

Studies in Language Variation

The series aims to include empirical studies of linguistic variation as well as its description, explanation and interpretation in structural, social and cognitive terms. The series will cover any relevant subdiscipline: sociolinguistics, contact linguistics, dialectology, historical linguistics, anthropology/anthropological linguistics. The emphasis will be on linguistic aspects and on the interaction between linguistic and extralinguistic aspects — not on extralinguistic aspects (including language ideology, policy etc.) as such.

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Volume 1

Language Variation – European Perspectives

Selected papers from the Third International Conference on Language Variation
in Europe (ICLaVE 3), Amsterdam, June 2005

Edited by Frans Hinskens

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Twenty-five authors on twelve languages, sixteen language varieties, and eighteen hundred and eighty-eight speakers

Frans Hinskens

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1. Foreword: background

From June 23 until 25, 2005, the third edition of the International Conference on Language Variation in Europe (ICLaVE 3) took place in Amsterdam. Over 160 linguists from 25 different countries participated in this conference, which was sponsored by the *Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW)*, the *Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO)*, the *Meertens Instituut*, the *Amsterdam Center for Language and Communication (ACLIC)* of the *Universiteit van Amsterdam*, as well as the *Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam*. The conference program featured 96 'regular talks', which had been selected on the basis of some 135 abstracts, 5 workshops with a total of 19 talks, and invited talks by Miklós Kontra (Budapest), Shana Poplack (Ottawa) and Johan Taeldeman (Ghent) — cf. the conference website www.iclave.org/2005/index.html, which still contains all the abstracts.

The texts of the three invited talks, as well as the texts of 40 'regular talks' and workshop presentations were subsequently submitted for publication. From the latter 40 texts, 13 have been selected for the present volume; the selection was based on the extensive evaluations by an international group of reviewers. Each paper was read, commented upon and evaluated by at least three reviewers; the reviewers were: *Sjef Barbiers, Hans Bennis, Ivo van Ginneken, Ton Goeman, Ben Hermans, Aniek IJbema, Mathilde Jansen, Willy Jongenburger, Olaf Koeneman, Wouter Kusters, Marika Lekakou, Alexandra Lenz, Marc van Oostendorp, Gertjan Postma, Maike Prehn, Marco-René Spruit* and the present author. The 13 selected papers as well as the texts of the contributions by the invited speakers, which were all edited and partly rewritten in the Spring and Summer of 2006, are presented in this volume.

The contributions by non-native speakers of English were corrected by *Jeroen van de Weijer*. *Aniek IJbema* was singlehandedly responsible for the technical realization of the book.

The remainder of this brief introduction is intended to provide a modest overview of the contributions, to point out a few aspects which make these contributions relevant to the overall issue of language variation in Europa at the beginning of the 21st century, as well as to tie together some of the aspects of the various studies.

Phrasal Verbs in Venetan and Regional Italian

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Abstract: In this contribution we investigate phrasal verbs in a group of Northern Italian dialects and provide evidence for two classes of constructs, which display distinct syntactic properties both in terms of constituency and with respect to the status of the preposition involved. We present the results from a test showing that the same constructs occur in the regional Italian variety spoken in the area and that they have the same properties in the dialect and in the regional standard. Moreover, a pilot study provides preliminary evidence for the idea that monolingual Italian speakers and bilingual Italian-dialectal speakers (contrasted with a control group of speakers of other regions) perceive the two classes of constructs in a different way and might play different roles in the development of this construction.

1. Introduction

In this article we intend to show that Veneto dialects have two types of phrasal verbs with distinct syntactic properties: transparent ones and non-transparent ones. In Sections 2 and 3, we will see that only non-transparent phrasal verbs display interesting connections with the thematic structure of the V, with the effect of modifying it, while transparent ones are neutral with respect to the thematic grid of the predicate.

On the basis of a small test, we will show in Section 4 that non-Venetan speakers only recognize and understand transparent phrasal verbs, thus providing further evidence for the division into two classes made on the basis of the syntactic behaviour. Here we use the adjective *Venetan*, first introduced by Mair Parry and Martin Maiden in their dialectological work (see Maiden & Parry 1997), to refer to speakers and varieties of the whole Veneto region, while the traditional English adjective *Venetian* is restricted to the speakers and language spoken in Venice.

