: 63) also guarantees the equal rights of all languages and national identities of Member States and reflects the notion that 'there should be no dominant languages or cultures in the European Union' (Wagner et al. 2002: 7). This means that any of the now 23 official language versions of a key institutional document is considered equally valid, or 'legally valid' in the case of legally binding documents (Wagner et al. 2002: 4).

[2] European Commission COM (2009) 262 final, Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council, *An area of freedom, security and justice serving the citizen.*

[3] See note 2.

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The categorial status of Dutch and English declarative *hoe-/how-*complement clauses[*]

ABSTRACT

English *how* has a non-interrogative, non-manner use, where it appears able to replace *that* as a declarative complementiser. English clauses introduced by complementiser-like *how* (CLHCs) have previously been analysed as definite DPs, in part as they are strong islands and interpreted factively, but primarily due to their distribution. In this paper I present evidence that whilst English CLHCs do indeed show greater similarities in their distribution to DPs than to declarative CPs (*that*-clauses), when the range of complements to which they are compared is broadened to include CPs introduced by *wh*-words, CLHCs show a distribution closer to that of such CPs than to DPs. In addition, I present data from Dutch which shows that in this language, the distribution of CLHCs has more in common with that of both declarative and interrogative CPs than with DPs. I conclude that the distributional evidence for a DP analysis of CLHCs is thus not compelling.

Keywords: how, CP, DP, complement clause, English, Dutch

1. INTRODUCING COMPLEMETISER-LIKE *HOW*

This paper starts from the observation that in contemporary English there is a use of the *wh*-word *how* whereby it seems able to replace the complementiser *that* in introducing a declarative complement clause.[1] Such a use of *how* is illustrated below in (1), where (1a) shows a typical declarative *that*-clause complement to the matrix verb *tell*, and (1b) the corresponding case where the complement clause is introduced by *how*. Given the surface similarities between (1a) and (1b), I refer to this use of *how* as complementiser-like *how* (CLH).

> (1) a. I've never told her that he didn't help me.
> b. I've never told her how he didn't help me.

(1a) and (1b) are more or less equivalent in meaning. However, whilst they convey broadly the same information, there appears to be some difference in nuance, which has variously been linked to the factivity of CLHCs (Legate, 2002, 2010) or to their narrative use (see Defrancq 2005, 2009 on French *comment* 'how'). Whilst determining in precisely which regards the interpretation of CLHCs differs from that of *that*-clauses is in its own right an interesting issue, the focus of this article is primarily upon the syntax of these clauses, and specifically upon determining the categorial status of CLHCs.

CLHCs are not the only type of embedded clauses in English which can be introduced by *how*. They are to be distinguished at least from embedded interrogatives introduced by *how* (cf. 2a) and free relatives introduced by *how* (cf. 2b).

(2) a. I asked her how she'd travelled to the conference.
   b. I ate how he ate.

Despite superficial similarities, CLHCs differ from both (2a) and (2b) in the respect that they contain no obvious 'gap' (López Couso and Méndez Naya 1996, Melvold 1991) – they appear to be syntactically and semantically complete. (3a) shows how the response to an embedded interrogative introduced by *how* can provide the 'missing' information, in this instance with regard to the manner of travelling.[2] A manner adverb can also be added to a free relative such as (3b) to serve this function. However, this is just as impossible for a CLHC (3c) as for a *that*-clause (3d).

(3) a. I asked her how she'd travelled to the conference. She replied that she'd travelled by train.
   b. I ate how he ate - messily.
   c. I've never told her how he didn't help me (* - unkindly).
   d. I've never told her that he didn't help me (* - unkindly).

Given that CLHCs show different syntactic behaviour to other types of *how*-complement clause, a different analysis is also required. Legate (2010:122) claims that 'the *how*-clause behaves as a definite DP with presupposed propositional content.' My aim in this paper is to assess the claim that a DP analysis is the most appropriate one for CLHCs.

There will be two stages to this. Firstly, in section 3 I reassess the arguments that Legate (2010) puts forward for a DP analysis of CLHCs in English. My conclusion is that whilst CLHCs do indeed show considerable differences to declarative *that*-clause CPs, the results of the distributional tests Legate uses do not in fact point clearly to a DP analysis when a wider range of complement types are considered, as all the 'DP' properties English CLHCs demonstrate are also shared with *wh*-CPs. Secondly, in section 4 I present data from a pilot study of native speakers of Dutch, and show that in fact Dutch CLHCs show more characteristics of CPs than of DPs. Section 5 weighs up the relative merits of a DP or a CP analysis for CLHCs, and section 6 concludes. I preface all of this with a brief note on the methodology used in this research, which constitutes the following section.

2. INTRODUCING COMPLEMETISER-LIKE *HOW*

Before I turn to a detailed consideration of CLHCs in English and Dutch, I will briefly discuss the source of the data upon which this is based. The examples from English are a combination of sentences which I, as a native speaker of the language, have constructed and examples which Legate (2010) provides. Not infrequently, the internet is used as a source of attested examples to further

illustrate these patterns. Strings such as "embarrassed how" were entered into the Google search engine, and the results checked for relevant examples. In this work, Internet examples serve as informal corroboration of native speaker intuitions, rather than as a formal corpus used to determine which patterns are acceptable in the first place, or as a tool to determine the relative frequencies of various structures. The origin of such examples was checked to verify as far as possible that they were produced by native English speakers, and all were independently deemed acceptable by native speakers such as myself.

The Dutch data comes from a pilot questionnaire study of 15 native speakers of Dutch, conducted in collaboration with Liliane Haegeman, a native speaker of the language. The sample includes speakers of both Southern Dutch (Flemish) and Northern Dutch, and comprises both male and female informants of various ages. All have a high level of education. As this was a preliminary investigation with the aim of determining whether and to what extent CLHCs are accepted in Dutch, and of gaining an initial indication of their distribution, no effort was made to ensure that the sample was representative, nor to look at the influence of social and/or geographic factors on the responses given.

The questionnaire included 62 items, involving CLHCs, *wh*-clauses, *that*-clause complements and DP complements. Informants were asked to rank each item on a scale of 1-5, where 1 indicated that they considered the item to be perfectly grammatical, and 5 that they felt it to be absolutely ungrammatical. They were also asked whether or not they felt CLHCs to be associated with a particular register of the language, and were given the opportunity to make any additional comments on any of the items in the questionnaire. Looking at the responses from the 15 informants together revealed certain clear trends in which patterns were considered acceptable and which not. These results are discussed in section 4.

3. COMPLEMETISER-LIKE *HOW* CLAUSES IN ENGLISH

I turn first then to the arguments which Legate puts forward in favour of a DP analysis for CLHCs. Such an account is to a large extent motivated by the idea that 'the *how*-clause has the external distribution of a DP rather than a CP' (Legate 2010:122). Therefore, the instances presented below where CLHCs differ from DPs in their distribution would seem to seriously weaken the case for a DP analysis of CLHCs. In what follows, I consider each of the distributional arguments put forward by Legate in turn.

3.1 Coordination of CLHCs with DPs (Legate 2010:123)

It is possible to co-ordinate a CLHC with a DP, as the examples in (4) show, just as it is possible to co-ordinate two canonical DPs, as in (5). On the assumption that only constituents of like category can be coordinated, the argument goes that (4) must involve coordination of two DPs just as (5) does, and thus that CLHC must be DPs.

> (4) a. He regretted [his poor decisions] and [how he hadn't thought about the consequences for those close to him.

b. I've never actually told her [the truth about my feelings] or [how I've never really got over what happened].

(5) a. He regretted [his poor decisions] and [the consequences of his actions for those close to him].
 b. I've never actually told her [the truth about my feelings] or [the fact that I've never really got over what happened].

However, it is well-known that there are numerous counter-examples to the claim that coordination can only occur between constituents of the same type (see Huddleston and Pullum 2006 for discussion). In fact, it is not difficult to construct examples where coordination of a DP and a *that*-clause is also perfectly grammatical (6), and (7) provides an attested example of such. Despite this, the standard claim is that a *that*-clause is a CP. Therefore, whilst the fact that CLHCs can be coordinated with DPs would be compatible with an analysis of CLHCs as DPs, it does not make a strong case in support of this view, given that declarative CPs also show the same behaviour.

(6) a. He regretted [his poor decisions] and [that he hadn't thought about the consequences for those close to him].
b. I've never actually told her [the truth about my feelings] or [that I've never really got over what happened].

(7) Given [Sartre's other liaisons], and [that this was the height of the women's movement], it seems to fly in the face of common sense. [3]

3.2 CLHCs as complements to prepositions (Legate 2010:122)
Legate claims that CLHCs, like DPs, and in contrast to CPs, are able to occur as the complements to prepositions. She supports this with the examples given here in (8) (her (2)).

(8) a. They told me about [how the tooth fairy doesn't really exist].
b. They told me about [the tooth fairy's non-existence].
c. * They told me about [that the tooth fairy doesn't really exist].

However, the CPs that she chooses to illustrate this point with are always *that*-clauses. When the range of CPs considered is broadened to additionally take into account CPs introduced by *wh*-words, then the behaviour of CLHCs no longer seems inconsistent with that of CPs. The *wh*-complement clauses presented below in (9) are all usually analysed as CPs, and can all also occur as the complement to a preposition. Therefore whilst CLHCs and DPs do pattern together to the exclusion of declarative CPs in being able to occur as the complement of a preposition, this is not the full picture, for CPs introduced by *wh*-words can also occur as the complement of prepositions.

