

Colloque international

La prédication existentielle dans les langues naturelles : valeurs et repérages, structures et modalités



Rue Halévy, vue d'un sixième étage(Gustave Caillebotte, 1878)

10-11 avril 2015

INALCO

Salle 4.24

65 rue des Grands Moulins
75013 Paris



Programme

Vendredi 10 avril 2015

- 09h00-9h45** Accueil des participants
9h45-10h00 Ouverture du colloque
- 10h00-10h30** **Anne Carlier**(STL, Université de Lille 3), **Bert Cappelle** (STL, Université de Lille 3), **Benjamin Fagard** (Lattice, CNRS & ENS), **Machteld Meulleman** (Université de Reims), **Katia Paykin** (STL, Université de Lille 3)
Parallel corpora as a tool for the analysis of existential constructions
- 10h30-11h00** **Rachel Szekely** (Long Island University, NY)
To locate is not predicate: on the different role of location in existential and locative copular sentences
- 11h00-11h30** **Pause**
- 11h30-12h30** **Conférence invitée : Denis Creissels** (Université de Lyon 2)
Existential predication and transpossession constructions in the languages of the world
- 12h30-14h00** **Déjeuner**
- 14h00-14h30** **Toni Bassaganyas** (Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona)
Existential possessive and perfect constructions in Old Catalan
- 14h30-15h00** **Vladimir Plungian** (Institute for Linguistic Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow State University)
Russianstat'as an existential verb: paradoxes of historical evolution
- 15h00-15h30** **Dmitrij Sichinava** (Département de Linguistique à l'Institut de recherches scientifique, VŠE Haute école d'études économiques, Moscou)
Russian bylo: grammaticalization, cliticization and discourse marker
- 15h30-15h50** **Pause**
- 15h50-16h50** **Conférence invitée : Daniel Weiss** (Université de Zürich)
The interplay of semantics and syntax: the case of Russian possessive constructions
- 16h50-17h20** **Elena Paducheva** (Russian Academy of Sciences, VINITI)
Russian verbs byt' and byvat'- existential and non-existential meanings
- 17h20-17h50** **Katia Paykin, Danièle Van de Velde** (Université Lille 3, UMR 8163 STL)
Possession, localisation et existence en russe et en français

Samedi 11 avril 2015

09h15-09h30 **Accueil**

09h30-10h00 **Anne Theissen** (Université de Strasbourg, EA 1339 LILPA-Scolia)
Une fois/Un jour comme pivot existentiel de prédication

10h00-10h30 **Rivka Halevy** (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel)
The Existential construction in Modern Hebrew: a constructionist approach

10h30-10h50 **Pause**

10h50-11h50 **Conférence invitée : Alain Rouveret** (Université Paris Diderot,LLF, CNRS)
Phrases existentielles et phrases équatives dans les langues celtiques

11h50-12h20 **Laure Sarda** (Lattice), **Anne Carlier**(STL, Lille 3), **Frédérique Becquet** (Lattice),
Bert Cappelle (STL, Lille 3), **Charlotte Danino** (Université de Poitiers), **Benjamin Fagard** (Lattice), **Zsuzsanna Gecseg** (Université deSzeged, Hongrie), **Machteld Meulleman** (Université de Reims), **Katia Paykin** (STL, Lille 3), **Eva Soroli** (STL, Lille 3), **Fayssal Tayalati** (STL, Lille 3)
No such things as distinct non-existential constructions in Western Europe? Counterevidence from Dutch, English and French

12h20-12h50 **Anna Kuritsina** (Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow), **Ilya Itkin**
(National Research University "Higher School of Economics", Moscow)
3rd person sg and pl present forms on existential constructions in tocharian

12h50-14h20 **Déjeuner**

14h20-14h50 **Alexandra Kozhukhar** (NRUHSE, Moscow)
Existential constructions in Temirgoy Adyghe

14h50-15h20 **ItoTatsuya**(Université des langues étrangères de Nagoya, Japon)
Iru et Aru : deux verbes qui marquent l'existence en japonais

15h20-15h50 **Amélie Manente** (Paris Descartes)
Prédication existentielle en vietnamien

15h50-16h10 **Pause**

16h10-16h40 **Zsuzsanna Gecseg** (Université de Szeged, Hongrie)
The syntactic position of the subject in Hungarian existential constructions

16h40-17h10 **Victor Pan**(LLF-UMR 7110, CNRS&Université Paris Diderot - Paris 7)
Existential Quantification over Wh-variable in Mandarin Chinese

17h15 **Clôture du colloque**

COMITÉ SCIENTIFIQUE

Vincent Bénet, Natalia Bernitskaïa, Christine Bonnot, Tatiana Bottineau, Christine Bracquenier, Probal Dasgupta, Anaïd Donabédian, Marta Donazzan, Outi Duvallon, Eva Havu, Christine Lamarre, Claire Le Feuvre, Alexandru Mardale, Hans Robert Mehlig, Annie Montaut, Vladimir Plungian, Graham Ranger, Alain Rouveret, Sophie Vassilaki, Daniel Weiss

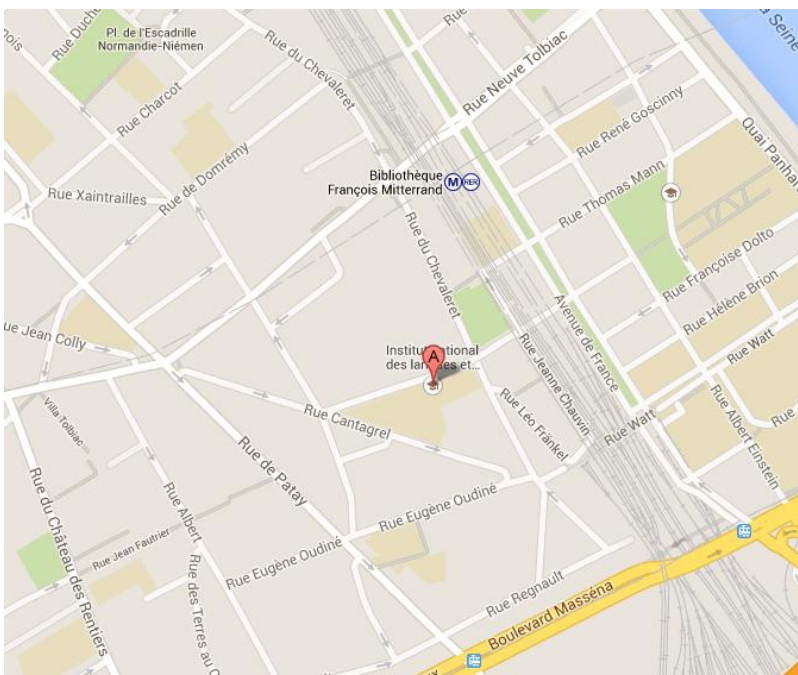
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RESUMES DES INTERVENTIONS

Parallel corpora as a tool for the analysis of existential constructions

Sarda Laure (Lattice, Cnrs & Ens)
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Danino Charlotte (Poitiers)
Fagard Benjamin (CNRS & Ens)
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Meulleman Machteld (Reims)
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Soroli Eva (Lille 3)
Tayalati Fayssal (Lille 3)

The difficulty to give a precise and non-circular definition of existential predication, which distinguishes existential predication from locative predication, is well-known. McNally (2011 :1829) provides the following definition, which contains both the terms of ‘existence’ and ‘presence’ : the term ‘existential sentence’ is used to refer to a specialized or non-canonical construction which expresses a proposition about the existence or the presence of someone or something. Adopting a typological perspective, Creissels (2014) deals more directly with the distinction between existential and locational predication. He considers that a language has a dedicated existential predicative construction if this construction is distinct from the canonical locational predication. Both existential and locational predication involve two entities, (i) a Figure, typically a concrete entity conceived as movable, and (ii) a Ground, typically a concrete entity conceived as fixed or less movable in space, and they establish an episodic relationship between these two entities of the type ‘Figure is at Ground’. There is however a difference in perspectivization : whereas the locational predicative construction is centered around the entity which corresponds to the Figure, the existential predicative construction is centered around the Ground or location. As a consequence, in languages that express the distinction between existence and location by means of information structure, the existential predicative construction is characterized by the fact that the Ground is the default topic, whereas the Figure is the focus.

