

isLE

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

**4th Conference of
the International Society for the
Linguistics of English**

18-21 September 2016

Poznań, Poland

Faculty of English
Adam Mickiewicz University
Al. Niepodległości 4
61-874 Poznań
Poland

CONTENTS

<u>PLENARY PAPERS.....</u>	<u>1</u>
<u> Anne Curzan.....</u>	<u>2</u>
<u> Katarzyna Dziubalska-Kolaczyk.....</u>	<u>3</u>
<u> Bao Zhiming.....</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>GENERAL SESSION.....</u>	<u>5</u>
<u> Bas Aarts.....</u>	<u>6</u>
<u> Rhona Alcorn.....</u>	<u>8</u>
<u> Sabine Arndt-Lappe.....</u>	<u>10</u>
<u> James Baker.....</u>	<u>12</u>
<u> Lina Baldus.....</u>	<u>15</u>
<u> Magdalena Bator.....</u>	<u>18</u>
<u> Douglas Biber.....</u>	<u>20</u>
<u> Samuel Bourgeois.....</u>	<u>22</u>
<u> Marie-Louise Brunner.....</u>	<u>24</u>
<u> Sarah Buschfeld.....</u>	<u>27</u>
<u> Romina Buttafoco.....</u>	<u>30</u>
<u> Michael C. Mensink.....</u>	<u>84</u>
<u> Susanne Chrambach.....</u>	<u>32</u>
<u> Anna Cichosz.....</u>	<u>34</u>
<u> David Correia Saavedra.....</u>	<u>37</u>
<u> Claire Cowie.....</u>	<u>40</u>
<u> David Denison.....</u>	<u>41</u>
<u> Stefan Diemer.....</u>	<u>24</u>
<u> Stefan Dollinger.....</u>	<u>43</u>
<u> Raphaël Domange.....</u>	<u>46</u>
<u> Jesse Egbert.....</u>	<u>20</u>
<u> Katharina Ehret.....</u>	<u>48</u>
<u> Mohammad Fazleh Elahi.....</u>	<u>50</u>
<u> Margery Fee.....</u>	<u>43</u>

<u>Laura García--Castro</u>	52
<u>Jason Grafmiller</u>	55
<u>Theresa Heyd</u>	58
<u>Raymond Hickey</u>	60
<u>Martin Hilpert</u>	37
<u>Tomoharu Hirota</u>	62
<u>Thomas Hoffmann</u>	64
<u>Fumino Horiuchi</u>	66
<u>Samuli Kaislaniemi</u>	70
<u>Franco Karlien</u>	20
<u>Mareike Keller</u>	72
<u>Daphné Kerremans</u>	50
<u>Gabriele Knappe</u>	74
<u>Joanna Kopaczyk</u>	8
<u>Berndt Kortman</u>	48
<u>Uwe-Alexander Küttner</u>	77
<u>Anu Lehto</u>	80
<u>Jefrey Lijffijt</u>	68
<u>Eetu Mäkelä</u>	82
<u>Lilo Moessner</u>	87
<u>Benjamin Molineaux</u>	8
<u>Katherine Muschler</u>	84
<u>Minako Nakayasu</u>	89
<u>Cornelia Neubert</u>	91
<u>Terttu Nevalainen</u>	68
<u>Terttu Nevalainen</u>	70
<u>Joanna Nykiel</u>	94
<u>Naoki Otani</u>	96
<u>Katja Roller</u>	48
<u>Sofia Rüdiger</u>	99
<u>Esaúl Ruiz Narbona</u>	101
<u>Tanja Säily</u>	68