As phrasal verbs also occur in regional Italian, we applied the test to bilingual (Venetan and Italian) and monolingual (only Italian) speakers and discovered that they perceive the two classes of phrasal verbs differently. On the basis of this split, we can postulate the hypothesis that monolingual and bilingual speakers have different roles in the spreading of the interference through the linguistic community. As far as we know, there is no work on phrasal verbs in the Veneto dialects (nor in Northern Italian dialects), while the bibliography on this topic in the Germanic languages is very large; we refer the reader to den Dikken (1995) and Dehe (2002) for a general overview. We do not take into consideration other

dialects, although the phenomenon of phrasal verbs is widespread in the whole Northern Italian domain. In Central and Southern dialects and standard Italian the phenomenon is far less systematic, although, as we will see, Central and Southern speakers recognize transparent constructs, while non-transparent ones are very rare (*far fuori*, *gettar via* are examples of this otherwise rare phenomenon; see Masini 2005 on standard Italian cases).

2. The formal properties of phrasal verbs

2.1 Verbs and prepositions

Phrasal verbs (from now on PhVs) are usually considered a phenomenon typical of Germanic languages (see den Dikken 1995, in particular ch. 2, for a general account). Although they are rare in standard Italian, they are widely attested in Northern Italian dialects and in the regional varieties of colloquial Italian spoken in northern and central Italy. We will here examine Venetan dialects, where all verb types can enter into a PhV, so we find examples with transitives, unaccusatives, inergatives, statives, achievements, accomplishments, and activities, as the following sentences show:

- (1) a. Vago fora
[I] go out
b. I ga magnà fora tuto
they have eaten out everything
“they ate up everything”
c. I ghe varda drio
They to him look behind
“they looked at him from behind (disapprovingly)”
d. El ghe sta drio
he to him/her stays behind
“he goes after her (he courts her)”
e. S-ciopa fora tuto
[It] burst out everything
“Everything is going to burst”

Capitalizing on Rizzi (1988), we assume that Romance languages have two types of prepositions, “lexical” and “functional” ones, with distinct syntactic properties. In Standard Italian only lexical prepositions, such as *fuori* and *sotto*, can be part of a PhV, i.e. prepositions that i) can occur without an object (cf. (2a)), ii) do not admit clustering with the article (as in (2b)), and iii) can (in some cases) select a PP — not directly a DP — headed by a functional P (cf. (2c)).

- (2) a. Gianni è andato fuori
Gianni is gone out
“G. went out”

- b. *L'ho messo sottol tavolo
[I] it-have put under-the table
“I have put it under the table”
c. Gianni è andato fuori di casa
Gianni is gone out of home
“G. went out”

Functional prepositions, which do not have the properties (i, ii, iii) outlined above, are *di* “of”, *a* “to”, *da* “from”, *in* “in”, *con* “with”, *per* “for, by”, *tra/fra* “between”: they never occur in a PhV. Lexical prepositions are *su* “up”, *giù* “down”, *sotto* “under”, *sopra* “on, above”, *dentro* “in”, *dietro* “behind”, *fuori* “out”, *in mezzo* “between”, *davanti* “in front”: they can appear in a PhV.

Su in fact has the properties both of a functional and a lexical preposition, as the following standard Italian examples show.

- (3) a. L'ho portato su
[I] it-have taken up
“I took it up / upstairs”
b. L'ho messo sul tavolo
[I] it-have put on-the table
“I put it on the table”
c. *L'ho messo su al tavolo
[I] it have put on at-the table
“I put it on at the table”

We hypothesize that this preposition belongs to both classes.

2.2 Transparent PhV constructions in Venetan

We define as transparent those PhVs in which the meaning of the compound is a function of the meaning of the two constituent elements, V and P. In other words, in transparent PhVs the preposition retains its original locational/directional status. This type of construct only occurs with verbs that imply a motion, such as the Venetan equivalents of ‘go’, ‘come’, ‘pull’, ‘push’, ‘put’, ‘raise’, ‘lower’, etc., even if they are not all unaccusative. In some cases transparent PhVs permit the expression of the location with respect to the speaker, while the corresponding synthetic forms of standard Italian do not: standard Italian *uscire* means both “go out” and “come out”, while Venetan distinguishes *ndar fora* “go out” and *vegner fora* “come out”. Venetan transparent PhVs can select a PP:

- (4) a. El ze ndà su sul tetto
He is gone up up-the roof
“He went up on the roof”

- b. El ze vegnuo fora in giardin
He is come out in(to) the garden
"He came out into the garden"
- c. El ze vegnuo zo par le scale
He is come down for the stairs
"He went down the stairs"

In transparent PhVs, the lexical P of the construct forms a constituent with the PP following it, as shown by the fact that they positively respond to the usual constituency tests: they can be moved together in topicalizations and cleft clauses, they can be used in isolation when answering a question (cf. (5)), and they cannot be split moving only the PP without the P (as shown by (6)).