Rather than starting from structural criteria or from a semantic or functional discursive definition, this paper intends to contribute to the definition and the delimitation of existential predication by a more empirical approach: on the basis of a corpus of morphosyntactically aligned translations, we will offer a crosslinguistic overview of the relationships between the various strategies of expressing existential predication constructions. The languages involved in the comparison are French, Italian, Romanian and Spanish, Dutch, English and German, Serbian and Russian, Greek, and also two non Indo-European languages, Hungarian and Arabic. Starting from a grammaticalized existential construction in the source language, for instance *there is/are* in English, *hay* in Spanish, *il y a* in French, we will study the set of constructions which corresponds to this construction in each of the different target languages.

For each of the languages involved in the comparison, the following research questions will be dealt with:

- (i) Is there a grammaticalized existential predicative construction? Is there rather a competition between different constructions expressing existential predication? To what extent are these structures grammaticalized expressions of existential predication?
- (ii) What are the structural and discourse functional properties of the existential predicative construction(s)?
- (iii) Can we explain the structural and discourse functional properties of the existential predicative construction(s) in each language by taking into account its typological characteristics with respect to morphosyntax? (cf. Koch 2012)

Key-words

Existence, Location, Information structure, Corpus linguistics, Comparative Linguistics, Typological Linguistics

References

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To locate is not to predicate: On the different role of location in existential-*there* and locative copular sentences

Szekely
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The observed commonalities between existential-*there* and locative copular sentences in English and other languages have been frequently cited (Clark 1978, Freeze 1992, among others), and these sentence types are often held to stand in a transformational relationship of some kind (e.g. Harris 1957, Safir 1982, Chomsky 1981, 1995, among others). This paper focuses on important contrasts between the two sentence types in English, casting doubt on the notion that they share an underlying form. I conclude that whereas location is a crucial component of the existential-*there* sentence, it does not play this special role in the copular form.

Sentences such as 1 and 2 invite an analysis in which the *there*-sentence is a stylistic or transformational variant of the locative copular sentence:

1. A man is in the garden.
2. There is a man in the garden.

Although 1 and 2 are synonymous, it is not difficult to find examples that do not share this easy relationship. Milsark (1974) already observes that there are *there*-sentences with no copular counterpart, as in 3–4, and that a number of nouns can appear postverbally in the *there*-sentence but not as subjects of the locative copular sentence, as in 5–6.

3. There is a Santa Claus. *No copular counterpart*
4. *Santa Claus is.
5. There is red on the wall. *Not a possible subject*
6. *Red is on the wall.

These restrictions are quite general. No “bare” existential sentence (*there*-sentence without a coda) has a copular counterpart, and nominal expressions that cannot stand as subjects of the locative copular sentence but are licensed in the postverbal position include not only color terms such as *red* but also mass nouns (*salt, water*), property nominalizations (*wisdom, truth*), and other entities that are existentially dependent (*holes, flaws*).

An analysis of these contrasts motivates a revision to the standard view about the shared role of location in these sentence types. Following a suggestion in Strawson (1959), I propose the existential-*there* sentence is not subject–predicate in form, whereas the locative copular sentence is. Location is invariably crucial to the truth of a *there*-sentence, but not the locative copular sentence, where the crucial thing for truth is whether an item has the property it is said to have (whether or not it is locative). Further, the *there*-sentence cannot be used to predicate anything of any other thing, unlike the copular sentence. A number of well-known

grammatical properties distinguishing the *there*-sentence from the locative copular sentence can be seen to fall out from this analysis: the presence of an expletive (signals lack of subject/predication), definiteness effects (the construction contains no expressions referring to or quantifying over individuals), and the stage-individual-level distinction (a restriction against properties that do not change on the basis of the entity that has them).

Keywords

Existential *there*-sentence, locative copular sentence, locative predication, existential predication

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Existential predication and transpossessionive constructions in the languages of the world

Creissels Denis, Lyon 2

The predicative constructions commonly designated as ‘existential’ share with plain locational predication the ability to encode prototypical figure-ground relationships, but encode a different perspectivization of figure-ground relationships: English *The book is on the table* vs. *There is a book (on the table)*, French *Le livre est sur la table* vs. *Il y un livre (sur la table)*, etc. Many languages (probably the majority of the world’s languages) do not have an existential predicative construction really distinct from the locational predicative construction. There is however a substantial minority of the world’s languages in which existential predication involves a predicator also found in a possessive construction of the transpossessionive type, defined as a predicative construction in which the semantic roles of possessor and possessee are assigned to the referents of noun phrases whose coding characteristics are identical to those of the agent and patient of typical action verbs.

The notion of possession defined as inclusion in the personal sphere of an individual has an obvious affinity with the notion of location at some place. This explains why possessive predications more or less aligned with locational predication are so common. However, this affinity should not be overestimated. Some decades ago, it was commonly admitted that transitive verbs of possession constitute a typological oddity of modern European languages, and are virtually absent in the languages spoken in other parts of the world. More recently, Freeze (1992) put forward a more elaborate version of the view that locative, existential and possessive predications derive from a single underlying structure in which “a preposition is the head of the predicate phrase”, but such views are not supported by typological data.

Transpossessionive constructions are quite frequent in the languages of the world, and existential constructions involving a predicator also found in a transpossessionive construction are not rare. They are very common not only in Central and South Europe, but also in the Northern part of Sub-Saharan Africa (particularly among Atlantic languages), in South-East Asia, and among Pidgin and Creole languages (including many Creoles varieties whose lexifier language does not have this type of existential predication). The historical development of existential constructions from transpossessionive constructions can be analyzed as starting from the depersonalization of the possessive construction: *X has Y > (at some place) they have Y > (at some place) Y is available > (at some place) there is Y*

Another important aspect of the relationship between existential predication and transpossessionive constructions is the ‘have-drift’ (acquisition of coding properties typical of transitive predication) that may affect possessive predications in which the possessee is originally encoded like the figure in a locational/existential predication. Finnish, Maltese, Israeli Hebrew, and Amharic are among the languages in which this has been observed.

The main conclusion is that a typological investigation of existential predication and predicative possession does not support the view according to which the notion of possession

would be a mere excrescence of location/existence. Possessive constructions that clearly do not derive from locative/existential predication are a common source of existential predication, and possessive constructions whose source is clearly locative/existential predication may acquire coding properties typical of transitive predication. An explanation of the complex relationships between existential predication, predicative possession, and transitive predication can be found in the fact that prototypical possessors, like prototypical agents, are human, and therefore inherently topical, whereas prototypical grounds are inanimate entities occupying a fixed position in space. Moreover, the ambiguity of possessive relationships with respect to control contrasts with the irrelevance of the notion of control for figure-ground relationships.

Key words

existential predication, locational predication, transpossession constructions, *have*-drift

Main references

Creissels (2013), Freeze (1992), Partee & Borschev (2004), Stassen (2009)

Existential, possessive and perfect constructions in Old Catalan

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This study focuses on the use of *haver* (to have) in Old Catalan. It deals with four of the functions of this verb: possessive verb (1a), existential *have* (Keenan 1987; 1b), existential constructions (1c)¹ and (apparent) perfect auxiliary for unaccusative verbs². The latter three show a definiteness effect in Old Catalan.