<u>Tanja Säily</u>	70
<u>Tanja Säily</u>	82
<u>Anni Sairio</u>	70
<u>Javier Sanz</u>	10
<u>Julia Schlüter</u>	103
<u>Hans-Jörg Schmid</u>	105
<u>Hans-Jörg Schmid</u>	50
<u>Selina Schmidt</u>	24
<u>Andreas Schramm</u>	84
<u>Ole Schützler</u>	107
<u>Martin Schweinberger</u>	110
<u>Elena Seoane</u>	112
<u>Jude Ssempuuma</u>	114
<u>Cristina Suarez-Gomez</u>	112
<u>Jukka Suomela</u>	82
<u>Benedikt Szmrecsanyi</u>	20
<u>Irma Taavitsainen</u>	116
<u>Laura Terassa</u>	118
<u>Jacob Thaisen</u>	121
<u>Kathrin Uebler</u>	123
<u>Turo Vartiainen</u>	68
<u>Carla Vergaro</u>	105
<u>Fabian Vetter</u>	30
<u>Susanne Wagner</u>	125
<u>Cathleen Waters</u>	127
<u>Valentin Werner</u>	129
<u>Quirin Würschinger</u>	50
<u>Hiroshi Yadomi</u>	132
<u>Zhixia Yang</u>	135
<u>Desislava Zhekova</u>	50
<u>WORKSHOPS</u>	137
<u>Grammar-Discourse-Context: Widening the horizon for a theory of grammatical change</u>	138

<u>Kristin Bech.....</u>	<u>138</u>
<u>Kristin Killie.....</u>	<u>141</u>
<u>Martin Konvička.....</u>	<u>143</u>
<u>Bettelou Los.....</u>	<u>145</u>
<u>Ruth Möhlig-Falke.....</u>	<u>138</u>
<u>Dirk Noël.....</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>Elena Seoane.....</u>	<u>153</u>
<u>Reijirou Shibasaki.....</u>	<u>156</u>
<u>Ferdinand von Mengden.....</u>	<u>148</u>
<u>New horizons in ellipsis.....</u>	<u>158</u>
<u>Euiyon Cho.....</u>	<u>163</u>
<u>Jun Abe.....</u>	<u>162</u>
<u>Sunjoo Choi.....</u>	<u>163</u>
<u>Marcel den Dikken.....</u>	<u>167</u>
<u>James Griffiths.....</u>	<u>168</u>
<u>Güneş Güliz.....</u>	<u>171</u>
<u>Anikó Lipták.....</u>	<u>171</u>
<u>Gui-Sun Moon.....</u>	<u>174</u>
<u>Myungkwan Park.....</u>	<u>163</u>
<u>Ui-Jong Shin.....</u>	<u>163</u>
<u>Hae-Kyung Wee.....</u>	<u>177</u>
<u>Diachronic change in New Englishes.....</u>	<u>179</u>
<u>Ariane Borlongan.....</u>	<u>181</u>
<u>Thorsten Brato.....</u>	<u>184</u>
<u>Stefan Dollinger.....</u>	<u>187</u>
<u>Robert Fuchs.....</u>	<u>181</u>
<u>Jason Grafmiller.....</u>	<u>190</u>
<u>Beke Hansen.....</u>	<u>193</u>
<u>Sebastian Hoffmann.....</u>	<u>196</u>
<u>Haidee Kruger.....</u>	<u>198</u>
<u>Susanne Mohr.....</u>	<u>201</u>
<u>Andrea Sand.....</u>	<u>196</u>

<u>Bertus van Rooy</u>	198
<u>Pop-culture in linguistics</u>	204
<u>Frank Bramlett</u>	210
<u>Patricia P. Bertoli</u>	208
<u>Christoph Schubert</u>	213
<u>Theresa Summer</u>	215
<u>Joe Trotta</u>	217
<u>Marcia Veirano Pinto</u>	219
<u>Valentin Werner</u>	221
<u>Michael Westphal</u>	223
<u>THEMED SESSION</u>	225
<u>Getting more out of the corpus data: expanding the empirical change for semantic change</u>	225
<u>Kristin Davidse</u>	231
<u>Lobke Ghesquiere</u>	231
<u>Berit Johannsen</u>	234
<u>Ngum Meyuhnsi Njende</u>	231
<u>Turo Vartiainen</u>	236
<u>POSTERS</u>	238
<u>Michał Adamczyk</u>	239
<u>Euiyon Cho</u>	241
<u>Sunjoo Choi</u>	241
<u>Lenka Garshol</u>	246
<u>Sun-Woong Kim</u>	248
<u>Sun-Woong Kim</u>	250
<u>Mikko Laitinen</u>	254
<u>Alexander Lakaw</u>	254
<u>Alexander Lakaw</u>	256
<u>Sven Leuckert</u>	259
<u>Magnus Levin</u>	254
<u>Jonas Lundberg</u>	254
<u>Gui-Sun Moon</u>	248
<u>Theresa Neumaier</u>	259