- (5) a. Su sul teto, el ze ndà
Up up-the roof, he is gone
"Up on the roof, he went!"
- b. Dove zelo ndà? Su sul teto
Where is-he gone? Up up-the roof
"Where has he gone? Up on the roof"
- c. Ze su sul teto, che el ze ndà, no in cantina
[It] is up up-the roof, that he is gone, not in the cellar
"It's up on the roof that he has gone, not into the cellar"
- (6) a. *Sul teto, el ze ndà su
Up-the roof, he is gone up
- b. *Dove zelo ndà su?
Where is-he gone up?
- c. *Ze sul teto, che el ze ndà su
[It] is up-the roof, that he is gone up

In a few cases the PP following the preposition can also be moved alone, stranding the lexical preposition:

- (7) a. El ze ndà fora par la finestra
He is gone out for the window
"He went out of the window (through it)"
- b. Dove ze-lo ndà el folio?
Where is-it gone the sheet?
"Where did the sheet get to?"
- c. Fora par la finestra, el ze ndà
Out for the window, he is gone
"Out of the window, it went"
- d. Par dove ze-lo nda fora, Mario?
For where is-he gone out, Mario?
"Through where did Mario go out?"

- e. Par la finestra, el ze nda fora
For the window, he is gone out
"Through the window, he went out"

These cases need to be further examined and possibly attest another distinction internal to the class of transparent constructs, which we will not investigate in the present study.

When the preposition is not followed by a PP, it can occur in isolation as the answer to a question, or it can be coordinated, modified or focalized. This shows that it cannot be analyzed as a clitic head.

- (8) a. Dove zelo ndà? Su
Where is-he gone? Up
"Where has he gone? Up(stairs)"
- b. El ze ndà su e zo par do ore
He is gone up and down for two hours
"He went up and down for two hours"
- c. El ze ndà solo su (e no zo)
He is gone only up (and not down)
"He only went up (not down)"

These properties are not shared by non-transparent constructs.

2.3 Non-transparent constructs

Non-transparent PhVs have a 'lexical' character; since the meaning of the PhV is not a compositional function of the two components, the P does not retain its original 'locational / directional' meaning. The syntax of these constructs is also different, as the P never forms a constituent with the following object, which has to be moved alone in topicalization and cleft clauses:

- (9) a. El se ga magnà FORA I SCHEI
He himself has eaten out the money
"He spent / squandered all his money"
- b. *FORA I SCHEI el se ga magnà
Out the money he himself has eaten
- c. I SCHEI el se ga magnà FORA
The money he himself has eaten out
- d. Ze I SCHEI che el ga magnà FORA
[It]'s the money that he has eaten out
- e. *Ze FORA I SCHEI che el se ga magnà
[It]'s out the money that he has eaten

Moreover, the P cannot occur in isolation, nor can it be coordinated or modified, which testifies to its status as a head: in (10a) the only possible interpretation of

the V+P is the transparent one (as indicated by the translation), not the non-transparent one.

- (10) a. %llo ga tirà su e zo'
 They him have pull up and down
 "They pulled him up and down"
 "**They alternatively cheered him up and made him sad"
- b. Come li ga-lo magnai? *Fora
 How them has-he eaten? Out
 "How did they eat it? Out".
- c. *I lo ga magnà solo fora
 they it have eaten only out
 "They ate it only out"

Contrary to transparent PhVs, in these cases the verb is not necessarily a motion verb. Moreover, the preposition does not seem to keep its original meaning: this is also shown by the fact that different dialects use different prepositions for the same semantics: *broar su/zo* (lit. wash up/down) "wash the dishes" *buttar fora/tirar su* (lit. throw out, pull up) "throw up". In non-transparent constructs, the preposition acquires an aspectual value and can change the thematic grid of the verb. Contrary to transparent PhVs, which are identical in the whole Northern Italian area, aspectual ones differ from one dialect to the other (as noted for the case of *broar zu/zo*, wash up/down "wash the dishes", which has the same meaning and a different preposition in two dialects).