1a) lo rey **hac** lo castell de Xàtiva
the king had.3.SG the castle of Xàtiva

1b) Frare Valentinian **avia** un german
Friar Valentinian had.IMP.3.SG a brother

1c) en Aragó **avia** un rei qui era molt gran malfeytor
in Aragon had.IMP.3.SG a king who was.3.PL very great evil-doer
There was knight in Aragon who was a great evil-doer

1d) y **havia** ben CC cavallers armats **venguts**
LOC had.IMP.3.SG well 200 knights.PL armed.PL come.PL
a good 200 armed knights had come

The study proposes a syntactic and semantic analysis of *haver* intended to unify these four uses. Syntactically, they are all argued to have the structure in 2 (exemplified with sentence 1d). The analysis assumes that a locative/dative phrase or pronoun can be a subject, triggering 3rd person singular agreement on the verb. The unaccusative past participle is analyzed as a secondary predicate.

2) [_{IP} [_{XP} y] [_{VP/V} [havia [_{NP} ben CC cavallers armats]] [_{AP} venguts]]]

Semantically, *haver* is taken to have two denotational variants that both express a relation of central coincidence R (Hale (1986), Rapoport (to appear)), in the sense that they place a figure into a ground. The latter notion can be extended to a human being standing as the possessor in a possessive relation.

¹ 13th century Catalan also shows existential uses of *ésser* (to be).

ia) Fora la ciutat eren VII demonis qui aucisien los hòmens
Outside the city were seven demons who killed the men

This existential use of *ésser* borders with locative and copular uses of the same verb. These constructions are less frequent than the ones with *haver* even in the 13th century, and disappear from the language in the 14th century. They might be a remnant of a previous stage in which the language did not have a specialized existential predicate (as defined by Creissels 2013). In spite of their relevance for obtaining a complete picture of existential predication in Old Catalan, they will be left out of the present analysis.

² Old Catalan displayed what is sometimes called 'split intransitivity': unaccusative verbs formed their perfects with *ésser* (to be), not with *haver*; however, the data shows a consistent minority of examples where unaccusative verbs combine with *haver* already in the first texts.

3a) $\|haver1\| = \lambda x \lambda y (R(x,y))$

3b) $\|haver2\| = \lambda P \lambda x \exists y (R(x,y) \wedge P(y))$

I will argue that the first variant is used for possessive sentences like 1a, where the relation holds between two entities already introduced into the discourse. In the second variant, based on Van Geenhoven (1998), the internal argument contributes a property that will restrict the variable y and *haver* contributes existential quantification over that variable, corresponding to a novel discourse referent. Sentences analyzed using 3b) assert the existence of an entity (a figure) standing in a central coincidence relation with a (discourse familiar) ground, be it human (1b) or a place (1c); sentences with unaccusatives are found with both, as they always occur either with a locative or dative argument (and a definiteness effect).

This analysis, which will be developed further in the talk, treats possessive sentences with existential interpretation and existential sentences as equivalent but for the fact that the latter have a locative/dative subject; and that sentences with *haver* + unaccusative verbs are in fact existential uses of *haver* with an unaccusative participle acting as a secondary predicate. An analysis in these terms might shed some light on why *haver* should be the existential predicate in Catalan, on the nature of the relation between possessive and existential sentences, on how the combination *haver* + unaccusative verbs entered the Catalan language (eventually displacing the perfect with *ser*), and might help pave the way for a unified analysis of all the uses of *haver* in Old Catalan and in Romance in general.

Keywords

existentials, possessives, Old Catalan, unaccusativity

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Russian *bylo* : grammaticalization, cliticization and discourse marker

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The Russian particle *bylo* 'be.PRAET.SG.N' has become, since the 17th century, a specific grammaticalized marker with quite a few specific uses that are not always properly discerned in existing literature. These uses sometimes overlap and interact and exhibit some typological parallels with the BE-forms grammaticalized in other languages.

The uses, as exemplified by the Russian National Corpus (RNC) data, are as follows:

1) The *-l* + *bylo*-construction with the semantics of cancelled result and/or unfinished (barely begun) action: *On poshel bylo, no vernulsja* 'He just started, but came back'. It is used not only with Past *-l*-forms proper, but also with participles, gerunds, and zero verb [Barentsen 1986, Kagan 2011]. This form is generally descended from the Old East Slavic supercompound (surcomposé) pluperfect *poshъlъ bylъ*, with parallels also in Ukrainian and Belarusian, and yet further ones, within a broader typological context. The form has also experienced an influence of the finite form *bylo*.

2) An experiential (EXPER) and past-habitual (PASTHAB, [Dahl 1985]) construction, marginally attested in spoken and literary texts. Unlike the first use, it is combined with all the three tenses, and *bylo* serves here as a discourse marker. This meaning expressed in a more standard speech by the *byvalo* particle, which is also an existential marker derived from a secondarily imperfectivized BE-verb. This construction has emerged due to serialization of different predicates: 'there has been (in such a way, that...)' and is also rather old (cf. the dialectal parallel with the so-called *supfluousest*')

3) A marker of dative-infinitive construction that flourished in the 18th century: *Mne pet' bylo o Troe* 'I could have sung about Troy', signifying an unaccomplished desire in the past and regret in the present.

These three uses can be paralleled to the secondary morphological operators widespread in different languages of the world that are formed exactly from the verbs meaning "BE.PAST" [Plungian, Auwera 2006].

4) Alongside with these fully grammaticalized forms, *bylo* exists as a paradigmatic past tense of the copula (*est'* in the present tense, normally expressed by zero, and *budet* in the future tense) used with special predicative forms (adverbs, adjectives and other locutions).

The quantitative study of the Russian poetry corpus shows that the 1-3) markers are generally cliticized and unstressed since the beginning of Russian metrics in the 1730s, whereas the copula was frequently stressed until the second half of the 19th century with predicative adverbials, and generally never became a clitic with adjectives in instrumental case. The loss

of stress in this form is due to its ongoing morphologization and grammaticalization. An inverse process is attested, however, as well, as the *bylo* particle in the 1) constructions seems to retake stress in some 20th century texts.

Key words

clitics, grammaticalization, existentiality, Russian language

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The interplay of semantics and syntax: the case of Russian possessive constructions

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Russian belongs to those languages that realize possessive predications by means of existential sentences. In such possessive be-constructions the possessor X is governed by the locative (adessive) preposition u and takes the genitive, while the possessum Y acts as subject, cf. $u X_{\text{gen}} - \text{byt}' - Y_{\text{nom}}$ ($\text{byt}' = \text{'to be'}$). The prototypical information structure assigns X thematic status, whereas Y constitutes (part of) the rheme. This threepartite structure is, however, potentially ambiguous since it also allows for a spatial reading (' Y is located next to X '), which lends itself to the contextual reinterpretation ' Y is currently under the control of X '. If the thematic and rhematic roles are reversed as in $Y_{\text{nom}} - \text{byt}' - u X_{\text{gen}}$, the spatial reading prevails, whereas the possessive reading has to be realized by a different verb, viz. *prinadležat* 'belong'.

This paper will tackle another, less investigated, but also less language-specific complex of restrictions characteristic of possessive sentences (Weiss 2004). Possessive relations may in general be classified according to their semantic interpretation and their syntactic format. These two variables are interdependent in that the semantic potential determines the syntactic format and vice versa. Thus, if we compare NPs with possessive determiners to possessive sentences, we soon come to realize that the latter offer fewer semantic interpretations than the former: whereas an NP with the possessor in the genitive (the most widespread, if not universal model in European languages) opens a seemingly open list of possible interpretations (Langacker 1995, Taylor 1996, for counterevidence: Rakhilina 2001), the predicational model is far more constrained. To illustrate this point: such NPs as 'a row of trees', 'the soldiers of this regiment', 'a slice of bread', 'the weight of her body' or 'the arrival of the director' have no Russian counterparts with be-sentences (or, for that sake, English 'have'-sentences), cf. **U derev'ev byl rjad*, **The trees had a row*. The syntactically intermediate construction with external possessor of the type *U menja ubili mamu* 'They killed my Mum' [lit. at me they killed Mum] (Kibrik 2006) also seems to occupy an intermediate position in terms of its potential for different semantic interpretations. My talk aims at (i) establishing an accessibility hierarchy for possessive be-sentences in terms of the semantic type of possessive relationship, (ii) determining which additional elements make at least some types of be-sentences acceptable, and (iii) discussing the question to what extent said constraints may be generalizable, if not universally valid, at least among European languages. The relevant data stems from the Russian National Corpus, negative evidence will be provided by surveys.