(9) a. He asked me about [how I was feeling].
b. I'll find out about [how much money we'd need for that].
c. She boasted about [how fast she could run].

d. I'm concerned about [whether we'll make it on time].

3.3 CLHCs and Case-marking

Legate (2010:123) begins by demonstrating with the example in (10) (her (5d)) that 'the *how*-clause may appear coordinated under the empty case-marking preposition *of*.' In this regard CLHCs pattern with DPs, in contrast to declarative *that*-clause CPs (cf. 11) (Legate's (5a-c)). However, just as was shown to be the case with the other prepositions illustrated above, other clauses introduced by *wh*-expressions which are standardly analysed as CPs are also able to occur as the complement to *of* (cf. 12 and 13).

(10) Not to mention I don't approve of how you fib about how many horses you have or how much money you have, or how you constantly beg for more horses or more money.[4]

(11) a. They approved of [how Pat apologized contritely for being late].
b. They approved of [Pat's contrite apology].
c. * They approved of [that Pat apologized contritely for being late].

(12) a. He was unsure of [how I was feeling].
b. I am aware of [how much money we'd need for that].
c. She boasted of [how fast she could run].

(13) Fry often seems unsure of [whether he wants to stress satire or drama], and while a good film can be both, this film is neither. [5]

Having shown that CLHCs have the ability to occur in positions to which Case is assigned, Legate (2010:124) then makes the stronger claim that they must obligatorily do so. When the matrix predicate is passivized, as in the examples in (14) below (Legate's (7)), it is assumed that Case is unable to be assigned to the complement position. This does not prevent the occurrence of a CP in this position (14c), as CPs do not require (in fact resist, see Stowell 1981) Case. DPs, on the other hand, do require Case-marking, and are therefore excluded from occurring in such positions (14b). The ungrammaticality of CLHCs in the complement position to a passivized predicate (14a) is thus interpreted as indicating that CLHCs are themselves DPs which require Case.

(14) a. * It was conceded how the tooth fairy doesn't exist.
b. * It was conceded the tooth fairy's non-existence.
c. It was conceded that the tooth fairy doesn't exist.

However, it does not appear to be the case that CLHCs are always excluded from positions to which no case is assigned. The predicate *be funny* does not assign Case to its complement position either. As expected, a *that*-clause CP can occupy this position without difficulty (15c), whereas a DP is excluded in (15b). Yet in this instance, the CLHC patterns like the CP rather than the DP and is perfectly acceptable as the complement to *be funny*. This suggests that perhaps it is not in fact the absence of case-making which

excludes examples such as (14a), for otherwise (15a) would be expected to be similarly ungrammatical.

      (15) a. It's funny how the tooth fairy doesn't exist.
            b. * It's funny the tooth fairy's non-existence.
            c. It's funny that the tooth fairy doesn't exist.

3.4 CLHCs and predicates which can take either CP or PP complements

Legate (2010:123) claims that for predicates that allow either a CP complement or a PP complement, the *how*-clause must occur in the PP, rather than as a direct complement to the predicate, as the contrast between (16a) and (16b), and (17a) and (17b) shows, in contrast to the behaviour of *that*-clauses, illustrated in (16c) and (16d), and (17c). In this regard, CLHCs seem to pattern like DPs, shown in (16e) and (16f) (all examples from Legate's (6)).

      (16) a. * I fretted how the tooth fairy doesn't exist.
            b. I fretted about how the tooth fairy doesn't exist.
            c. I fretted that the tooth fairy doesn't exist.
            d. * I fretted about that the tooth fairy doesn't exist.
            e. * I fretted the tooth fairy's non-existence.
            f. I fretted about the tooth fairy's non-existence.

      (17) a. I'm embarrassed of how I changed seats because he appeared while sleeping to be dangerous.
            b. * I'm embarrassed how I changed seats because he appeared while sleeping to be dangerous.
            c. I'm embarrassed that I changed seats because he appeared while sleeping to be dangerous.

    However, whilst this appears to hold for *fret*, with the predicate *be embarrassed* there are in fact attested examples (cf. (18a) and (18b)) where the CLHC occurs as direct complement of the predicate without being introduced by a preposition. Therefore it is not always the case that a CLHC must occur in the PP complement of a predicate that can select either for a PP or a CP.

      (18) a. I used to be really embarrassed how I didn't know much about cooking. [6]
            b. Today Captain Chris will be the first to admit that he is embarrassed how he thought of himself as a true "tough guy" at the time, and even considered getting involved in the hot new martial arts craze back then: Ultimate Fighting and Mixed Martial Arts.[7]

3.5 CLHCs in English: summary

From the summary of the distribution of the various complement types considered, which is provided in Table 1 (below), it is apparent that CLHCs pattern considerably more like DPs on the tests applied by Legate than they do

like *that*-clauses. However, there is little concrete evidence in favour of the view that CLHCs themselves must be DPs, given that in all the cases where CLHCs and DPs pattern alike, *wh*-CPs also pattern the same. In fact, *wh*-CPs show the same behaviour as CLHCs on all of Legate's tests. Therefore, whilst it is fair to conclude that CLHCs differ in their distribution from other declarative complement clauses, it is not clear that this difference stems from their categorial status.

		distributional test	CLHC	DP	declarative CP (*that*-clause)	*wh*-CP	behaviour of CLHC
3.1		can coordinate with a DP	yes	yes	yes	yes	DP, declarative CP, *wh*-CP
3.2		can be the complement of a preposition	yes	yes	no	yes	DP, *wh*-CP
3.3	a	can occur in positions to which case is assigned	yes	yes	no	yes	DP, *wh*-CP
	b	must occur in positions to which case is assigned	no	yes	n/a	no	*wh*-CP
3.4	a	can occur in PP complement of predicates which can take either PP or CP complements	yes	yes	no	yes	DP, *wh*-CP
	b	must occur in PP complement of predicates which can take either PP or CP complements	no	yes	n/a	no	*wh*-CP

Table 1: Summary of the distributional behaviour of English CLHCs, DPs, declarative CPs and wh- CPs

4. COMPLEMETISER-LIKE *HOW* CLAUSES IN DUTCH

As discussed above, the categorial status of English CLHCs is not made clear by their distribution in English. However as Legate (2010:132) herself notes, CLHCs are not restricted to this language. She gives examples from French, Greek and Hebrew, but they occur in many more languages besides, including Italian, Romanian, Polish, Slovenian, German and Dutch.[8] It is to the last of these languages which I now turn. (19a) and (19b) provide illustrative examples of a Dutch *that*-clause complement and a Dutch CLHC respectively.

> (19) a. Ik heb haar nooit verteld dat hij me niet geholpen heeft.
>   I   have her   never   told   that he me not   helped   has
>   'I've never told her that he didn't help me.'
>   b. Ik heb haar nooit verteld hoe hij me niet geholpen heeft.

I have her never told   how he me not   helped   has
'I've never told her how he didn't help me.'

The Dutch examples are directly equivalent to the English translations, modulo the word order differences in the embedded clause, which relate to the fact that Dutch is a verb-final language. It is this property of Dutch, combined with the fact that the language shows clear distributional differences between CPs and DPs, which allows additional tests not available for English to be used to investigate further the claim that CLHCs are DPs. In the absence of any apparent interpretive differences between English and Dutch CLHCs, I start from the assumption that a unified analysis for the structure in both languages is desirable.[9] In the following sub-sections I use a range of tests, some of which were applied to English, some which could not be, to assess whether Dutch CLHCs show the distribution of DPs or of CPs.

4.1 CLHCs and verbs which select CP but not DP complements
Barbiers (2000:193) discusses the class of epistemic verbs such as *denken* 'think' and *hopen* 'hope' which 'normally select a clausal or prepositional but not a nominal complement', as illustrated in (20a & b).[10] As (20c) shows, such verbs cannot take CLHC complements either.

(20) a. Ik denk/hoop dat niemand dat nog zal weten.
         I   think/hope that nobody that still will know
         'I think/hope that nobody will remember that.'
     b. * Ik denk/hoop de waarheid.
          I   think/hope the truth
     c. * Ik denk/hoop hoe niemand dat   nog zal weten.
          I   think/hope how nobody that still will know

The problem cannot be that CLHCs are factive, whilst *denken* and *hopen* are verbs which take only non-factive complements, as CLHCs can occur as the complement to other non-factive verbs in Dutch without difficulty – both *vertellen* 'tell' (non-factive) and *vergeten* 'forget' (factive) can take either a CP, (21a) and (22a), or a DP, (21b) and (22b), complement, and CLHC complements (21c) and (22c) are also acceptable, as illustrated below. It therefore appears that CLHCs pattern like DPs in being excluded from the complement of the class of epistemic verbs which Barbiers discusses.[11]

(21) a. Ik zal haar nooit vertellen dat hij me toen niet geholpen
         heeft.
         I will   her   never tell   that he me then not   helped
         has
         'I will never tell her that he didn't help me then.'
     b. Ik zal haar dat   verhaal   nooit vertellen.
         I   will her   that story   never tell
         'I will never tell her that story'.
     c. Ik zal haar nooit vertellen hoe hij me toen niet geholpen
         heeft.

I   will her   never tell   how he me then not   helped
has
'I will never tell her how he didn't help me then.'