<u>Myungkwan Park.....</u>	<u>241</u>
<u>Jong-Un Park.....</u>	<u>261</u>
<u>Susanne Reinhardt.....</u>	<u>265</u>
<u>Ui-Jong Shin.....</u>	<u>241</u>
<u>Jeong-Ah Shin.....</u>	<u>248</u>

4th Conference of the International Society for the English Language
18-21 September 2016, Poznań, Poland

PLENARY PAPERS

Anne Curzan

University of Michigan

Prescriptivism and the Public

Linguists lament that people of all education levels often seem more inclined to listen to self-proclaimed prescriptive language experts like William Safire, Lynne Truss, and William Strunk and E. B. White, than to linguists. When it comes to physics, people turn to physicists as the experts to consult on the topic; when it comes to language, people often turn to experts without training in linguistics. What are the implications for an organization like ISLE? The organization was created with this central aim: “to promote the study of English Language, that is, the study of the structure and history of standard and non-standard varieties of English, in terms of both form and function, at an international level.” How should we approach this enterprise in a public discourse where nonstandard varieties are still regularly denigrated and standard varieties are referred to as “good English” or just “English”?

This talk considers the ideologies that linguists and non-linguists share and don’t share about standard and nonstandard varieties, prescriptive rules, and “grammar” in order to map potential shared conversational ground and productive strategies for addressing misunderstandings and misinformation. I assess language we as linguists have used to talk about prescriptivism with non-experts and analyze the language of public responses to descriptivist arguments. I cannot yet share David Crystal’s optimistic argument in *Stories of English* (2004) that we are nearing the end of a “linguistically intolerant era,” and this talk seeks to lay out new ways forward for having a constructive, civil conversation about prescriptivism and language variation that could further the aims of organizations like ISLE both within the academy and far beyond it.

Katarzyna Dziubalska-Kolaczyk

Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań

Identities of English: A dynamic emergent scene

Are Some Languages Better than Others? asks R.M.W. Dixon in his newest 2016 book. For linguists, languages are equally 'good' in terms of status while they differ in structure and functions. Naïve users describe languages in terms of their relative ease of acquisition, esthetics, their native speakers or cultures and many other subjective criteria. For linguists and non-linguists alike, however, there is no language like English in today's world.

In this talk I will attempt to recognize the varied identities of English taking the bird's eye view on its presence in the global communication. Those identities will include English as a native language and English as a non-native language, the former splitting into dialects and the latter into numerous varieties. For the sake of this major division, a plausible definition of 'native-speakerness' needs to be provided since English is the only language with the majority of non-native speakers. The next major classificatory division is between English as a *lingua franca* and English as one of the seven thousand world's languages. Here the phenomenon of a *lingua franca* must be juxtaposed to the naturalness of multilingualism. Further, differing understandings of *English as a lingua franca* (ELF) will be discussed, taking into account such aspects as teaching English as a second language (TESL) and English as a scientific and research language. In particular, a critical appraisal of the so-called LFC-based ELF will be provided. Another major take on the contemporary identity of English is its role on the grave scene of language endangerment and extinction. Linguistic imperialism may lead to a self-destructive scenario for the emperor language, Latin serving a well-known example. Would non-native Englishes gradually emerge as separate languages? For the question of emergence, complexity theory as well as dynamic systems theory will be recommended. I will conclude with a proposal of a new project which might bring us closer to answering some of the questions posed in the talk.

Bao Zhiming

National University of Singapore

Convergence-to-Substratum

In the contact linguistics literature, much work on substrate influence is focused on grammatical features which can be traced to the linguistic substratum. This analytical slant is understandable, and important for our understanding of contact-driven grammatical change. There is another angle from which to approach substrate influence, which I call convergence-to-substratum. This is the situation when a grammatical feature from the lexifier language converges, in usage if not also in function, with an equivalent feature identifiable in the linguistic substratum. This type of substrate influence has not figured prominently in contact linguistics literature until recently, for the simple reason that convergence is not categorical but incremental. To reveal the extent of convergence, we need sufficiently large computer corpora.