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Russian verbs BYT' and BYVAT' – existential and non-existential meanings

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Two Russian verbs are compared with presumably existential meanings – *byt'* and *byvat'*.

I. BYT'

The verb *byt'* 'to be' is the main existential verb in Russian: collocations **existential sentences** and **existential verbs** are translated into Russian as **bytijnye predlozhenia** and **bytijnye glagoly**.

The verb *byt'* is ambiguous. This ambiguity has two properties. 1) It is **regular** (in terms of Апресян 1974: 189), i.e. it holds not only for this word but for a group of words of a similar kind. 2) It is **typologically substantiated** (i.e. not language specific) – similar semantic shifts take place in other languages.

The meaning of *byt'* is represented – with remarkable completeness – in the dictionary Апресян 2014, where 16 meanings of *byt'* are differentiated. Three of them will be the object of attention in this paper: EXISTENCE, LOCATION and MOVEMENT.

I.1. EXISTENCE vs. LOCATION

EXISTENTIAL sentence (ES) is a sentence that **asserts** the existence of what is denoted by its subject, see ex. (1a). While an ordinary (i.e. non-existential) sentence, in particular, a LOCATION sentence (LS), **presupposes** the existence of the referent of its subject – (1b), (1c).

- (1) a. На веранде *есть* кресло [ES]; b. Кресло на веранде [LS]; c. Петя дома [LS].

The main predicate in ES, as well as in LS, usually has two arguments, which I call, following Borschev, Partee 2002, THING and LOCATION.

The following features distinguish ES from LS – at least partially.

1. The present tense form of the existential *быть* is *есть*, while locative *byt'* has a zero present tense form, cf. (1a) and (1b).

2. In a LS the argument Thing is usually referential, while in ESs it is non-referential, see (1a) or (2):

- (2) *Есть* на свете счастливые люди.

The opposition EXISTENCE vs. LOCATION is crucial for Russian, for it is claimed to be correlated with the choice of Genitive vs. Nominative subject in a negative sentence: "It is only the subject of existential sentences that is regularly marked Genitive when negation is introduced" (Апругюнова 1976, cited in Babby 1980: 101). The verb *byt'* behaves as several hundreds of other existential verbs (such as *существовать*, *бывать*, *расти*, *происходить*, etc.); cf. Genitive subjects in (1a') and (2'):

(1a') На веранде *нет* кресла;

(2') *Нет* на свете счастливых людей.

Still Genitive of negation occurs also in LSs, i.e. in sentences with *byt'* of location:

(1b') Твоего кресла *нет* на веранде.

(1с') Пети нет дома.

It was claimed (Арутюнова (1976), Babby (1980)) that for the subject of ES Genitive marking is **semantically motivated**, while with *byt'* of location it is the result of an application of “an automatic syntactic rule”. In Paducheva 1992 it was suggested that GenNeg in the context of *byt'* IS semantically motivated. In Babby 1980: 128-129 some dozen of classes of genitive verbs are enumerated – not only existence but coming into existence, availability, appearance and disappearance, manifestation, discovery etc. some of them with semantic component of perception. But, as was noticed already in Ицкович (1982), GenNeg construction is regularly used in the context of PERCEPTION verbs, such as *наблюдаться, обнаружиться, слышаться, доноситься, отмечаться, регистрироваться, фиксироваться, оказаться, попадаться*, etc. Existence-perception ambiguity is widespread, cf. verbs *появиться, исчезнуть* and many others. One and the same verb, such as, e.g., *найтись*, can be used in the sense of existence and perception:

(3) а. *Нашились желающие поехать в Зимбабве* [ES]; б. *Очки нашились* [not ES].

It is argued in Paducheva 1992 that in the context of the locative *byt'* GenNeg construction expresses the OBSERVED location. In other words, it expresses the presence of an OBSERVER in the concept of situation. The Observer is acknowledged in the context of sentences with the locative *byt'* in Timberlake 2004: 304, Perelmutter 2005 e.a.

In Apresjan 2012 it is argued that sentences with the locational *byt'* should have the subject in the Genitive due to a **rule that should be mentioned in the dictionary**. Namely, a rule was postulated that substitutes Genitive for Nominative because “Nominative in this context would have severe the semantic connection between the affirmative and the negative sentence”. For example, it was claimed that the true negative correlate of sentence (4a) is sentence (4c) and not (4b):

- (4) а. Отец *был* на море
б. Отец *не был* на море
с. Отца *не было* на море.

Now this is not the case. The concept of situation in (4c) includes the figure of the Observer. In some other context the subject will be in the Nominative though the lexical meaning of the verb is the same (Location) and the aspectual meaning of the imperfective is the same (Progressive), the difference consisting in the absence of the Observer. For example:

- (5) а. Отец *был* на море, когда началась гроза;
б. Отец *не был* на море, когда началась гроза.

In fact, if there is no Observer in the concept of situation, there is no Genitive in the corresponding negative sentence with locational *byt'*. Sentence (4c) is deictic – it means ‘Father was not at the shore when I looked for him there’. While sentence (5b) is not deictic: in (5b) the meaning of the Progressive is accounted for by the adverbial modifier *когда началась гроза*, which expresses the included time. The only correction that should be made is that the Observer is included **in the meaning of the GenNeg construction**: the semantics of the locational *byt'* by itself does not presuppose the Observer, which is proved by example (5a); the verb *byt'* is COMPATIBLE with the Observer (while, e.g., the verb *naxodit'sja* is not).

Now in Апресян (2014) it is acknowledged that the Genitive subject in a negative sentence with *byt'* of location “denotes directly observed situation” («обозначает непосредственно наблюдаемую ситуацию»). Thus, Апресян (2014) is the first dictionary of Russian that acknowledges the presence of the Observer in the semantics of sentences with the locational *byt'*.

Some examples demonstrating the presence of the Observer in sentences with *byt'* of Location (from Paducheva (2008)):

- (6) a. Вани нигде *нет*; b. *Ваня нигде;
(7) a. Тегусигальпа *не* в Никарагуа; b. *Тегусигальпы *нет* в Никарагуа;
(8) a. Меня завтра *не будет* на работе; b. *Меня *нет* в офисе.

Thus, the Genitive Subject is licensed not only by existential verbs but also by the perceptive component in the semantics of some (not all!) verbs of location. In this respect the title of the famous book by L.Babby “Existential sentences and negation in Russian” was misleading. Yet the borderline between verbs of existence (existential sentences) and verbs of entrance into the field of perception (introductory sentences) is precarious: verbs of appearance, availability, manifestation are scarcely distinguishable from verbs of existence.

I.2. LOCATION vs. MOVEMENT

The attention to *byt'* of movement also was drawn in connection with the GenNeg construction. In Paducheva 1992 *byt'* of movement (= dynamic *byt'*) was recognized as different from *byt'* of location – because it can have only the Nominative subject in negative sentences:

- (10) a. Петя *был* в Египте; b. Петя *не был* в Египте; c. *Пети *не было* в Египте.