3. The aspectual use of two Ps, *fora* "out" and *su* "up".

3.1 Terminative aspect and the preposition *fora* "out"

The Venetan preposition *fora* conveys terminative aspect, but not all verbs that can in principle have terminative aspect can occur with the preposition *fora*. Here are some examples: *magnar fora*, literally eat out, "use up", *brusar fora*, burn out, "burn up", *dir fora*, speak out, "spill the beans", *sbrigar fora*, "tidy up", *parar fora*, pull out, "conclude, complete", *vendar fora*, "sell out", *bevar fora*, "drink up", *darghene fora*, give out of it, "work out", *ndarghene fora*, go out of it, "id.", *spacar fora*, break out, "break open", *robar fora*, rob out, "rip off", *marsarse fora*, 'rot out', *netar fora*, clean out, "clean up" *verzarse fora*, open out, "clear up", *cavarse fora*, pull oneself out, "to get oneself out of trouble" or else "grow up well after a difficult start", *ciamarse fora*, call oneself out, "withdraw". All the verbs that can be construed with the P *fora* require a direct, indirect or reflexive object (a deep object in the case of unaccusatives, as in (11d)).

¹ The symbol % indicates that the sentence is only possible in the non-relevant interpretation (described in the text) of a transparent construct. In the relevant reading of a non-transparent construct, the sentence is ungrammatical.

- (11) a. El se ga magnà fora tuto
 He himself has eaten up everything
 "He has eaten up everything"
- b. El ga parà fora el lavoro
 He has pushed out the work
 "He finished his work"
- c. El ghe ne da fora
 He of-it gets out
 "He works it out"
- d. El tempo el se ga verto fora
 The weather it is cleared up
 "The weather cleared up"

No intransitives are found in these constructions. Moreover, no detransitivisation process can apply to a transitive verb with the P, even if the bare verb has an intransitive version:

- (12) a. El magna
 He eats
- b. %El magna fora
 "He eats up"

In (12a) the verb 'to eat' is detransitivized, but if the P *fora* is added, only a transparent construct is possible ("he has eaten outdoors"), and the interpretation "eat up" is blocked.

Interestingly, the speakers who were interviewed for this study tend to realize 'everything' as the object of the terminative construct, and the object in all cases is understood as either destroyed or removed. Hence, the presence of *fora* as a terminative marker requires a special affected object.²

3.2 Aspectual usages of the preposition *su* "up"

In Venetan the P *su* "up" can also convey a terminative meaning, as in the case of *serar su* "close up":

² There are also other constructions which are sensitive to the specific thematic role of the object: the auxiliary of passive *andare* 'to go' can only be used with verbs that imply this type of affected object (Benincà & Poletto 1994):

- (i) a. I documenti sono andati bruciati /perduti /distrutti
 The documents are gone burnt /lost /destroyed
- b. *I documenti sono andati letti /archiviati /firmati
 The documents are gone read /filed /signed

- (13) a. El ga serà su tuto da note
 He has closed up all for night
 "He shut up everything for the night"
 b. El se ga serà su
 He himself has closed up
 "He shut himself up"

In some cases the PhV is similar to its English counterpart: *taser su*, in the dialect of Fossalta di Piave, corresponds literally and semantically to *shut up*. Some cases that are apparently intermediate between a transparent and a non-transparent interpretation look like metaphors, in which on the one hand the preposition retains part of its original meaning, and while the form also displays the behaviour of non-transparent cases; see for example *tirar su* pull up "bring up, give an education":

- (14) a. *SU I FIOI el ga tirà da solo (no su i nevodi)
 UP THE KIDS, he has pulled by himself (not up the nephews)
 "UP THE KIDS, he brought by himself"
 b. I FIOI, el ga tirà su da solo (no i nevodi)
 THE KIDS, he has pulled up by himself (not the nephews)
 "THE KIDS, he brought up by himself"

For the moment we do not investigate these cases.