In this talk, I discuss three cases of convergence-to-substratum, drawing data from Singapore English. These are: the deontic and epistemic uses of *must*, the temporal interpretation of *forward*, and negative raising. Although as morphosyntactic features they are very different, the three features exhibit the same type of subtle influence from Chinese, the main local language in the contact ecology of Singapore English.

4th Conference of the International Society for the English Language
18-21 September 2016, Poznań, Poland

GENERAL SESSION

Bas Aarts

University College London (UCL)

Predicative For

In this talk I will discuss constructions that involve what I will call predicative *for*, as in (1), an attested example from a TV commercial, in which *for* is followed by a noun phrase (*my wives*) which stands in an oblique predicative relationship (indicated by the subscript ‘i’) to a phrase higher up in the containing structure, i.e. *them*.

(1) I want them_i for my wives_i

Notice that this example is ambiguous between a predicative reading (‘I want them to be my wives’) and a benefactive reading (‘I want them for the benefit of my wives’). I will only be discussing predicative *for* and a number of questions that arise in connection with it. First, it is not immediately clear what is the grammatical status of the postverbal NP in structures like (1): is it the direct object of the verb, followed by a PP, as in (2), or is it perhaps grammatically (as well as semantically) the subject of a subordinate clause, as in (3)?

(2) I want [_{NP} them] [_{PP} for [_{NP} my wives]]

(3) I want [clause them for my wives]

I will present arguments that support the analysis in (3) in which the verb *want* takes a clausal complement. More controversially, I will claim that *for* inside the complement clause also licenses a clausal complement, such that we have the full analysis in (4) in which the implied subject (indicated by ‘Ø’) is co-referential with the preceding NP: (4) I want [clause [_{NP} them]_i [_{PP} for [clause Ø_i my wives]]] Predicative *for* appears in a number of other constructions. Among them are (5) and (6):

(5) They left her for dead.

(6) With a stick for a weapon he attacked the officer.

In (5) *for* is followed by an adjective phrase, and in (6) we have an ‘absolute’ construction. I will argue that (5) and (6) are analysed as in (7) and (8), respectively: (7) They left [_{NP} her]_i [_{PP} for [_{clause} \emptyset _i dead]]]

(8) [_{PP} With [_{NP} a stick]_i [_{PP} for [_{clause} \emptyset _i a weapon]]]] he attacked the officer

This research builds on earlier work in which I argued that *for* in English is always a pronoun and never a complementiser.

Rhona Alcorn

University of Edinburgh

Joanna Kopaczyk

University of Edinburgh / Adam Mickiewicz University

Benjamin Molineaux

University of Edinburgh

***Grapho-phonological parsing of C15 Scots: a reassessment of the [v]~[f]
alternation***

This paper introduces a new technique for analysing variant spellings in non-standard writing systems. We take evidence for devoicing of /v/ in C15 Scots as our case study.

Following loss of final *-e* in early Middle English (ME), /v/ (the restructure allophone of intervocalic /f/) was subject to word-final devoicing in northern varieties (Mossé 1952: §45, Fisiak 1968: 61). According to Johnston (1997: 104), devoicing of final /v/ is widespread also in Scots and can be traced back to early forms in final <f(f)>, e.g. C15 Scots *gif(f)* ‘give’, *haf(f)* ‘have’, *luf(f)* ‘love’. This, then, raises questions about the signification of <f(f)> in *giffyn* ‘giving’, *haffand* ‘having’, *luffit* ‘loved’: did /v/ also devoice intervocalically in early Scots, or do these forms show levelling of devoiced /v/ to stem-final position (cf. Bermúdez-Otero, 2007: 503), or are they simply historic root spellings carried over from Old English? And what about *gafe* ‘gave’, *haf(f)e* ‘have’, *lufe* ‘love’? Do these show that final <e> had no phonic substance? And what of text languages in which <f(f)> (presumably for [f]) and <u, v, w> (presumably for [v]) alternate in the same environment, e.g. *hafe* ~ *have*?