Traditional dictionaries mention *byt'* of movement in non-negative sentences, though only in more or less obsolete use, such as (11):

- (11) a. Вы *будете* к нам завтра? (И.Гончаров. Обыкновенная история)

But, as a matter of fact, *byt'* of movement is at place also in sentences strictly corresponding to the contemporary norm:

- (12) a. Врач *будет* к вечеру [≈ ‘прибудет’];
b. Врач *был* ровно в 7 [≈ ‘прибыл’];
c. Петя много раз *был* в Египте [≈ ‘бывал’].

What is remarkable about *byt'* of movement is that it is BIASPECTUAL (it was demonstrated in Падучева (2013)). In (12a,b) it is used as a verb of the perfective aspect; in (12c) – in the meaning of the imperfective iterative. Thus, its explication in traditional dictionary should sound not as *приходить*, *приезжать*, *посещать*, but as *прийти*, *приехать*, *посетить*. Stative *byt'* is imperfectivum tantum; but *byt'* is biaspectual not only in motional meaning but in some other meanings as well.

II. BYVAT'

The verb BYVAT' ‘to be <iteratively>’ (formed with the help of an iterative suffix -yva- from *byt'*) belongs to the class of verbs of the **iterative Aktionsart**, which includes such verbs as *xazhivat'*, *slyxivat'* related to the imperfective *xodit'*, *slyshat'*. But BYVAT' occupies a special place in that class. In particular, it is the only one to have an analytical

form of the future tense. It is claimed that this form exists only in the context of the motional meaning of BYVAT', cf. acceptable *Ja budu byvat' u vas chashche* 'I shall be BYVAT' at your place more often' but **So vremenem ne budet byvat' takix sluchaev* 'over time there won't be BYVAT' such cases'. The following explanation is given to this fact: motional BYVAT' is included in the aspectual system of Russian not as an **iterative** of the imperfective *byt'* but as an **imperfective** of the momentary perfective *pobyvat'*. No wonder that the motional BYVAT' possesses all the properties of an imperfective of a momentary verb: a complete set of tense forms, iterative and general factual meaning of aspect, etc.

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POSSESSION, LOCALISATION ET EXISTENCE EN RUSSE ET EN FRANÇAIS

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L'objectif de notre présentation est de comparer l'usage des structures locatives et possessives dans l'expression de l'existence, en russe et en français. On montrera d'abord que dans les deux langues un certain type de prédication possessive joue, pour exprimer l'existence, un rôle comparable à celui de la prédication locative (pour l'examen systématique des liens entre la localisation et l'existence, voir entre autres Clarck 1978 et Freeze 1992). On examinera ensuite comment les différents types de relations à encoder, entre le terme repère et le terme dont l'existence se trouve posée, se répartissent entre possession et localisation dans chacune des langues étudiées. Bien que nous donnions ici des exemples minimalistes par manque de place, notre étude se base sur deux corpus monolingues, *Frantext* pour le français et *Russian National Corpus* pour le russe, ainsi que sur deux textes de traduction parallèle français-russe, provenant de la plateforme Parasol.

Puisque cette étude est centrée autour des rapports entre possession et localisation, nous laisserons de côté les énoncés existentiels qui ne font pas recours à un constituant locatif articulé, les seuls auxquels certains auteurs (*cf.* Creissels 2013) reconnaissent le statut d'« existentiels » car ils peuvent être paraphrasés au moyen de verbes du type de *exister*, comme *Il y a des cygnes noirs*.

En français, l'usage du verbe *avoir* permet de former des énoncés existentiels, thétiques, possédant les mêmes caractéristiques que ceux en *il y a*, en particulier la contrainte d'indéfinitude qui pèse sur le constituant jouant le rôle sémantique de thème, comme il apparaît dans (1) et (2). Les énoncés en *avoir* et ceux en *il y a* partagent une autre propriété encore : ils permettent de convertir un énoncé catégorique en énoncé thétique (dans les termes de Kuroda 1979), comme c'est le cas quand on passe de (a) à (b) dans les exemples (3) et (4).

En russe, la possession elle-même est exprimée au moyen du verbe 'être' et d'une préposition locative suivie du nom du possesseur (*cf.* entre autres Guiraud-Weber 1996), comme dans (5). Dans 5a, l'ordre des constituants est parallèle à celui qu'on trouve dans les phrases existentielles locatives, comme (6). Dans les deux cas, le thème est interprété comme indéfini, alors quela négation de l'existence s'exprime au moyen de l'élément *net*, spécifique de ces structures (*cf.* (7)). Ainsi la seule différence apparente entre ces deux structures en russe se trouve dans le choix de la préposition locative, choix strictement restreint à *u* 'chez' dans le cas de la possession.

Nous examinerons tout un spectre de relations possessives-locatives allant du rapport entre le sujet et ses qualités au rapport entre une entité et le lieu où elle se trouve de façon contingente, en passant par la relation partie-tout. Nous rappellerons d'abord que, à la différence du français, qui ne dispose que de deux structures pour exprimer la localisation-possession, le russe multiplie par deux les deux structures dont nous venons de parler, en alternant présence et absence du verbe existentiel *jest* 'être' au présent (*cf.* surtout Pande 1981 et 1985 et Melig 2004).

En français, nous distinguerons d'abord trois grands cas de figure : celui où un rapport n'est exprimable que par la structure possessive (8), celui où il n'est exprimable que par la

La comparaison entre les deux séries d'exemples montre que le principe général de la répartition des structures dans les deux langues tient à la nature plus ou moins étroite et « défaisable » de la relation entre les deux termes en présence. Néanmoins le russe autorise au moins deux distinctions supplémentaires : entre relations essentielles et accidentelles, permanentes et transitoires.

Données :

- (1) *J'ai une maison / *J'ai cette maison / Cette maison est à moi*
(2) *Il y a un oiseau sur la branche / *Il y a cet oiseau sur la branche / Cet oiseau est sur la branche*
(3) a) *Jean veut te parler* b) *Il y a Jean qui veut te parler*
(4) a) *Ma fille est à la maison* b) *J'ai ma fille à la maison*
(5) a) *U menja est' dom* b) **U menja est' étot dom* c) *Etomoj dom / Etot dom – moj*
chezmoi_{GEN} est maison chez moi_{GEN} est cette maison ceci ma maison /
cette maison est mienne 'J'ai une maison' 'Ceci est ma maison /
Cette maison est à moi'
(6) *V škafu est' xleb*
dans placard est pain
'Il y a du pain dans le placard'
(7) *U menja net xleba / V škafu net xleba*
chez moi NEG pain / dans placard NEG pain
'Je n'ai pas de pain / Il n'y a pas de pain dans le placard'
(8) a) *Cette robe a une belle couleur* b) **Il y a dans cette robe une belle couleur*
(9) a) **Le jardin a un homme* b) *Il y a un homme dans le jardin*
(10) a) *Le mur a des fissures* b) *Il y a des fissures dans le mur*
(11) *U etogoplatjakrasivjycvet / *U etogoplatjajest' krasivjycvet / *V etomplatje (jest') krasivjycvet*
chez cette robe belle couleur / chez cette robe est belle couleur / dans cette robe (est) belle couleur
'Cette robe a une belle couleur'
(12) **U etogosada (jest') sobaka / V etomsadu(??jest') čelovek*
chez ce jardin (est) chien / dans ce jardin (??est) homme
/ 'Dans ce jardin il y a un homme'
(13) *U etojsteny (jest') treščeny / Na etojstene (est') treščeny*
chez ce mur (est) fissures / sur ce mur (est) fissures
'Ce mur a des fissures / Il y a des fissures dans ce mur'

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***Une fois / Un jour* comme pivot existentiel de prédication**

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Les adverbiaux de phrase *une fois/un jour* sont généralement appréhendés comme des localisateurs temporels de la ou des prédications qu'ils introduisent :

En janvier 1943, elle demande au Comité Amelot de cacher ses enfants ; [...] Transbahutés de couvent en couvent, les deux frères se retrouvent dans un château en Normandie. **Un jour**, des soldats frappent à la porte : des Américains. (Jablonka I., *Histoire des grands-parents que je n'ai pas eus : une enquête*, 2012)

Avec le Club, ce qu'elle préfère, c'est partir en voyage. Très tôt le matin on vous prend en autocar et, toute la journée, on vous balade, à midi le restaurant, on visite, on s'amuse et on s'instruit. [...] **Une fois**, ils sont même allés à Paris, en TGV, aller-retour dans la journée. (Chaix M., *Juliette, chemin des Cerisiers*, 1985)

Nous nous proposons de les aborder dans notre travail de manière différente en mettant en relief leur rôle de pivot existentiel dans l'enchaînement discursif.