It may be hard to see why the same dialect should have two Ps that seem to express the same aspectual value, while more complex forms are used for other aspectual usages such as the durative, as illustrated below:

- (15) El ze che el lavora come un mato
 He is that he works like a mad[man]
 "he is working madly, a lot"

Notice, however, that there is a basic difference between the two Ps, as *fora* requires an affected object, while *su* does not (as shown by cases like (13)). Hence, the thematic structure of the verb is crucial in selecting the P. Moreover, in some dialects *su* also has a different aspectual value, viz. of 'prospective' (i.e. 'not completely') with verbs like the following: *inbroiar su* "cheat up", *far su* lit. do up, "fold", *intrigar su* "mix up", *imbastir su* "draft up", *giustar su*, fix up, "mend", *incalcar su* "press up", *pacagnar su* "glue up", *petar su* "stick up", *ingrumar su* "gather up". In most cases the verb also contributes to the meaning of incompleteness, but at least in the case of *giustar su* "remedy up" it does not. Notice that when the P has a prospective value, it also requires the presence of an affected object.

3.3 Changes in the argumental structure

As seen above, while Venetan *fora* requires a special affected object when expressing terminative aspect, *su* does not require any special thematic role if it expresses terminative aspect, but it does when it expresses prospective aspect. More generally, the presence of the P can also change the type of argument selected by the verb:

- (16) Co le so barzelete i ga tirà su Gianni
 With their jokes they have pulled up Gianni
 "With their jokes, they brought up G."

In (16) the type of thematic role of the object is necessarily animate, while the corresponding basic verb does not impose such a requirement. The same is true with *fora* in the case of *saltar fora* literally "jump up" meaning "crop up", which can have an inanimate subject, while usually the verb *saltar* "jump" has an animate subject.

Furthermore, in some cases *su* induces the presence of a dative:

- (17) a. El me ze saltà su
 He to-me is jumped up
 "He answered back rudely"
 b. Me go messo su le braghe
 [I] to-me have put up the trousers
 "I put my trousers on"

In other cases the presence of *su* seems to further enlarge the thematic grid from an intransitive to a ditransitive:

- (18) a. I ghe la ga petà su
 They to-him it have sticked up
 "they made him/her have it"
 b. Sta teccia la peta
 This pan it sticks
 "This pan is sticky"

In yet other cases *su* seems to absorb the thematic role of the object leaving only the dative object, e.g. *dir* "say" is a ditransitive verb, while *dir su* "tell off" only has a dative and the object is normally implicit (in some cases an 'internal object' of the type "dream a dream"):

- (19) a. El me ga dito su (parole/de tuto)
 He to-me has told up (words/everything)
 "He scolded me"

- b. *El me ga dito su complimenti / questo / che el va via
 He to-me has told up compliments / this / that he goes away

We can conclude that aspectual Ps influence the thematic grid of the verb in different ways: they impose semantic restrictions on arguments that are already present in the thematic grid of the verb, but they can also add an argument or render it implicit.

4. The distribution of phrasal verbs in the linguistic spectrum

In Veneto the linguistic competence of a native speaker normally comprises four levels, with the most informal level taken up by the dialect, the highest level by standard Italian, and two intermediate levels, the regional dialect and the regional variety of Italian (cf. Pellegrini 1974, Lepschy & Lepschy 1977: 13 ff.). Phrasal verbs are a good test for examining how interference phenomena spread through the community, as they are originally dialectal constructs, which have, however, become extremely common in regional spoken Italian. So the PhV's examined above occur in the local dialect, in the regional dialect and in the regional variety of Italian — but not in standard Italian.

4.1 The perception test

We conducted a pilot test with three classes of speakers: a) seven bilingual speakers (of Venetan and Italian), b) five monolingual Italian speakers brought up in Veneto, c) 10 non-Venetan speakers from other regions, as a control group (3 from Sicily, 1 from Tuscany, 2 from Puglia, 2 from Campania, where the systematic PhVs constructions seen above are not found, and 2 from northwestern regions, where only transparent constructs are the same). The age span ranges from 28 to 40 and includes both female and male subjects. All informants have a university degree.

The test consists of 13 Italian sentences each containing a phrasal verb of either the transparent or the non-transparent (aspectual) type. Informants were asked to judge the sentences as "normal colloquial Italian" or as "dialectal Italian". Although the scale suggested was either 0 (for normal Italian) or 1 (for dialectal Italian), a few speakers spontaneously used a more detailed scale when providing their judgments.