Such questions lie at the heart of a major study of the phonological origins of Scots. The project, *From Inglis to Scots: Mapping sounds to spellings*, takes a systematic approach to the relationship between sounds and spellings through a new technique of graphophonological parsing. This involves (i) triangulating early Scots spelling units (= graphemes, *litterae*), their corresponding sound values (= phones, *potestates*), and the *potestates* of the varieties which were the immediate

inputs to Scots; (ii) annotating these correspondence sets with etymological, phonotactic and syllable-position information. From these analyses we derive for our case study a list of matches, i.e. tokens of <f(f)> for historical [f] or <u, v, w> for historical [v], and of mismatches, e.g. tokens of <f(f)> for historical [v] or <u, v, w> for historical [f]. We show how our annotations enable us to discover the linguistic circumstances in which these (mis)matches occur and thereby offer a comprehensive analysis of early Scots <f(f)> and <u, v, w>.

Our data is drawn from LAOS, which represents 1,400 local documents written in 1380–1500 Scots. There has been no systematic investigation of (de)voicing in Scots in this period, and our findings are relevant for understanding the situation in late northern ME, if not early northern ME as well.

References

- Bermúdez-Otero, R. 2007. Diachronic phonology. In P. de Lacy (ed.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Phonology*, 497–517. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fisiak, J. 1968. *A short grammar of Middle English*. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Johnston, P. 1997. Older Scots phonology and its regional variation. In: C. Jones (ed.), *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*, 47–111. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- LAOS, *A Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots*, Phase 1: 1380–1500, compiled by K. Williamson. [<http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laos1/laos1.html>] Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh.
- Mossé, F. 1952. *A Handbook of Middle English*. Baltimore: John Hopkins.

Sabine Arndt-Lappe

Javier Sanz

University of Trier

Unexpected stresses in English derivation: exceptionally variable or variably exceptional? A case study of adjectives in -able and -ory

Stress assignment in derived words in English has often been cited as evidence in the theoretical debate between different conceptions of phonology-morphology interaction. For example, the distinction between stress-shifting and stress-preserving suffixes is commonly taken to support the idea of interleaving phonological and morphological modules in a stratified lexicon (cf. Kiparsky 1982, Giegerich 1999). Furthermore, the existence of stress preservation effects where main stress in the base survives as secondary stress in the derivative has been used as evidence for lexical marking of stress and grammatically relevant paradigmatic correspondence relations. The crucial underlying assumption of most pertinent theoretical work has been that stress rules are categorical, and that variation can only arise as random or lexicalised exceptions. This view, however, has been challenged in recent work (cf. esp. Collie 2008, Bauer et al. 2013), which suggests that both the extent and the systematicity of the variation have hitherto been underestimated. Evidence is, however, so far often anecdotal and unsystematic, and the theoretical status of the findings is unclear.

Using data from a production study ran in Cambridge with English native speakers, the talk will present a systematic empirical analysis of the role of stress preservation and stress shift in two case studies. These concern main stress in adjectival formations ending in *-able* (usually assumed to be mostly stress-preserving) and *-ory* (usually assumed to be mostly stress-shifting). Examples of the variation are given in (1) and (2):

- (1) *mónitor-able* (preserved from *mónitor*) vs. *analýs-able* (not preserved from *ánalyse*)
- (2) *révelat-ory* (not preserved neither from *revéal* nor from *revelátion*) vs. *artículat-ory* (preserved from *artícúlate*)

Unlike previous work, the case studies on main stress in *-able* and *-ory* derivatives exclusively look at derivatives of long bases (> 3 syllables). The study finds a substantial amount of stress variation not only across and within lexical types but also within speakers. Likewise, the study shows many instances of variation regarding vowel preservation (e.g. *congrátul[ei]tory* vs *congrátul[ə]tory*) which have been commonly overlooked by the literature but are shown to be relevant in stratal accounts such as Collie's (2008). It is found, however, that the variation is not unsystematic. It reflects the interaction of prosodic faithfulness effects and effects of phonological wellformedness. Neither of the two effects is categorical in the sense that it is exceptionless, but the two morphological categories differ in terms of the relative strength of the two types of effect. Furthermore, the study uncovers systematic typological gaps in the variation. For example, phonological wellformedness is constrained by stress preservation in that unfaithful stresses are more likely to occur if the unfaithful stress preserves the rhythmic structure of the base in the derivative. Theoretical implications will be discussed.