(22) a. Ik zal nooit vergeten dat   hij me toen niet geholpen heeft.
I   will never forget   that he me then not   helped   has
'I will never forget that he didn't help me then.'
   b. Ik zal dat   verhaal nooit vergeten.
I   will that story   never forget
'I will never forget that story'.
   c. Ik zal nooit vergeten hoe hij me toen niet geholpen heeft.
I   will never forget   how he me then not   helped   has
'I will never forget how he didn't help me then.'

4.2 CLHC as complements of prepositions

As was the case for English, CLHCs are also accepted as the complements to prepositions in Dutch (cf. 23c), just as DPs are (cf. 23a), whilst for the vast majority of speakers, declarative CP *dat* 'that'-clauses cannot occur as the complements to prepositions (23b).

(23) a. Hij heeft over   het ongeval verteld.
he has   about the accident told
'He told about the accident'.
   b. * Ik heb   verteld over   dat hij me in al die   jaren
nooit   geholpen   heeft.
I have   told   about that he me in all these years
never   helped   has
   c. Ik heb   verteld over   hoe hij me in al die   jaren
nooit geholpen heeft.
I   have   told   about how he me in all these years
never helped   has
'I've told about how in all these years he has never helped me.'

However, as was also the case in English, other *wh*-clauses normally taken to be CPs can also follow prepositions, as illustrated with the degree-*how* clause in (24).[12] Thus, it is not clear that the exclusion of *that*-clauses from the complement of prepositions falls out automatically from their status as CPs, nor that the ability of CLHCs to follow prepositions entails automatically that they are DPs rather than CPs.

(24) Hij heeft me verteld over   hoe snel hij kan lopen.
he has   me told   about how fast he can run
'He told me about how fast he can run'.

4.3 CLHCs and the middlefield

Dutch is a verb-final language which shows V2 in main clauses. Thus in sentences such as those illustrated in (25)-(27), the inflected finite auxiliary form *zal* 'will (1st/2nd/3rd sg)' occupies second position, following the subject, and the

infinitive *vergeten* 'to forget' is in final position. The stretch of sentence between the finite verb and the non-finite verb is referred to as the middlefield. In Dutch there is a sharp contrast between the ability of DP and CP complements to occur in the middlefield. DPs are able to do so (25a), even when heavy (25b). Declarative CPs, however, are excluded (26), as are interrogative CPs. For almost all of the speakers consulted this was the case even when the *dat*-clause occurs as the complement to a factive verb (26b), contrary to what has previously been claimed in the literature (Barbiers 2000:192). Similarly, for the majority of speakers, CLHCs cannot occur in the middlefield, regardless of the factivity of the verb (cf. 27).

(25) a. Ik zal [dat   verhaal] nooit vergeten.
           I   will   that   story   never forget
           'I will never forget that story.'
     b. Ik zal [het feit dat hij me toen niet geholpen heeft] nooit   vergeten.
           I   will   the fact that he me   then   not   helped   has   never   forget
           'I will never forget the fact that he didn't help me then.'

(26) a. * Ik zal   haar [dat hij me toen niet geholpen heeft] nooit vertellen.
           I   will   her   that he me then not   helped   has   never tell
           'I will never tell her that he didn't help me then.'
     b. * Ik zal   [dat hij me toen niet geholpen heeft] nooit vergeten.
           I   will   that he me then not helped   has   never forget
           'I will never forget that he didn't help me then.'

(27) a. * Ik zal [hoe   hij me toen niet geholpen heeft] nooit vertellen.
           I   will   how   he me then not   helped   has   never tell
           'I will never tell her how he didn't help me then.'
     b. * Ik zal [hoe   hij me toen niet geholpen heeft] nooit vergeten.
           I   will   how   he me then not   helped   has   never forget
           'I will never forget how he didn't help me then.'

4.4 CLHCs and extraposition

In addition to the middlefield position, there is a further position available to complements in Dutch, and this is extraposed position, following the non-finite verb in final position. Here DPs and CPs once again show contrasting behaviour. DPs, even when heavy, were deemed unacceptable in extraposed position (cf. 28) by all of my informants. Declarative CP *dat*-clauses, on the

other hand, were accepted by all speakers when extraposed (cf. 29). These findings reflect the claims in the literature: Groos and van Riemsdijk (1981:184), for instance, summarise the extraposition possibilities for Dutch as follows: 'Essentially, PP and S may follow the verb, but NP and AP may not.'

(28) a. * Ik zal   nooit vergeten [dat verhaal].
          I   will   never forget   that story
          'I will never forget that story.'
     b. * Ik zal   nooit vergeten [het feit dat hij me toen niet geholpen heeft].
          I   will   never   forget   the fact that he me then not helped   has
          'I will never forget the fact that he didn't help me then.'

(29) a. Ik zal haar nooit vertellen [dat hij me toen niet geholpen heeft].
          I   will her   never tell   that he me then not   helped has
          'I will never tell her that he didn't help me then.'
     b. Ik zal nooit vergeten [dat hij me toen niet geholpen heeft].
          I   will never forget   that he me then not   helped has
          'I will never forget that he didn't help me then.'

Thus, combining the observations of section 4.3 with those of this section, it appears that Dutch DP and CP complements are in complementary distribution: DPs can occur in the middlefield, but cannot be extraposed, CPs are excluded from the middlefield but are perfectly acceptable when extraposed. CLHCs show the same distribution as declarative CPs, rather than DPs. As was noted above, they are excluded from the middlefield, and it is also the case that they are accepted in extraposed position (cf. 30).

(30) a. Ik zal haar nooit vertellen [hoe hij me toen niet geholpen heeft].
          I   will her   never tell   how he me then not   helped has
          'I will never tell her how he didn't help me then.'
     b. Ik zal nooit vergeten [hoe hij me toen niet geholpen heeft].
          I   will never forget   how he me then not   helped   has
          'I will never forget how he didn't help me then.'

4.5 The position of CLHCs in relation to PP complements

It has been observed that with verbs which select both DP and PP complements, in Dutch, 'DP complements must precede PP complements' (Barbiers 2000:189). When a verb selects both a CP and a PP complement, the reverse is true – 'CP complements must follow PP complements' (Barbiers

2000:189). Both of these observations are supported by the responses given by the native speakers I consulted (cf. 31 and 32).

(31) a. Ik vertelde dat   verhaal   aan   Marie.
          I   told   that story   to   Marie
      b. ??/* Ik vertelde aan Marie dat verhaal.
          'I told that story to Marie.'

(32) a. ?? Ik vertelde dat hij me nooit geholpen had aan Marie.
             I   told   that he me never helped   had to   Marie
      b. Ik vertelde aan Marie dat hij me nooit geholpen had.
          I   told   to   Marie that he me never helped   had
          'I told Marie that he had never helped me.'

Judgements for the acceptability of the relative orderings of CLHC and PP complements are not so clear cut. For some speakers there is no difference in grammaticality between the order in which the CLHC precedes the PP and the reverse order where the PP precedes the CLHC. However, the overall trend is that the variant with the CLHC preceding the PP (33a) is judged to be degraded to a greater extent than the variant in which the CLHC follows the PP complement (33b).

(33) a. ?? Ik vertelde hoe hij me nooit geholpen had aan Marie.
             I   told   how he me never helped   had to   Marie
      b. ? Ik vertelde aan Marie hoe hij me nooit geholpen had
             I   told   to   Mary how he me never helped   had
             'I told Marie how he had never helped me.'

Interestingly, when an additional adverbial such as *in al die jaren* 'in all these years' is added to the CLHC, the variant with the CLHC following the PP improves to full grammaticality for many speakers (34b). There is little alteration to judgments for the variant with the CLHC preceding the PP (34a), however.[13] These judgements replicate those for verbs with both CP and PP complements in the preference for the PP complement to precede both CPs and CLHCs.

(34) a. ?? Ik vertelde hoe hij me in al   die   jaren nooit
             geholpen   had aan Marie.
             I   told   how he   me in all   these years never
             helped   had to   Marie
      b. Ik vertelde aan Marie hoe hij me in al   die   jaren nooit
          geholpen had.
          I   told   to   Marie how he me in all these years never
          helped   had
          'I told Mary how in all these years he had never helped me.'

4.6 CLHCs and clausal subject position
On the final distributional test applied to the Dutch data, CLHCs diverge in their behaviour from both DPs and CPs. Both DPs (cf. 35a) and CPs (cf. 36a) are

able to occur as clausal subjects.[14] CLHCs as subjects are highly degraded or ungrammatical (cf. 37a), however. Note that the ungrammaticality of (37a) cannot be due to the choice of predicate, for when extraposed, CLHC complements to the predicate *vreemd zijn* 'be strange' are considered at worst mildly degraded (cf. 37b). Note that whilst *that*-clause complements can similarly be extraposed (cf. 36b), extraposing a DP leads to outright ungrammaticality (cf. 35b). Thus far from patterning alike, with such predicates CLHCs and DPs show complementary distribution.

(35) a. Dat   verhaal is vreemd.
          that story   is strange
     b. * Het is vreemd dat   verhaal.
            it   is strange that story
         'That story is strange.'

(36) a. Dat   niemand dat   nog weet   is vreemd.
          that nobody that still knows is strange
         'That nobody remembers that is strange.'
     b. Het is vreemd dat   niemand   dat   nog weet.
          it is strange that nobody   that still   knows
         'It is strange that nobody remembers that.'