Après avoir exposé, dans une première partie, leurs caractéristiques temporelles, nous montrerons ensuite que leur rôle essentiel est celui de marqueur existentiel en ce qu'ils permettent de porter à l'existence la (les) prédication(s) qu'ils déterminent. Nous essayerons toutefois de mettre en relief le fait que leur rôle existentiel n'est pas exactement celui que remplit *une fois* dans la tournure impersonnelle *Il était une fois X* où, bien qu'il s'agisse d'une expression figée, le déterminant indéfini *un* s'interprète comme un quantificateur *existantiel* ou *faible*. Le rôle des adverbiaux de phrase se rapproche en effet plutôt de celui effectué par les quantificateurs dits *partitifs* ou *forts*, parce que leur emploi suppose un arrière-plan (*ground*) sur lequel est mis en relief l'événement qu'ils déterminent (*figure*). De façon plus précise, *un jour* et *une fois* présupposent un amont discursif représenté par un intervalle temporel pour *jour* et un ensemble de « fois » pour *fois* dans ou par rapport auquel est posée l'existence de la (les) prédications qu'ils déterminent. On verra ainsi que par cette relation nouée entre l'amont —le déjà connu— et le nouveau —la prédication portée à l'existence— ils constituent un outil précieux de la structuration du discours.

Mots-clés

adverbiaux de phrase, existentiel, partitif, temporel

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The Existential construction in Modern Hebrew: a constructionist approach

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Existential sentences are special cases of a broader category traditionally known as *thetic*. Such sentences are indivisible at the information level and are thus regarded as "rheme only" or "block predication". This paper deals with existentials and 'existential-like' sentences in colloquial Modern Hebrew. The Hebrew formula for existentials consists of the particle *yeš* '[there]-is/are ' (negative: '*en*') without an overt expletive S (in the past and future tenses, it is replaced by the declinable verb *haya* 'be') + an NP argument (*figure/locatum*) deficient in topicality that does not display the characteristics of a canonical S, i.e., does not control verb-agreement (crucially in colloquial register), and when definite it is marked by the accusative '*et*', despite not being interpreted as an object ("patient"). Compare, e.g. the following (a) 'thetic' sentence of assertion of existence vs. its counterpart (b) 'categorical' locative predication:

- (1) a. *yeš/haya/yihye* 'et *ha-sfar-im* *be-amazon*
0-is_{EXS}/**be**_{3M.SG} (PST/FUT) ACC the-book _{M.PL} in-Amazon
 'There's/was/will-be the books at Amazon'
 b. *ha-sfar-im* *hem/hayu/yihyu* *be-amazon*
 the-book _{M.PL} are/were/will-be-_{3PL} in-Amazon
 'The books are/were/will be at Amazon'

To mark possession, Hebrew employs a construction comprised of existential *yeš* (neg. 'en/xaser) + the possessor preceded by the dative clitic *l-* + NP denoting the possessee, e.g.,

- (2) *yeš/haya/yihye* *la-hem 'et* *ha-sfar-im*
0-is_{EXS}/be_{3M-SG} to-them_{ACC} the-book_{M.PL}
 'They have/had/will have the books'

Besides existential, the construction features some other intransitive predicates (significantly unaccusatives but also some unergatives) that are highly compatible with the construction as meaning-function pairing (Goldberg 1995 and others), e.g., verbs of occurrence, appearance, beginning of a state of affairs and their opposites, and "light" informational verbs whose meaning is suppressed by the *coercive force* of the construction (Lauwers & Willems 2011).

In SV languages, the common strategy for uttering such sentences is through word-order inversion. As to present-day Hebrew, though it adapted the European SV constituent order V-initial sentences are not limited only to existentials (Halevy 2013). Structurally, I will argue that the existential construction in Hebrew is impersonal (cf. Goldenberg 2013) displaying a split between the grammatical "zero-S" (in invariable 3_{M.SG}, parallel to expletive/dummy S in analytic languages) and the thematic S', i.e. the NP representing the logic-semantic S' ("sujet apparent").

The underlying assumption of the paper is that the existential construction imposes its properties on sentences other than "pure" assertion of existence, which are construed from a similar perspective, e.g.,

(3) <i>niš'ar</i>		<i>raq</i>	<i>'et</i>		<i>ha-sfar-im</i>		<i>be-'anglit</i>
remained. _{3M.SG}	only		ACC		the-book _{M.PL}	in-English	
'There's only the books in English left'							

The construction under scrutiny will be examined not only from the structural and semantic viewpoint but also from the viewpoint of informational packaging structure (Lambrecht 1994, 2000) and the speaker's perspectival choice with respect to the construal of the event (Borschev & Partee. 2002)

The main questions that will be addressed then are: (i) the meaning and structure of the construction; (ii) the "coercive force" of the construction; (iii) the speaker's perspective and the information packaging structure of the construal at hand; (iv) the construction-specific status of the backgrounded/detopicalized NP (the figure).

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No such things as distinct non-existential constructions in Western Europe? Counterevidence from Dutch, English and French

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“Since ancient times”, writes Cartwright (1960: 629), “negative existentials have been a source of puzzlement”. In the philosophical literature, non-existential utterances such as Unicorns do not exist have been viewed as inherently paradoxical, since “to be able to truly claim of an object that it doesn’t exist, it seems that one has to presuppose that it exists, for doesn’t a thing have to exist if we are to make a true claim about it?” (Reicher 2012). Linguists, in sharp contrast to philosophers, have only recently been turning their attention to non-existentials, especially from a typological point of view (e.g. Croft 1991, Kahrel and Van den Berg 1994, Veselinova 2013, To appear). We here propose a major refinement of Veselinova’s (2013, To appear) claim that in Western Europe, there are no special negative existentials, as these make use of standard negation applied to positive existentials. There is ample evidence from Dutch, English and French, however, that non-existential predication has its own properties and cannot simply be reduced to existential predication with negation added to it. We argue that there are many specifically non-existential expressions, often highly lexicalized and idiomatic ones, which should be recognized as constructions in their own right. Indeed, the nonexistentials below all lack a direct positive counterpart:

Du Er was geen mens te bekennen ‘There was no one to be seen or heard’

Er zit niets anders op dan X ‘We have no option but to X’

En There’s no use/point complaining

There can be no turning back now :

Fr Il n’y avait pas un mot de vrai dans son histoire ‘There wasn’t a grain of truth in what he said’

Il n’y a pas de quoi ‘you’re welcome’

Interestingly, preliminary observations suggest that negative existentials (both idiomatic and nonidiomatic ones) may not require the presence of spatio-temporal localisation to the same extent as positive existentials, as the following examples from French illustrate:

Sire, il n’y a pas de Belges ! ‘Your Majesty, there are no (such things as) Belgians!’

?Sire, il y a des/les Belges ! ‘Your Majesty, there are (such things as) Belgians’

Sire, il y a (encore) des Belges dans votre royaume ! ‘Your Majesty, there are (still) Belgians in your kingdom!’

We use corpus data to construct one or more distinctive ‘profiles’ of negative existentials, in terms of such potentially relevant parameters as the type of NP (e.g. concrete or abstract?), tense choice (more typically in the past?), frequency of spatial and temporal adjuncts (more or less frequent than in positive existentials?) and the position and information-structural role of such adjuncts. We thus show that these structures, which can also be found in some neighboring languages, have specific profiles, distinct from those of positive existentials.