4.2 The results

Some generalizations clearly emerge from this first pilot test, others need further testing and more refined hypotheses. We summarize here only the data from the pilot test, which include transparent constructions and non-transparent constructions with *fuori* "out" and *su* "up".

Table 1: *The results of the pilot test*

Construction	Type of speaker		
	Bilingual Italian/Veneto class (a)	Monolingual in Veneto class (b)	Control group class (c)
Transparent	100% colloquial Italian	100% colloquial Italian	87% colloquial Italian 13% dialectal
Non-transp. <i>fuori</i>	12% colloquial Italian 88% dialectal	100% dialectal	5% colloquial Italian 95% dialectal
Non-transp. <i>su</i>	8% colloquial Italian 92% dialectal	100% colloquial Italian	23% colloquial Italian 77% dialectal

Non-Venetan speakers (the control group) recognize transparent phrasal verbs as colloquial Italian in the majority of the cases (as the table indicates, they do so in the 87% of the cases). Among the non-transparent ones, some are incomprehensible to them or, if interpreted, are mainly felt as dialectal variants from another region. No difference was found in the judgments according to age (span from 28 to 40) or sex (3 men and 6 women). All informants have a university degree.

Among the monolingual Italian speakers brought up in Veneto (group b) only the non-transparent phrasal verbs with *fuori* "out" are perceived as dialectal, while all constructs with *su* "up" are accepted as colloquial Italian, as well as all transparent constructs. The polarization between the two prepositions seems interesting, as it might suggest that *su* has already grammaticalized as an aspectual affix while *fuori* has not.

Bilingual speakers (group a), on the other hand, considered the majority of the cases of non-transparent constructs as dialectal, while accepting as colloquial Italian the transparent ones, thus reproducing essentially the judgments of class (c) speakers.

4.3 Interpreting the results

It seems as if transparent PhVs are interpreted by non-Venetan speakers using a general compositional device, which adds the meaning of the P to the meaning of the verb. Therefore, these cases are perceived as possible, although the speaker might not use them in his/her own variety of Italian. Non-compositional constructs (like aspectual ones) cannot be subject to the same interpretive compositional procedure, thereby confirming that it is correct to distinguish the two types of constructs on the basis of their meaning. Interestingly, no speaker added as a note that he/she did not understand the sentence in the case of transparent constructs, while this was often the case with non-transparent ones. As we pointed out above, the semantic distinction is matched by syntactic differences between the two classes of phrasal verbs, because the P of non-transparent constructs forms a constituent with the verb and affects the thematic grid.

As for the difference between monolingual and bilingual speakers living in Veneto (types (b) and (a), respectively), it is clear that bilingual speakers perceive most non-transparent constructs as dialectal because of their dialectal competence. In other words, they can compare the two languages, and consider as dialectal also those cases that are commonly used by non-dialectal speakers. On the basis of this difference, we propose as a first working hypothesis that monolingual and bilingual speakers have different 'roles' in the spreading of the interference across the linguistic community: bilingual speakers would be those originally producing the interference between Venetan and colloquial Italian, hence the source of the change, but, given the fact that they have competence in both languages and can compare them, they recognize it immediately as dialectal when asked, and will probably also refrain from using the forms judged as dialectal in more formal contexts, i.e. when speaking standard Italian. In this perspective, monolingual speakers, who do not have competence in the dialect, would acquire the forms circulating in the community, but, as they cannot compare them with the dialect of their competence, they would not recognize them as an interference with Venetan and would possibly use them (only those with *su*, though) also in more formal registers. Moreover, only one of the two Ps examined here (namely *su*) is already interpreted as colloquial Italian by monolingual speakers, the other (namely *fuori*) is still judged as a dialectal construct in 100% of the cases.

Summing up: bilingual speakers would seem to be the source, but probably not the transmitter, of the change; monolingual speakers act like 'pivots' in extending the form to more formal contexts.

4.4 A second test

One further interesting field of investigation concerns the formal properties of PhVs. We have seen that the two classes of transparent and non-transparent constructs have different syntactic properties. When these forms are extended to colloquial Italian, do they maintain their original syntactic properties?