(37) a.??/* Hoe niemand dat   nog weet   is vreemd.
             how nobody that still knows is strange
     b. (?) Het is vreemd hoe niemand dat   nog   weet.
             it   is strange how nobody that still   knows
         'It's strange how nobody remembers that.'

4.7 CLHCs in Dutch: summary

From the summary in table 2 (below), it is clear that, as was also the case for the English CLHCs discussed in section 3 above, the type of complement to which Dutch CLHCs show the greatest similarities are in fact *wh*-CPs. CLHCs and *wh*-CPs pattern alike on five of the seven distributional tests applied[15]. On two of these tests (4.1 and 4.2) this distribution is indeed also shared by DPs, yet on a further three tests (4.3, 4.4 and 4.5) it is rather declarative CPs which pattern with *wh*-CPs and CLHCs. On the remaining of the seven tests applied (4.6a and 4.6b), the behaviour of CLHCs diverges from that of both *wh*-CPs and DPs. Whilst the weight of the evidence seems to be in favour of an analysis of Dutch CLHCs as CPs, rather than as DPs, distributional tests do not unambiguously reveal the categorial status of Dutch CLHCs, just as was the case for CLHCs in English. If in both Dutch and English, CLHCs have the distribution neither of standard DPs, nor of CP complement clauses, the question then arises as to how best they should be analysed.

	distributional test	CLHC	DP	declarative CP *(dat-clause)*	*wh-*CP	behaviour of CLHC?
4.1	can be the complement to *hopen* 'hope' and *denken* 'think'	no	no	yes	no	DP, *wh*-CP
4.2	can be the complement of a preposition	yes	yes	no	yes	DP, *wh*-CP
4.3	can occur in the middlefield	no	yes	no	no	declarative CP, *wh*-CP
4.4	able to extrapose	yes	no	yes	yes	declarative CP, *wh*-CP
4.5	preferred position is following PP complement of verb	yes	no	yes	yes	declarative CP, *wh*-CP
4.6 a	unable to occur as clausal subject	yes	no	no	no	CLHC
B	can be extraposed with *to be strange/ vreemd zijn*	yes	no	yes	n/a	decl-CP

Table 2: Summary of the distributional behaviour of Dutch CLHCs, DPs, declarative CPs and *wh*-CPs
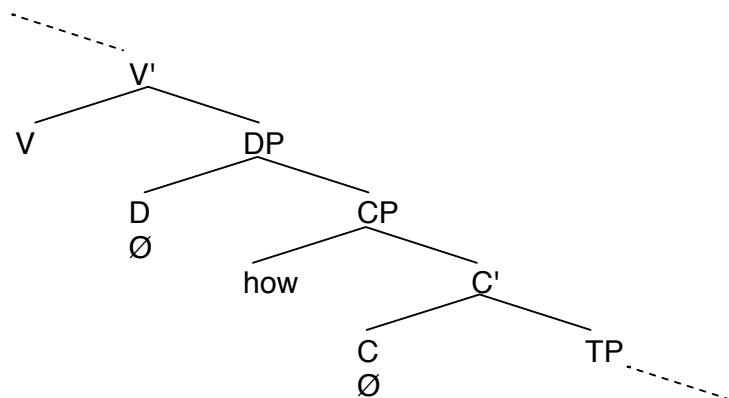

5. TOWARDS AN ANALYSIS OF CLHCS: CLHCS AS CPS OR AS DPS?
5.1 Legate's (2010) analysis of CLHCs

Legate (2010) analyses CLHCs as free relative-like DPs, giving the structure presented below as (38) (her (27)). Here, V represents the matrix verb to which the CLHC is complement. The CLHC itself is a DP headed by a null D. This D takes a CP complement, and it is the specifier of this CP that is seen to host *how*. Thus under Legate's analysis, CLH is distinguished from a 'true' complementiser such as *that*, which realises the C head – CLH rather occupies the position that a *wh*-word introducing an embedded interrogative is generally assumed to. Under certain accounts, the *wh*-word which introduces a free relative is taken to occur in this position too.[16] CLHCs are distinguished from both embedded interrogatives and free relatives, however, in that CLHCs lack *wh*-movement, with *how* hypothesised to be base-generated in spec-CP.

     Although Legate does not motivate her analysis of *how* as a phrase occupying spec-CP, rather than as a C head, empirical support seems to be provided by the possible co-occurrence of *how* and *that*, illustrated in (39a) for Dutch and (39b) for English. Here I remain agnostic with regard to the number of CP shells/functional projections within the CP layer which it is necessary to postulate, although the possible co-occurrence of *how* and *that* suggests that more than one may be required so as to avoid a doubly-filled COMP violation.[17]

(38)

```
              ⋰
             V'
          ╱      ╲
        V          DP
               ╱      ╲
             D          CP
             Ø       ╱      ╲
                  how         C'
                          ╱      ╲
                        C          TP⋰
                        Ø
```

(39) a. Ik heb haar nooit verteld hoe dat   hij me toen niet
          geholpen heeft.
          I   have her   never told   how that he me then not
          helped   have
          'I've never told her how he didn't help me then.'
      b. I know how that what people valued and believed during
          different times in history affects how they wrote stories and
          informational articles.[18]

The aspect of the structure in (38) which seems controversial in the light of the data presented in this paper is the DP layer above the CP, headed by the null D head. Null constituents should only be posited where there is strong evidence suggesting their presence, and from the tests discussed in this paper, the distribution of CLHCs in English and Dutch does not seem to provide this.

5.2 A CP analysis for CLHCs?

In the course of this paper it has been demonstrated that whilst CLHCs in both English and Dutch distribute with DPs in several regards, and in a way which is often distinct to the patterning of declarative CP *that*-clauses, this DP-like distribution is invariably shared with other *wh*-clauses, many of which are usually considered to be CPs, for example interrogative *wh*-clauses. Therefore, if the conclusion reached by applying the distributional tests used by Legate is that CLHCs are DPs, this would seem to involve rethinking the categorial status of many other *wh*-clauses (e.g. English interrogative *wh*-clauses), which also seem to qualify as DPs on such tests. It is not clear that this is desirable, as the CP-analysis of such clauses is well-established and widely accepted. From this perspective, an analysis of CLHCs as CPs looks more appealing, even if something still has to be said to account for the ways in which their behaviour diverges from that of other declarative/*wh*-word-introduced CPs.

5.3 A DP analysis for CLHCs?

Before a DP analysis is rejected altogether, it is worth noting that whilst the distribution of CLHCs is a significant motivation for Legate in proposing the structure in (38), it is not the only factor. Legate (2010:126) suggests that in

positing a DP layer for CLHCs, other syntactic properties they show can be accounted for, for instance the fact that they are invariably factive.

Legate (2010:127) uses the pair given in (40) (her (17a) and (17c)) to demonstrate that the content of a CLHC, in contrast to that of a *that*-clause, is invariably presupposed. In (40a), but not (40b), it is understood to be the case that the tooth fairy really does not exist. This is what makes the continuation *Well it's not true…*(an addition of mine to Legate's examples) pragmatically incompatible when following a CLHC but not when following a *that*-clause. If CLHCs are definite DPs then, Legate claims, their factivity falls out naturally, for 'definite DPs show existence presuppositions' (Legate 2010:126).

> (40) a. Did they tell you how the tooth fairy doesn't exist?
>   # Well it's not true, she most certainly does.
>   b. Did they tell you that the tooth fairy doesn't exist?
>   Well it's not true, she most certainly does.

A further property which Legate argues receives a straightforward explanation if CLHCs are DPs is the fact that 'object extraction is weakly ungrammatical for the embedded interrogatives...but strongly ungrammatical for the *how*-clause' (Legate 2010:126) in (41) below (Legate's (12b, d, e)).

> (41) a. *It was the teacher that they told me how she believes *t*.
>   b. ??It was the teacher that they asked me whether she believes *t*.
>   c. ??It was the teacher that they asked me how thoroughly she believes *t*.

The fact that (41a) is ungrammatical to a greater degree than (41b) or (41c) can be viewed as a consequence of the fact that only (41a) contains a strong island. Legate (2010:126) claims that 'The status of the *how*-clause as a strong island can be explained if it forms not only a DP, but a definite DP.' Since Ross (1967), definite DPs have been considered to be strong islands for extraction. (42) shows the ungrammaticality of extracting *which man* from the definite DPs *Mary's poem about which man* or *the poem about which man* (in contrast to its grammatical extraction from the indefinite DP *a poem about which man*). If CLHCs also are definite DPs, then the ungrammaticality of extracting from the CLHC in (41a) can be seen to parallel these more canonical cases of strong island effects arising from definite DPs.

> (42) Which man did you discover *Mary's/??the/a poem about *t* ?[19]

If CLHCs are in fact CPs and not DPs, it is not immediately apparent how the factivity and strong island status of CLHCs can be explained. Accounts have been given of factive clauses as CPs, for instance by Aboh (2005) and Haegeman and Ürögdi (2010). The latter also provide an explanation of restrictions on extraction from referential clauses in terms of feature-based intervention, but if and how these approaches could be implemented or adapted for CLHCs remains to be investigated.[20]

6. CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, the results of the distributional tests which constitute a large part of the evidence Legate (2010) puts forward in favour of a DP analysis for CLHCs have been reassessed in the light of a consideration of a broader range of complement types. Attention has also been given to Dutch CLHCs, in addition to the English CLHCs Legate considers. The conclusion is that when CLHCs are compared not just to DPs and declarative CPs, and when data from languages other than English is considered, the categorial status of CLHCs no longer appears to be so clearly revealed by their distribution. Whilst English CLHCs do indeed show more distributional similarities to DPs than to declarative CPs, when *wh*-CPs are also considered the distinction between CP-like and DP-like behaviour becomes considerably less sharp. Dutch CLHCs pattern overall more like CPs than DPs.