Keywords

non-existentials; corpus linguistics; Western European languages; spatial/temporal adjuncts

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3RD PERSON SG AND PL PRESENT FORMS OF THE EXISTENTIAL VERB IN TOCHARIAN

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The Tocharian languages (Tocharian A and Tocharian B) are two ancient languages known by the texts of 5th-8th cc. AD from Chinese Turkistan. They constitute a separate group within the Indo-European language family.

As there is no verb which means “to have” in Tocharian, sentences with existential verbs are very numerous. There are two existential verbs: the main one A *nas-*, B *nes-* and the “complementary” one AB *mäsk-*, which can also mean “to become” and “to be situated”. The differences between the verbs *nas-/nes-* and *mäsk-* in its existential meaning are still unclear.

The verb *nas-/nes-* is characterized by a complicated system of the 3rd person present forms.

Tocharian A has the forms 3 Sg Pr *naṣ* and 3 Pl Pr *neñc*. If enclitic pronouns (EP) of 3 Sg =*ām* and Pl =*ām* emerge, the reduced forms *n=ām* and *n=ām* are normally used both for Sg and Pl. Besides, the usual, unreduced forms *naṣ=ām* and *naṣ=ām* are also possible, although they are essentially rarer.

As shown in [Burlak, Itkin 1999], these latter are used, if there is a modal component (a negation or an interrogative word) in the sentence. Unreduced forms of 3 Pl Pr **neñc=ām*, **neñc=ām* are not attested in the texts.

Tocharian B has besides the form 3 Sg and 3 Pl Pr *nesām* also the forms derived from a different stem: 3 Sg *ste* (*star*= before EP), 3 Pl *skente* (*skentar*= before EP) ~ *stare*. According to [Stumpf 1990: 86-91; Peyrot 2008: 141-142] the forms *skente* and *stare* are distributed chronologically: the first one is original and earlier, the second one appears analogically and in the late texts. Though such an explanation is plausible, we can note that in the known for us Tocharian B texts only the form *skente* is attested with gerundives and only the form *stare* is attested with past participles.

The problem of usage of the copulas *nesām* vs. *ste*, *skente* ~ *stare* was discussed in [Batke 1999]. Chr. Batke sees a complicated formal and semantic distribution between *nesām* and the s-forms, which gives however not a very convincing interpretation of a series of examples; furthermore, the “Possessivkonstruktion” would allow in this case the usage of both *nesām* and the s-forms [Batke 1999: 40].

We suppose that the distribution of 3rd person present forms of the existential verb in Tocharian B in fact does not depend on the semantics, but, besides some very rare exceptions and unclear cases, it is determined by the interaction of the following three factors:

- 1) **Position in the sentence:** the s- forms are enclitics, while *nesām* is a stressed word form, cf. [Batke 1999: 21, 31]. This way, in an absolute initial position of a sentence only *nesām* is possible;
- 2) **Presence of nonfinite verb forms:** with gerundives and past participles only the s- forms are used, cf. [Batke 1999: 27-29, 40];

3) **Negation** (this factor has not ever been taken into account when considering this problem): in the absence of negation the s- forms are usual, while together with negation (but not if nonfinite verb forms are present) the form *nesäm* occurs.

Thus, both Tocharian languages show the tendency for using the more regular and phonetically independent (full-stressed) 3rd person present forms of the existential verb in negative sentences.

Keywords

Tocharian languages, existential verb, negation, syntactic distribution

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EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN TEMIRGOY ADYGHE

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Adyghe language belongs to North-Western family of Caucasian languages and spread among various Circassian tribes that inhabit Krasnodar Krai, Republic of Adyghea (Russian Federation) and separate territorial domains of Turkey, Jordan, Syria and Israel. Temirgoy dialect is spoken in four villages (Pshyzov, Pshycho, Khatazhukaj, Kabekhabl) of Shovgenovsky district of Republic of Adyghea (Russian Federation) and serves as the literary Adyghe language.

All the language material used in the research was gathered during the fieldtrip to the village Kabekhabl (Shovgenovsky district, Republic of Adyghea) in July 2013.

Firstly, following research introduces analysis of the ways of expressing existential meanings in Temirgoy Adyghe, i.e. presents extensive classification of semantic types of existentials (possessive, existential, locative, event), describes formal means of expressing existence (verb-derived clauses, noun-derived clauses) and states the results of syntactic tests conducted.

Secondly, this paper offers a methodology of investigating existential predication in natural languages on the example of Temirgoy Adyghe.

It appeared to be that verb-derived and noun-derived clauses have rigid distribution and can be used only with certain existential meanings; all the semantic types of existence in Temirgoy Adyghe are insensitive to superficial syntactic tests; object whose existence is stated can be either marked or unmarked by the absolutive suffix *-r* what questions referential function of the suffix [Tesletets et al. 2009], since the object of existence cannot be referential [Arutiunova, Shiryajev 1983].

Keywords

Caucasian languages, Northwest Caucasus, Adyghe, existentials.

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***iru* et *aru* : deux verbes qui marquent l'existence en japonais**

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Le verbe français *être* se traduit par deux verbes japonais *iru* et *aru*. (en mettant à part le sino-japonais *sonzai-suru* « exister ») Ils sont souvent distingués par la nature différente de leur sujet grammatical. Le verbe *iru* appelle un sujet animé, tandis que *aru* un sujet inanimé.

L'examen des données contenant ces deux verbes, y compris leurs formes dérivées et grammaticalisées, permet de noter plusieurs éléments supplémentaires. Nous en relevons six : (1) *aru* n'est pas compatible avec la négation (**a-nai*), ni compatible avec « pouvoir » (**ar-areru*), tandis que *iru* peut être employé sous forme négative (*i-nai*) et modalisée (*ir-areru*). (2) Diachroniquement, en ancien japonais, *iru*, avec un sujet animé, signifiait « s'asseoir » ou « s'agenouiller » et non « être » (3) On observe que *aru* avec un sujet animé apparaît dans la première phrase d'un conte, lorsqu'elle a pour fonction d'introduire un protagoniste. (4) *Iru*, sous la forme de *te-iru*, sert d'auxiliaire verbal du progressif, tandis que *aru*, sous la forme d'auxiliaire verbal *te-aru*, marque un état résultant. (5) *Aru* a donné la forme copulative *dearu* (*da* ou *desu*, (avec politesse) à l'oral) alors que *iru* n'a pas connu cette dérivation. (6) *Aru* seul a un emploi, comparable à la détermination nominale, devant le nom (*aru* + N) signifiant « un N, un certain N ». Dans cet emploi, la grammaticalisation de *aru* est totale, car il s'emploie avec tous les N y compris les N animés. *Iru* ne connaît pas cet emploi.

Par conséquent, nous proposons de définir que *iru* marque une localisation spatio-temporelle, tandis que *aru* une prédication d'existence. Par sa nature *iru* demande un sujet animé ayant une volonté libre et nécessite une limitation temporelle et/ou spatiale dans la phrase où il apparaît. D'où le sens de « être momentanément », « vivre », « être présent en ce moment ». Par contre, en raison de son caractère existentiel, la fonction copulative n'est compatible qu'avec *aru*.

Mots clés

japonais, *iru-aru*, localisation, existence

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Prédication existentielle en vietnamien

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Les constructions connectives d'existence (ou de présentation) concernent majoritairement des structures à noyaux centraux nominaux. Ces constructions permettent de faire fonctionner comme prédicat une unité qui n'a pas vocation à l'être. En vietnamien, c'est l'emploi d'un présentatif qui sera le plus courant pour exprimer l'existence. Selon la typologie proposée par Denis Creissels, le vietnamien ferait partie des langues à constructions « trans.poss-existentials », c'est-à-dire qu'elle met en jeu une unité pouvant également être utilisée comme prédicat dans des constructions transitives marquant sémantiquement la possession. Le vietnamien emploie en effet de manière majoritaire l'unité présentative *có* issue du verbal *có* « avoir ». Comme en français *il y a*, le verbal vietnamien *có* « avoir » s'est grammaticalisé en présentatif.