A further test was conducted only with the same monolingual speakers brought up in Veneto (type (b)), and specifically the speakers who did not identify aspectual constructs with *su* or transparent constructs as non-standard. They were asked to judge the same sentences presented for Venetan speakers in Section 2 and 3, which show that transparent and non-transparent constructs behave differently with respect to constituency tests. In contrast to our examples above, the test sentences were in Italian, rather than in Venetan, as shown below. The subjects provided exactly the same judgments as bilingual speakers:

- (5') a. Su sul tetto, è andato
Up up-the roof, is gone
"Up on the roof, he went"
b. Dove è andato? Su sul tetto
Where is gone? Up up-the roof
"Where did he go? Up on the roof"

- c. E' su sul tetto, che è andato, non in cantina
[It] is up up-the roof, that [s/he] is gone, not into the cellar
"It's up on the roof that s/he went, not into the cellar"
- (6') a. ??Sul tetto, è andato su
Up-the roof, is gone up
"On the roof he went up"
b. ??Dove è andato su?
Where is gone up?
"Where did he go up?"
c. ??E' sul tetto che è andato su
Is up-the roof that is gone up
"It's on the roof that he went up"
- (8') b. *Lo ha messo su per tre ore
It has put up for three hours
"He put it on (= cooked) for three hours"
- (9') b. *Fuori i soldi si è mangiato
Out the money himself is eaten
"He spent / squandered his money"
c. I soldi si è mangiato fuori
The money himself is eaten up
"The money himself is eaten up"

Hence, the formal properties of the PhV constructs do not vary when they are borrowed from Venetan into colloquial Italian.

5. Conclusion

In this article we have postulated the hypothesis that phrasal verbs in Venetan fall into two classes with distinct semantic and syntactic properties. When they are borrowed from colloquial regional Italian those properties remain constant. Moreover, we have hypothesized that monolingual speakers of standard Italian and bilingual speakers of Venetan and Italian have different roles in the speech community: bilingual speakers would be the first to transfer these constructs from one language to the other, while monolingual speakers would be those that extend it to more formal contexts. This hypothesis obviously needs further scrutiny in the domain under investigation and outside it.

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Regional variation in intonation Nuclear rising-falling contours in Cologne German

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Abstract: Previous research on regional variation in intonation has shown that varieties may differ with respect to their tonal inventory and details of phonetic realisation as well as with respect to the functions or 'meanings' of specific intonation contours. The present study deals with the nuclear rising-falling intonation contour in the regional variety of Cologne. A sample of 350 utterances with a nuclear rise-fall was chosen from naturally occurring dialogue and was then submitted to formal and functional analysis within the frameworks of autosegmental metrical theory and interactional linguistics, respectively. In the present study, the Cologne rise-fall will be compared to rise-falls in other varieties of German. Four different types of rise-falls will be presented, according to their tune-text association. The functional analysis strongly relies on the participant perspective. By analysing the co-occurrence of the contour with turn-holding devices on other linguistic levels and by taking into account the way the participants themselves react to it in ongoing interaction, it will be demonstrated that the Cologne rise-fall serves as a turn-holding device.

1. Introduction*

This study reports on the form and functions of the nuclear rising-falling intonation contour in the regional variety of Cologne. The variety of Cologne is part of the Central Franconian dialect area, located in the north-western part of the West Middle German dialect area (Newton 1990). One of its specific suprasegmental characteristics is the existence of lexical tone contrasts, which it shares with the dialects of the Central Franconian region and some dialects of the southern Low Franconian region.¹ As has been shown by Peters (2004), Gilles (2005), Gussenhoven & Peters (2004) and others, the lexical tones may interfere with sentence intonation on the phonetic level: Tone accent 1 leads to a rapid rise or fall on the accented syllable, while tone accent 2 leads to a lengthened accented syllable with level intonation.

Since the primary concern of the present study is with the nuclear intonation movement as a whole and not with the details of its phonetic realisation, tone accents will not be considered here.² The nuclear rise-fall has been described not

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¹ Gussenhoven (2000), Gussenhoven & Aarts (1999), Gussenhoven & Peters (2004), Gussenhoven & van der Vliet (1999), Heike (1964), Peters (2004), Schmidt (1986, 2002).

² It should be mentioned that the problem at hand is in fact a little bit more complex: According to Peters (2004), who himself refers to a study of Künzel & Schmidt (2001), the final fall of the