Whether CLHCs should be viewed as CPs, as the *wh*-clauses they pattern with usually are, or whether the range of clauses considered to be DPs should be extended is an open question for further research. What has already been achieved here is a broadening of the database upon which the categorial status of CLHCs is assessed to include Dutch, and a raising of awareness of the fact that CLHCs cannot be considered in isolation from other *wh*-clauses, with which they show many similarities in distribution. In addition to further investigation of the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties of CLHCs in the languages considered to date, a direction for future research which seems likely to prove fruitful is to expand the investigation of CLHCs cross-linguistically, to include both languages which are closely related to those considered here (e.g. German) and those which are not (e.g. Czech, Romanian, Slovenian).

Notes

[1] The literature on this use of *how* is limited enough to be listed exhaustively. To the best of my knowledge, the first reference in the literature to the complementiser-like use of *how* in English is Melvold (1991: 116 f.n. 17). López Couso & Méndez Naya (1996) offer a historical perspective, whilst Legate (2002, 2010) focuses on the syntax of such clauses synchronically. Defrancq (2005, 2009) discusses at some length the complementiser-like use of French *comment* 'how', with a particular emphasis on its narrative function. Uriagereka (1999) touches on its existence in Basque as well as English, whilst Caponigro and Polinksy (2008) also make brief reference to the structure. Willis (2007) and Van Gelderen (2009) both cite complementiser-like *how* as a case of grammaticalisation in the CP domain.

[2] Additional evidence that CLHCs are not to be conflated with embedded interrogatives is the fact observed by Legate (2010:124), and illustrated here in (i) (her (8a-c)) that they are unable to occur 'with predicates that only select for a question, even those that allow DP complements.'

        (i)   a. It depends on whether the tooth fairy really exists.
                b. It depends on the tooth fairy's existence.
                c. * It depends on how the tooth fairy really exists.

[3] From *The Guardian*, G2, 10/06/2005 p. 8, col. 1-2. Thanks to Liliane Haegeman for providing this example.

[4] Legate cites this example as attested from:
www.equination.net/forum/viewtopic.php?p=262880&sid=5c0d83311595420d4d6a959fae5e813c

[5] From http://www.popmatters.com/film/reviews/b/bright-young-things.shtml. Accessed on 17/08/2010.

[6] From http://startcooking.com/blog/88/Chicken-Stir-Fry-with-Scallions. Accessed on 16/08/2010.

[7] From http://www.closecombattraining.com/captainchris.php. Accessed on 16/08/2010.

[8] Why and how such a use should have developed for *how* in so many different languages is an interesting question, but one which goes beyond the scope of this paper.

[9] There appears to be a stylistic difference between CLHCs in Dutch and those in English. In Dutch, many speakers consider CLHCs to be a feature of formal, written language, whereas in English the opposite appears to hold. They are seen as a feature of 'informal English,' as Legate (2010:121) observes, as indicated by the fact that their use is frowned upon by prescriptive grammars.

[10] That the restriction against these verbs taking a DP complement is not absolute is shown by the fact that strings such as (i) and (ii) are well-formed. Thanks to Liliane Haegeman for bringing this to my attention.

> (i) Ik denk het wel.
> I think it PARTICLE
> 'I think so.'
> (ii) Wat denk je?
> what think you
> 'What do you think?'

[11] Note that this does not necessarily mean that CLHC and DPs are excluded from the complement of such verbs for the same reason. CLHCs also seem to be excluded from the complement position of other verbs, for example *betwijfelen* 'doubt', despite the fact that such verbs can take both declarative CP and DP complements.

[12] It is not possible to test whether interrogative *wh*-CPs can occur as the complements of prepositions in Dutch because of the absence of interrogative verb + preposition combinations in the language.

[13] It is possible that this is a weight effect, although note that if this is the case, this does not lend support to a DP analysis of CLHCs, given that Heavy Noun Phrase Shift (HNPS) in Dutch is claimed in the literature to be highly restricted and 'mostly limited to jargons, in particular the jargon of law and administration' (Groos and van Riemsdijk 1981).

[14] Here I do not take a stance on whether or not clausal subjects occupy the usual subject position (see Koster (1978) for arguments that they are in fact topics).

[15] These figures are not intended to have any statistical significance, but merely to indicate the trends in distributional behaviour of CLHCs.

[16] The idea that the *wh*-expression of a free relative occupies spec-CP has been referred to in the literature as the COMP Hypothesis. Alternative accounts of free relatives have been proposed whereby the *wh*-word itself realises the D head, an approach known as the Head Hypothesis. See Groos and van Riemsdijk (1981) for a clear explanation of the differences between these two positions, and arguments in favour of the former.

[17] See however Boef (2010) for evidence from Dutch dialects that, at least in Dutch, this may not be necessary.

[18] From
http://www.manatee.k12.fl.us/sites/elementary/samoset/Grade4readcolor.pdf. Accessed on 22/10/2009.

[19] This example is Szabolcsi and den Dikken's (1999) example (6).

[20] A third option, which I do not pursue here, is that CLHCs are both CPs and DPs.

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Is Brazilian Portuguese *lá* in Spec,IP? [*]

ABSTRACT

This paper is concerned with the structural position of Brazilian Portuguese *lá* 'there' in both presentatives with *vir/ir* 'to come/to go' and existentials with *ter* 'to have'. I argue against an account of *lá* as an expletive in Spec,IP and for an account of *lá* as an adverbial merged directly in Spec,TopP. In order to support this hypothesis, I consider the facts that *lá* carries given information, surfaces in initial position, and allows a topicalised item in its left. Furthermore, I provide independent evidence, from imperative and assertive sentences, for the merge of *lá* in CP functional projections other than TopP, such as FocusP and ForceP.

Keywords: *lá*; existentials; presentatives; Spec,IP; Spec,TopP.

1. INTRODUCTION

The adverb *lá* 'there', in Brazilian Portuguese (BP), may surface in a range of different structures, such as imperatives, rhetorical questions, emphatic assertions, negation, and *(ir)realis* mood, among others. In these structures, *lá* does not bear deictic semantic value, as observed below:[1]

Spec, FocusP	*Rhetorical question*
	
	(1) E eu **lá** sou besta? (Souza 2009:81).
	   And I there am stupid
	   'Am I stupid?'
	
	_ Chico, those two guys offended me. And you didn't do anything?
	_ Do you think I am stupid?	

	Imperative
	
	(2) Raciocina **lá** comigo!
	   Think there with-me
	   'Let's think together!'	

Spec, FinP	*Realis Mood (encoding an ongoing action)* (3) Embrulhados assim, os ovos têm proteção suficiente para aguentar os trancos que [**lá** vão *tomando* na cangalha] (*Globo Rural*, 19th September 2010). *there go-3PL taking in-the horseback*	

	'Packed that way, the eggs are properly protected against the knocks that they are going to take on horseback'
Spec, **ForceP**	*Emphatic assertion* (4) **Lá** ficamos sem almoço. *There stay-1PL without lunch* 'We finished by having no lunch'

Table 1: non locative *lá* in the left periphery

Studying these structures, Pereira (2011) argues that *lá* is merged in the specifier position of functional projections in the left periphery. According to Rizzi (1997), this is a domain dedicated to the interface between syntax and discourse. As observed above, *lá* emphasises a rhetorical question, a request, an assertion, etc., having its locative value weakened (or even bleached) in favour of discourse values like emphasis.

In contrast, in the structures below, *lá* is a locative indicating direction (either source or goal). In this case, its interface value is identified as given information in topic position. That is why we presume that its position is Spec,TopP.

Spec, **TopP**	*Presentatives*
	
	 (5) a. **Lá** vem o nosso ônibus! (Souza 1999:59).
	 There come-3SG the our bus
	 'Here comes our bus!'
	
	     b. **Lá** vai a Rosinha das perna torta! (Souza 2009:81).
	 There go-3SG the Rosinha of-the-PL leg crooked
	 'There goes Rosinha with her crooked legs!'
	
	   _ Nothing will make me angry today!
	   _ Hey!There goes Rosinha with her crooked legs.
	
	   c. **Lá** tinha um trem lá (Buthers 2009:76).
	 There had a train there
	 'There was a train over there'

Table 2: locative lá in TopP

However, this is not the way the literature handles this issue. *Lá* in (5a-c) is usually described as an expletive in subject position (Nascimento and Kato 1995; Greco and Vitral 1999; Buthers 2009). This paper will review this analysis in order to argue against it. As pointed out by Sheehan (2007:254-255), even though 'in some dialects of Romance overt "expletives" are attested […] many

of these overt expletives do not occupy a position in Spec,IP but rather are merged in the CP periphery as "discourse-particles".'

This paper is organized as follows. In section 2, I will show how studies on the split of the CP 'into more articulated hierarchical sequences of functional projections' (Cinque and Rizzi 2008:43) may support the analysis of *lá* in the left periphery. In section 3, I will provide an overview of the works that maintain that *lá* is merged in Spec,IP and then, in section 4, I will point out the problems this analysis raises when certain tests are applied to (5a-c). In section 5, I will describe my own hypothesis according to which *lá*, in (5a-c), is merged in Spec,TopP rather than in Spec,IP. Finally, in section 6, I will describe the features of *lá* in (2) and (4) in order to show that its analysis in the CP-domain seems to be a more unified one, considering its many realisations in contexts other than those of (5a-c).