Emploi de *có* : verbal transitif : « avoir » **cv10'1**: người ta có nhiều cách nấu cá bông lau lắm.

Gia đình	Nguyễn	thì	<i>có</i>	hai	anh em.
garden	ngwi:n	thì	<i>ko</i>	haj	anem
famille	Nguyễn	THE	avoir	2	frères
		M	?		
			il y a?		

1 Les énoncés sont tirés de productions réelles, enregistrées lors de conversations quotidiennes.

2 Nous avons glossé *có* par « il y a », présentatif du français, également issu de la grammaticalisation d'*avoir*. 1. La famille de Nguyễn a deux frères. / « ma famille a deux enfants ».

2. (dans la) famille de Nguyễn, il y a deux frères (deux enfants). / « Dans ma famille, il y a deux enfants ».

Cette ambiguïté découle du fait que le vietnamien est une langue dans laquelle l'agent n'est pas obligatoirement présent : en effet, l'étude d'une heure d'enregistrements divers a fait apparaître que la fonction « sujet », si elle est privilégiée, n'apparaît qu'avec 70 à 75% des noyaux centraux. De plus, le présentatif *có* garde des compatibilités de son verbal d'origine, puisqu'il reste déterminable par certaines modalités TAM

Cette communication aura pour thème principal l'étude de la construction majoritaire à présentatif *có*, en cherchant à identifier les différents critères permettant de distinguer les constructions existentielles à présentatif des constructions possessives à agent omis. Dans un

second temps, nous étudierons deux autres constructions, plus rares, pour marquer l'existence. Il s'agit tout d'abord du présentatif *đây là* (figement de « ici » et « être ») qui correspondrait à

bên	này	thì	sông,	bên	kia	thì	núi.
bên	này	thì	soŋm	bên	kia	thì	núj
côté	DEM1	?	rivière	côté	DEM3	?	montagne

Ce côté-ci, alors (il y a) une rivière, ce côté-là alors (il y a) une montagne

Mots clefs

présentatif, vietnamien, distinction possession / existence.

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The syntactic position of the subject in Hungarian existential constructions

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The purpose of this talk is to examine the factors that influence the syntactic position of the subject in Hungarian existential constructions containing the existential verb *lenni* ‘to be’.

In Hungarian existential constructions with the verb *lenni*, there are generally two positions available for an indefinite subject: the preverbal position of the “verbal modifier” (also called “verb carrier” position, cf. Kálmán et al 1986), with the verb cliticised on the subject, and the postverbal position (cf. É. Kiss 2002, Gécseg & Kiefer 2009). In some cases, the choice between the two positions seems to be totally free (cf. (1)), whereas in other cases any change of the position of the subject results in a more or less considerable change in the semantic interpretation of the sentence or gives rise to an unacceptable word order variation (cf. (2))³:

- (1) a. *Egy ‘légy van a ‘szobában.*
a fly is the room-in
‘There is a fly in the room’
b. *‘Van egy ‘légy a ‘szobában.*
is a fly the room-in
‘Idem.’
- (2) a. *‘Volt ‘súgólyuk – (...) (Bulgakov)*
was prompter’s box
b. *There was a prompter’s box – (...) (Idem.)*
b. **‘Súgólyuk volt – (...).*
prompter’s box was

The analyses presented in this talk are based on a corpus containing existential sentences with the verb *lenni*, constructed by means of the web search engine Google, and another corpus consisting of existential constructions extracted from the Hungarian translation of Bulgakov’s novel *Master and Margarita* (cf. Waldenfels 2011).

The following parameters were examined: the degree of referentiality and the informativeness of the subject, the phonologic weight of the subject and the presence vs. absence of an explicit locative in the sentence. As for the ontological status of the subject, the analyses were limited to NPs denoting objects, whereas NPs denoting events were not taken into consideration.

The analysis of the data led to the following generalizations about existential constructions:

- 1) A subject denoting a contextually given/accessible referent tends to occupy the postverbal position, whereas a subject denoting a brand-new referent which’s presence is unpredictable in the context of utterance appears preferably in the verbal modifier position;

- 2) A subject with a very weak descriptive content (such as indefinite pronouns *valaki* ‘somebody’ or *valami* ‘something’) can never appear in the verbal modifier position (cf. Gécseg 2003);
- 3) A heavy subject (i.e. containing an enumeration or a relative clause) tends to occupy the postverbal position;
- 4) If the subject appears in the verbal modifier position, the sentence must contain an explicit locative.

After the presentation of the data and the generalizations obtained from them, a possible explanation of these regularities will be given, based on the discourse-configurational property of Hungarian.

Key words

subject, syntactic position, referentiality, informativeness

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Existential Quantification over *Wh*-variable in Mandarin Chinese

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Indefinites are excluded from the subject position in Chinese and the only way to make the sentence grammatical is to insert *you* ‘there be’ in a pre-subject position. *You* is thus treated as an existential verb which takes a secondary predication as its complement (Huang 1982). It can license an indefinite NP in the subject position (cf. 1).

- (1) [TP*(You)[Second Pred. yi-geren lai-le]].
there.be one-Clperson come-Perf
‘A person came.’

It is claimed that Chinese *wh*-words can get the so-called polarity reading in certain contexts such as negation, *yes-no* questions and *if*-conditionals (Huang 1982, Cheng 1991). These contexts can trigger the existential quantifier, which binds the relevant in-situ *wh*-word as a variable, only at T’ level, since a *wh*-subject cannot get an existential reading.

However, the fact that the existential *wh*-words are excluded from the subject position cannot be taken as an argument to show that the existential quantifier does not scope over the subject in Chinese because a normal indefinite (not a *wh*-word) cannot appear in the subject position either as shown in (1). I will argue that *you* is not an inherent existential quantifier since it cannot provide a *wh*-variable with an existential force.

- (2) * [TP You [Second Pred. sheixiang qu kan dianying]].
there.be who want go see movie
(Intended reading: ‘Someone wants to see a movie.’)

(3) shows that the existential force is triggered by the *yes-no* question particle *ma* and the only function of *you* is transforming the original sentence into a secondary predication which avoids that the existential *wh*-word stands in the subject position.

- (3) [CP[TP You [Second Pred. $\exists(x)$ shei(x) xiangqu kan dianying]] ma]?
there.be who want go see movie Q_{yes/no}
(‘Is there anyone who wants to see a movie?’)

Besides the genuine polarity reading, *wh*-words can have normal existential reading in the contexts that do not license typical polarity readings, such as in the contexts containing probability adverbs like *dagai* ‘probably’, adjective determiner *yi-dianr* ‘a little’, certain psychomotor verbs like *pa* ‘be afraid of’, etc.

- (4) Yi-dianr $\exists(x)$ shenme (x) dou keyi rang ta shangxin.
a.little what all can make her sad
‘Some trifling things can make her sad.’

In these contexts, the syntactic position of the existential quantifier is close to the key-elements that trigger it, which is supported by the fact that even the *wh*-subject can get an existential reading iff such a *wh*-word is in the scope of the key-element of the context. This challenges the traditional view that the existential closure applies at T'-level by default in Chinese. Based on the new data, this paper argues that the syntactic position of the existential quantifier is determined by the syntactic scope of the key-elements that trigger the existential construal in a given context. Therefore, the existential quantification applies at different levels in Chinese according to the syntactic position of its trigger.

Key words

wh-words, Existential quantification, generative syntax, Mandarin Chinese

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