2. A NEW APPROACH: *LÁ* IN SPEC,TOPP

According to Cinque (1999), adverbs are directly merged in the specifier position of functional categories. On this basis, I argue that the many different realisations of *lá* result from merging this adverb in projections situated in the left peripheries of the NP, VP and IP (Pereira 2011). This is in line with the cartographic project which consists in an 'attempt to draw maps as precise and detailed as possible of syntactic configurations' (Cinque and Rizzi 2008:42) and also in an 'attempt to "syntacticize" as much as possible the interpretive domains' (Cinque and Rizzi 2008:52).

2.1. The IP periphery

According to Rizzi (1997:282), the categories that make up the CP 'have an interpretive import (Wh, Neg, Top, Foc, ...): they determine the interpretation of the category bearing them.' Therefore, the CP can be analyzed as a fine-grained structure divided into a series of different functional projections, as illustrated in (6). Known as IP left periphery, the CP supports 'the interface between a propositional content (expressed by the IP) and […] the articulation of discourse' (Rizzi 1997:283).

(6) $[_{\textbf{ForceP}} \text{Force}^o [_{\text{TopP}}{}^{*2} \text{Top}^o [_{\text{FocusP}} \text{Focus}^o [_{\text{TopP}}{}^* \text{Top}^o [_{\textbf{FinP}} \text{Fin}^o [\text{IP}]]]]]]$
(Rizzi 1997:297).

Concerning discursive information, CP expresses the clausal force (ForceP), that is, whether the clause is interrogative, declarative, exclamative, etc. Concerning structural information, finiteness (FinP) determines, for example, whether the IP will be inflected or not. Still considering discursive information, the CP also expresses new and non-new information. According to Rizzi (1997:285), topic is a clause-initial item, which carries non-new information and which is usually set off by comma intonation. In contrast, Focus is the position for focalised constituents (items carrying new information) and also for *Wh*-operators. That is why they 'compete for the same position and cannot co-occur' (Rizzi 1997:298).

Because *lá* expresses information related to both Topic-Focus and Force-Finiteness systems, I pursue the hypothesis that this adverb in BP belongs to the CP-domain.

3. CURRENT APPROACH: *LÁ* IN SPEC,IP

Nascimento and Kato (1995), Greco and Vitral (1999) and Buthers (2009) claim that *lá*, in the pattern represented by (5a-c), is an overt expletive in subject position. Because of its immediate relevance for the discussion of subject position, the following section (3.1) offers an overview of the Extended Projection Principle (EPP), which assumes that a position for the subject is always projected though it may or may not be expressed phonetically. In section (3.2), I will proceed with a review on the proposal conveyed by these authors.

3.1. EPP: the basics

In the Minimalist enterprise, the EPP 'states that [Spec, IP] is obligatory' (Chomsky 1995:55) and that Spec,I(nflection)P is the position dedicated to checking φ features. Feature checking may be done by two different kinds of syntactic operations: either by *agree*, as in (7a), or by *merge*, as in (7b).

> (7) a. *He* lives in London.
>   b. *There* is a dog in that house.

In (7b), although the DP *a dog* matches person [3rd] and number [singular] features of I, it cannot satisfy EPP, because it is in a low position in the syntactic derivation. That is why *there* has to be merged in Spec,IP. According to Svenonius (2002:5-6), '*Expletive, pleonastic*, or *dummy* subjects […] are identified by their lack of semantic content [...] Expletives are by definition semantically empty.' As a result, *there* in (7b) does not bear locative meaning.

Languages differ parametrically in the way they satisfy the EPP. English belongs to the class of languages which do not allow null subjects. In this class, known as *non-pro-drop* languages, Spec,IP must be filled by an overt item. In contrast, BP belongs to the class of *pro-drop* languages which allow covert categories in the subject position. Therefore, sentences like (8a-b) are allowed in BP while their counterparts in English (8a'-b') are ungrammatical.

> (8) a. Moro em Londres.
>   *Live-1SG in London.*
>   'I live in London'
>   a'. *live(s) in London.
>   b. Há/Tem um cachorro naquela casa.
>   *Exist-3SG/Have-3SG a dog in-that house.*
>   'There is a dog in that house'
>   b'. *is a dog in that house.

EPP requirements are satisfied in (8a) by merging a null subject *pro* in Spec,IP which matches the same φ-features of I [1SG]. In a different way, these requirements are satisfied in (8b), by merging a covert expletive in Spec,IP.

Therefore, all languages satisfy the EPP, even though some of them have to license a *pro* instead of an overt item in Spec,IP for this purpose.

3.2. Two principles for the analysis of *lá* in Spec,IP

Below I will show the two main arguments used to support the claim that *lá* is merged in subject position. They are: (i) repetition of *lá* and (ii) pre-verbal position.

Firstly, regarding the repetition of *lá* (9), Buthers (2009) argues that *lá* might have undergone a grammaticalisation[3] process like the one undergone by the English adverb *there* which acts as an expletive in existentials and unaccusatives in order to license EPP-features (Buthers 2009:91, my translation).[4]

(9)   Lá tinha um trem lá (Buthers 2009:76).
       There had a train there
       'There was a train over there'

This same view is also shared by Greco and Vitral (1999) who claim that the use of the locative at the beginning and at the end of the clause results in the first *lá* being understood as an item with reduced locative meaning, that is, an expletive […] in subject position, as has been argued to be the case in English (Greco and Vitral 1999:12, my translation).[5]

Secondly, regarding the pre-verbal position of *lá*, this corresponds exactly to the canonical subject position (Buthers 2009:86, my translation).[6] Likewise, Nascimento and Kato (1995:43, my translation) argue that, as long as we believe that there is in Portuguese a null adverbial locative with the same properties of *there* [...], we can analyze the existential structures in this language exactly as we do for their counterpart in English.[7] They also suggest that this null adverbial category would […] have its overt counterpart in the following examples:[8]

(10)   Lá tem um homem na porta (Nascimento and Kato 1995:65)
       There has a man in-the door
       'There is a man in the front door'

(11)   Lavai/Lavém um corrupto (Nascimento and Kato 1995:66).
       Theregoes/herecomes a corrupt
       'There goes/here comes a corrupt politician'

To summarize, the repetition of *lá* and its pre-verbal position are arguments used to support the analysis of BP *lá* in Spec,IP.

4. DEFYING THE ANALYSIS OF *LÁ* IN SPEC,IP

In this section, I will discuss the plausibility of each one of the arguments used to support the account of *lá* in Spec,IP. In doing so, I will describe the main properties of *lá* in the examples (5a-c), such as locative meaning, incompatibility with negation, and non-new information.

4.1. Locative meaning

In order to show that *lá* does support locative meaning, I will work on some tests which will verify the compatibility of *lá* with other locatives.

Firstly, we observe that *lá*, in (12), rejects final *aqui* ('here'). In fact, if *lá* in (12) were semantically bleached, as is supposed by Buthers (2009:93), it should be allowed to co-occur with *aqui* and not only with *lá*.

> (12) Lá tinha um trem *aqui/lá.
>   *There had a train *here/lá.*
>   'There was a train here/over there'

Secondly, *lá* is prevented from co-occurring with *onde* 'where', as shown in (13). This suggests that *onde* 'where', a *wh*-item containing locative information, clashes with *lá*, an adverb which already includes this information.

> (13) *Onde lá tinha um trem?
>   *Where there had a train*
>   *'Where did you see a train over there?'

Thirdly, *vir* 'to come' is prevented from co-occurring with *lá* in contexts where *lá* is a circumstantial argument with goal direction meaning, as in (14). There are only two suitable goal direction adverbs which fit in this sentence; namely *cá* 'here' and *aqui* 'here'. However, *vir* 'to come' may co-occur with *lá* in (15a) where *lá* is read as a circumstantial argument of *vir* indicating source direction, as in (15b).

> (14) A Maria vem cá/aqui/*lá muito raramente.
>   *The Maria come-3SG here/here/*there very rarely*
>   'Maria comes here very rarely'

> (15) a. Lá vem a Maria.
>   *There come-3SG the Maria*
>   'Here comes Maria'
>   b. Vem a Maria (de) lá.
>   *come-3SG the Maria (from) there*
>   'Maria is coming from there (that direction)'

With regards to this observation, I could argue that structures like (15a) presumably derive from structures like (15b). However, unlike (15b), *lá* in (15a) would be merged directly in pre-verbal position (in topic) without the preposition *de* 'from'. As a result, *lá*, even in pre-verbal position, would still have a locative

meaning derived from its previous structure. Therefore, the only available interpretation of *lá* in (15a) which would justify its grammatical use with *vir* 'to come' is the source locative direction reading. To sum up, something like "There comes Maria" is grammatical in BP only because *lá* is understood as a source locative rather than a goal.

Fourthly, still regarding the issue on locative meaning, I should mention that, in non-standard BP, *vir* is usually preceded by *em* which has many other phonological variants, such as *im*, *ê* and *é*, according to the following examples:

(16) a. Ói, já <u>é</u> vem, fumegando, apitando, chamando os que sabem do trem (*Trem das 7*, Raul Seixas).
Look already é come-3SG, smoking, whistling, calling […]
'Look, the train[9] is already coming, smoking, whistling, calling those who wait for the train'

b. Lá <u>ê</u> vem a moça dos cachos dourados.
There ê come-3SG the girl of-the-PL curl-PL golden-PL
'The girl with curly golden hair is coming'

c. Lá <u>em</u> vem outra história.
Lá em come-3SG another story
'Another excuse is coming again'

d. E naquele embalo que eu <u>im</u> vinha, quando eu moitei pra passar no vão do arame, acho que eu baixei demais e veio uma ferpa e pregô, aí vazo.[10]
And in-that speed that I im came […]
'In that high speed I was coming, when I crouched down to pass through a hole in the barbed wire fence, I crouched too much … then the fence nails pierced deeply in my skin'

Em, *im*, *ê* and *é* do not have any semantic content in contemporary BP and seem to be a feature of spoken, rather than written genres. To the best of my knowledge, these particles have not yet been investigated and they are not mentioned in dictionaries and grammar books.

According to Professor Ian Roberts (p.c.), there might be a relation between Old Portuguese *ende* and the particle *em* and its variants. Sanchéz Lancis (2001) argues that *ende* (Old Portuguese) < *ĭnde* (Latin) is used to indicate source of a movement ('from there'). In addition, according to Mattos and Silva (1989:238), French partitive *en* (17), which is also pre-verbal like BP *em*, derives historically from Latin *ĭnde*.

(17) J'adore les fruits et ***j'en mange*** beaucoup.[11]
I love the fruits and I PART eat lot
'I love fruits and I eat lots of them'

If *em* and its variants derive from Old Portuguese (OP) *ende* ('from there'), I may presume that, when *lá* co-occurs with them, *lá* is merged in initial position probably in order to emphasise a locative meaning, which was also present in OP *ende,* but is now absent in *em* and its variants in contemporary BP.

Considering my discussion so far, I hope to have brought attention to the fact that the pre-verbal position of *lá* in both (12) and (15a) is more likely explained by emphasis and topicalisation than by expletivisation. In these sentences, *lá* does have locative meaning, as shown by its incompatibility with *onde* 'where' and *aqui* 'here'.

4.2. Incompatibility with negation

It is worthwhile to highlight a comparison between existentials and presentatives with *there* in English. According to Bergen and Plauché (2005), while existentials can be negated (18a), presentatives (18b) cannot.

> (18) a. There isn't any food upstairs (Bergen and Plauché 2005:31).
> b. *There isn't a poodle (Bergen and Plauché 2005:31).

In BP, like English presentatives, sentences with *ir* 'to go' and *vir* 'to come' preceded by *lá* cannot be negated (19b).

> (19) a. Lá não tinha um trem lá.
> *There not had a train there*
> 'There wasn't a train over there'
> b. *Lá não vem a Rosinha das perna torta.
> *There not come-3SG the Rosinha of-the-PL leg crooked*
> 'Rosinha is not coming with her crooked legs'

Therefore, *lá* with unaccusative verbs (19b) cannot be considered an expletive in subject position. In contrast, it behaves like locative *there* in presentatives. Additionally, the fact that negation is allowed in existentials, as in (19a), is not enough to keep assuming that *lá* is an expletive, because *lá* does have locative meaning (that is, it is not semantically empty) and bears properties commonly related to topic position as discussed in the following section.

4.3. Non-new information

Pre-verbal *lá* in examples (20B) and (21B) conveys shared information, which is indicated by the fact that *lá* is already mentioned in (21A) and, though not mentioned in (20A), is deictically referred to in the utterance-time situation. Thus, (20B) and (21B) are suitable replies to the questions (20A) and (21A), since they are focused on an event. Examples (22B) and (23B), on the other hand, are not suitable replies to (22A) and (23A), since these questions are focused on the location of something. Carrying given, shared and, hence, topic information, as shown in examples (20B) and (21B), *lá* obviously cannot satisfy a requirement for new information present in the questions (22A) and (23A).
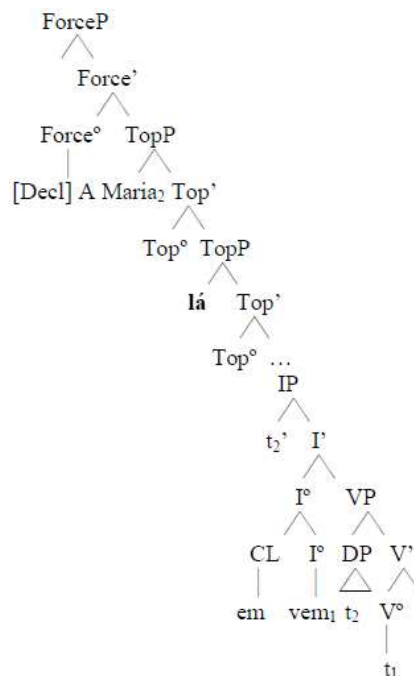
Event	*Location*
(20) A: O que está acontecendo? 'What is going on?' B: Lá vem a Maria.	(22) A: De onde está vindo a Maria? 'Which direction is Maria coming from?' B: *Lá vem a Maria.

'Here comes Maria'	'Here comes Maria'

(21) A: O que tinha lá?
     'What did exist there?'
 B: Lá tinha um trem lá.
     'There was a train over there'
	(23) A: Onde tinha um trem?
	     'Where did you see a train?'
	 B: *Lá tinha um trem lá.
	     'There was a train over there'

Table 3: Lá bearing non-new information

Besides bearing non-new information, *lá* may surface in structures which allow topic recursion. In example (24), not only *lá* but also the DP (*a Maria*) may figure in topic position. Here, *lá* is merged directly in a lower TopP, while the DP (*a Maria*) raises to a higher TopP via Spec,IP, as illustrated in the derivation given below (Figure 1). Because the DP needs to raise in order to reach Spec,TopP, Spec,IP must be free for the movement of the subject, and thus Spec,IP cannot be filled with *lá*.

(24) A Maria lá *em* vem.
       The Maria there em come-3SG
       'Here comes Maria'/'Maria is coming'

Figure 1: Topic recursion

5. *Lá* in Spec,TopP
Let's remember once again examples (5a-c), here repeated as (25a-c):

(25) a. Lá vem o nosso ônibus! (Souza 1999:59).
           There come-3SG the our bus
           'Here comes our bus!'

Our bus is coming! We will chat along the way! I love chatting!

Figure 2: Lá vem o nosso ônibus! (Souza 1999:59)

  b. Lá vai a Rosinha das perna torta! (Souza 2009:81).
    There go-3SG the Rosinha of-the-PL leg crooked
    'There goes Rosinha with her crooked legs!'
 c. Lá tinha um trem lá (Buthers 2009:76).
    There had a train there
    'There was a train over there'

So far, I have shown that, in (25a-c), *lá* semantically supports locative meaning; discursively, conveys non-new information; linearly, occupies initial position; and, syntactically, can be preceded by a topicalised DP. Therefore, I suggest that *lá* is not merged in Spec,IP, but in a higher position of the CP-domain, as shown in the derivations below.

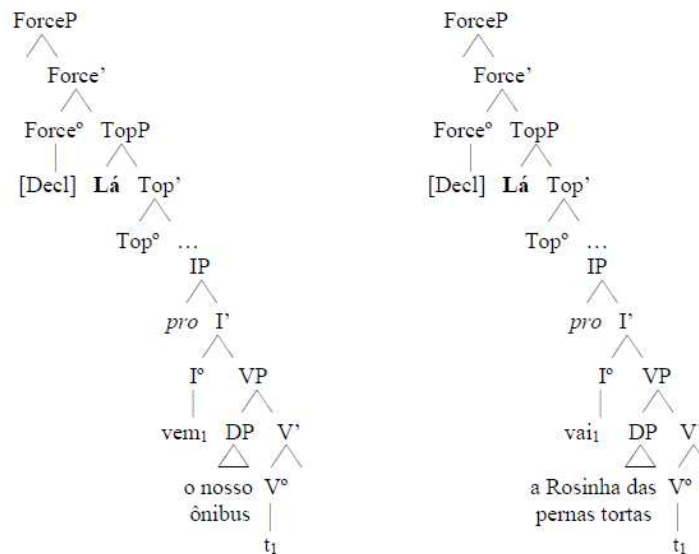(26) a. Lá vem o nosso ônibus!   (26) b. Lá vai a Rosinha das pernas tortas!

Figure 3: *Lá* in presentatives with *vir* 'to come' and *ir* 'to go'

(26) c. Lá tinha um trem lá.

```
                    ForceP
                     /\
                   Force'
                    /\
             Force°   TopP
               |      /\
            [Decl]  Lá   Top'
                        /\
                     Top°  ...
                           /\
                          IP
                         /\
                       IP   AdvP
                      /\     /\
                   pro   I'   lá
                        /\
                     I°   VP
                      |    /\
                  tinha₁  DP   V'
                          /\   /\
                      um trem V°
                              |
                              t₁
```
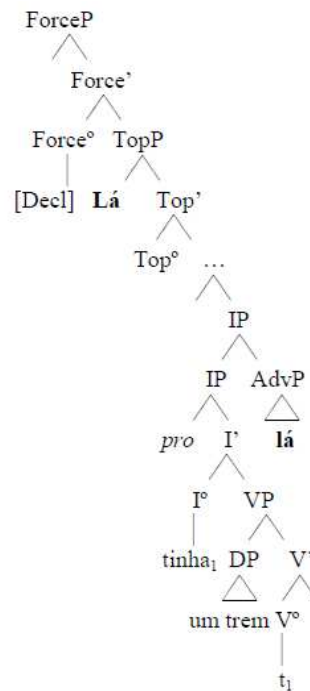
Figure 4: *Lá* in existentials with *ter* 'to have'

6. INDEPENDENT EVIDENCE FOR THE ANALYSIS OF *LÁ* IN THE CP-DOMAIN

In the previous sections, I argued for an account of *lá* in the CP-domain. This proposal may be supported by independent evidence available in imperatives (27) and emphatic assertions (28).

(27) Raciocina lá comigo!
      Think there with-me
      'Let's think together!'

(28) Lá ficamos sem almoço.
      There stay-1PL without lunch
      'We finished by having no lunch'

In these sentences, unlike (25a-c), *lá* does not support deictic locative meaning. Moreover, it has fixed positions, being post-verbal in (27) and pre-sentential in (28). I claim that this is due to the fact that *lá* maps the functional CP-domain.

6.1. *Lá in Spec,FocusP*

In this section, I will examine example (27), repeated here as (29), and suggest that, in this case, *lá* is merged in Spec,FocusP, as illustrated by the derivation in

Figure 6. My reasons for this hypothesis are given below and summarized in Table 4.
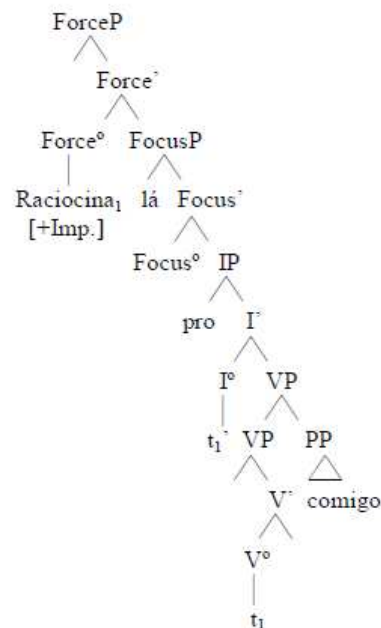
(29) Raciocina **lá** comigo!

Figure 5: *Lá* in Spec, FocusP of imperatives

	Feature	Conclusion
Lá	is compatible with *aqui* 'here';	means something other than location;
	is post-verbal and adjacent;	occupies a position immediately after Force [+imp] headed by a raised verb;
	is prevented from co-occurring with a focalised item;	competes for FocusP.

Table 4: *Lá* in imperatives

Firstly, when *lá* is in imperative sentences, it is compatible with *aqui* (30), which means that *lá* does not make available a deictic locative reading.

(30) Raciocina lá comigo aqui nessa conta.
     Think there with-me here in-this calculus.
     'Help me to find a way to solve this mathematical problem'

Secondly, *lá* is post-verbal. This order derives probably from V-raising to Force, as expected for imperative sentences (Platzack and Rosengren 1998). Furthermore, *lá* is adjacent to the verb; hence, there is apparently no possibility

for an item to intervene between them, as shown in (31). This indicates that *lá* certainly occupies a position immediately after ForceP, which is headed by the verb.

(31) *Raciocina comigo/com ele/com atenção lá nessa conta.
Think with-me/with him/with attention there in-this calculus
'Think with me/him/attention to find a way to solve this mathematical problem'

Thirdly, *lá* is prevented from co-occurring with a focalised item (32), which means that they are probably competing for the same position.

(32) *Raciocina VOCÊ lá!
Think YOU there.
'Think!'

6.2. Lá in Spec,ForceP

In this section, I will examine example (28), repeated here as (33), and suggest that, in this case, *lá* is merged in Spec,ForceP, as illustrated by the derivation in Figure 7. My reasons for this hypothesis are discussed in turn in the following paragraphs and summarised in Table 5.

(33) **Lá** ficamos sem almoço.

Figure 6: *Lá* in Spec,ForceP of emphatic assertions

	Feature	Conclusion
Lá	is compatible with *aqui* 'here';	does not support locative reading;
	emphasises assertive force;	might be checking Force features;
	precedes PPI;	is in a position higher than PolP;
	is restricted to root clauses;	has restrictions determined by illocutionary force;
	co-occurs with focus.	might be located in a position other than Focus.

Table 5: *Lá* in emphatic assertions

Firstly, in (33), *lá* seems to emphasize the assertive force of the sentence. In addition, it does not support a locative reading as shown by its compatibility with *aqui* 'here' in (34).

(34) Lá ficamos sem almoço aqui (no serviço).
          There stay-1PL without lunch here (in-the office)
          'We finished by having no lunch here (in the office)'

Secondly, *lá* in example (35) precedes the sentence and thus also the subject of the sentence (*isso*), which means that *lá* occupies a very high position in the syntactic hierarchy.

(35) Lá isso é verdade.[12]
          There this is true
          'This is definitely true'

Thirdly, *lá* is restricted to root clauses as expected for emphatic assertions. It shows that *lá* obeys the restrictions determined by the illocutionary force of the sentence it belongs to. For instance, *lá* is incompatible with conditionals (36a) and interrogatives (36b), which means that *lá* in this case is an emphatic marker for assertive sentences.

(36) a. *Se lá isso é verdade, ...
              If there this is true, ...
              'If this is true, …'
        b. *Como lá isso é verdade?
              How there this is true
              'How may this be true?'

Fourthly, *lá* is allowed to co-occur with positive polarity items, as illustrated in example (37). Therefore, it would not belong to PolP. Moreover, *lá* has to precede these items (see *sim* in example 37). This confirms that *lá* must belong to the CP-domain, since it occupies a position higher than PolP.[13]

(37) Lá isso *sim* é verdade.
          There this yes is true
          'This is definitely true'

Finally, *lá* is allowed to co-occur with either topicalised (*ficamos*) or focalised (*nós*) items. In these contexts, *lá* must precede them, as can be seen in example (38).

(38) Lá *ficamos NÓS* sem almoço.
          There stay-1PL we without lunch
          'We finished by having no lunch'

7. FINAL REMARKS

In brief, it has been claimed that, in presentatives with *vir/ir* 'to come/to go' and in existentials with *ter* 'to have', *lá* 'there' is an expletive in subject position (Nascimento and Kato 1995; Greco and Vitral 1999; Buthers 2009).

I argue against this analysis by showing that *lá* in (25a-c) does support deictic locative meaning, because it is incompatible with *aqui* 'here' and *onde* 'where'. That is why locative *lá* cannot be viewed as an expletive, which by definition is semantically empty. In addition, we saw that (25a-c) are like English presentatives rather than existentials. Presentatives do not have an expletive, but a locative *there*, and cannot be negated. Furthermore, pre-verbal *lá* in (25a-c) carries non-new information, which means that *lá* is probably a topic.

Therefore, the most likely hypothesis to account for locative *lá* in (25a-c) and non locative *lá* in (27-28) should be the one which considers that this adverb maps the IP left periphery. Accordingly, *lá* is merged not only in Spec,TopP (25a-c), but also in many other CP functional projections, such as Spec,FocusP (27) and Spec,ForceP (28).

Notes

[1] All examples are my own unless otherwise indicated.

[2] The stars indicate that topic, unlike focus, is recursive, according to Rizzi (1997:290).

[3] Grammaticalisation of *lá* is not discussed here for at least three reasons. Firstly, it was already done by others (e.g. Greco and Vitral 1999). Secondly, this paper aims at applying the cartographic project to a formal analysis of *lá* in presentatives. Thirdly, *lá* does not seem to undergo grammaticalisation in presentatives (5a-c). In contrast, in sentences like "Sei lá" (*know there*/'I don't know!'), *lá* is a negation marker (Pereira 2011). In this case, it is quite reasonable to argue that grammaticalisation has turned a locative into a negation item. This is NOT clear in presentatives.

[4] 'ocorrido com o advérbio 'there' do inglês, que, expletivizado, figura na posição de sujeito justamente em construções existenciais e inacusativas para permitir a valoração do traço EPP' (Buthers 2009:92).

[5] '*lá* pode estar ocupando a posição de sujeito, como é proposto, normalmente, para o inglês [...]' (Greco and Vitral 1999:12).

[6] 'coincide justamente com a posição canônica de sujeito' (Buthers 2009: 86).

[7] 'se adotarmos a hipótese da existência, no português, de um Adverbial Locativo Nulo com as mesmas propriedades de 'there' [...] poderemos analisar as construções existenciais dessa língua exatamente como analisamos sua contraparte em inglês' (Nascimento and Kato 1995:43).

[8] 'a categoria vazia adverbial postulada [...] teria uma contraparte, lexicalizada' (Nascimento and Kato 1995:65).

[9] *Train*, in this song, stands metaphorically for *death*.

[10] All these examples (16a-d) were found on line. Though I did not work with a corpus, this sample is representative, because (16a) is a famous song by a Northeast singer and (16d) is an excerpt of a short story told by a rural worker

from the Middle West. I am from the Southeast and I am also used to hearing this. So, although these structures are non-standard BP, they are pervasive.
[11] http://pattypatchs2.unblog.fr/2010/03/31/10eme-bon-conseil/. Last accessed: 19th July 2010.
[12] This is a reply to an assertion like: "Life is not worthy without work".
[13] [CP[PolP[IP[VP...]]]].

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