References

- Bauer, Laurie, Rochelle Lieber & Ingo Plag. 2013. *The Oxford Reference Guide to English Morphology*. Oxford: OUP.
- Collie, Sarah. 2008. English stress preservation: the case for 'fake cyclicity'. *English Language and Linguistics* 12(3). 505–532.
- Giegerich, Heinz. 1999. *Lexical Strata in English: Morphological Causes, Phonological Effects*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Kiparsky, Paul. 1982. Lexical morphology and phonology. In In-Seok Yang (ed.), *Linguistics in the Morning Calm: Selected Papers from SICOL*, 3–91. Seoul: Hanshin.

James Baker

University of Cambridge

Split intransitivity in English

The two-way division of English intransitives into “unergatives” and “unaccusatives” is too simplistic and overlooks significant variation, which nevertheless demonstrates semantic regularities and is encoded syntactically.

Introduction

Perlmutter (1978) divides intransitive predicates into two classes: “unergatives” and “unaccusatives”. The following English examples illustrate such intransitive splits:

- (1) a. talker, worker; *arriver, *dier
- b. *the recently talked speaker; the recently arrived recruits
- c. John talked for hours; *John arrived for hours

Perlmutter describes this split in terms of grammatical relations; Burzio (1986) recasts it in terms of argument structure – the subject of unergatives is an external argument, that of unaccusatives an internal argument:

- (2) a. Unergatives: [VP [DP Lucy] [V' [V worked]]]
- b. Unaccusatives: [VP [V' [V arrived] [DP Lucy]]]

A number of diagnostics have been proposed in the literature to determine the placement of a given intransitive in one class or the other. This paper considers systematically these diagnostics with a wide range of verbs.

Results

The diagnostics considered are V *away*, V *one's way into*, suffix *-er*, *out*-prefixation, cognate objects, prenominal past participles, *for hours*, the resultative construction, the causative alternation, *there*-insertion and locative inversion. These suggest that it is appropriate to identify more than two basic classes. Rather, multiple classes arise based on the interaction of different semantic features ([initiation], [state], [change] and [inherent telicity]):

	<i>-er, out-</i> etc. [–state, –change]	Resultatives/ causatives [–initiation]	Prenominal past participles [+change]	<i>for hours</i> [–inherently telic]
<i>work, swim, cough</i>	Yes	No	No	Yes
<i>be, persist</i>	No	No	No	Yes
<i>melt, burn</i>	Mixed	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>break, tear</i>	No	Yes	Yes	No
<i>go, arrive</i>	No	No	Yes	No

Table 1. Summary of major classes of intransitives.

For most of these diagnostics, good correspondence is observed with Sorace's (2000) Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy (ASH), an ordered hierarchy of semantic categories to which split intransitive patterns are predicted to be sensitive. Thus, a wider consequence of this work is to provide further evidence for the cross-linguistic applicability of the ASH.

Two purported diagnostics – *there*-insertion ((3a)) and locative inversion ((3b)) – do not show any correspondence with the ASH; neither do these constructions (unlike the others considered) appear to be sensitive to semantic factors inherent to the verb. These facts support Levin & Rappaport Hovav's (1995) claim that these two constructions are not true diagnostics of unaccusativity.

- (3) a. There arrived a woman. b. Into the room arrived a woman.

Analysis

I adopt an approach to thematic roles with broad similarities to that of Ramchand (2008), proposing the following “cartographic” functional structure:

- (4) [InitiationP Initiation [StateP State [ChangeP Change [TelicP Telic VP]]]]

Arguments are merged in the specifier positions of these heads and receive their thematic roles from them. Sensitivity of different constructions to different heads in the structure derives the different classes picked out by the diagnostics: for example, a resultative can only be formed on [-initiation] InitiationP, prenominal past participles only occur with (a subset of) [+change] ChangePs, etc.

I therefore follow Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995) in positing that split intransitivity is “semantically determined and syntactically encoded” (cf. Van Valin 1990), though I differ in my approach to the syntactic encoding itself. I am also able to retain the insight that split intransitivity is linked to argument structure, by positing different argument positions to correspond to the different verb classes.

References

- Burzio, Luigi. 1986. *Italian syntax: a government-binding approach*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Levin, Beth & Malka Rappaport Hovav. 1995. *Unaccusativity: at the syntax-lexical semantics interface*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Perlmutter, David. 1978. Impersonal passives and the unaccusative hypothesis. *Proceedings of the 4th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 157–90.
- Ramchand, Gillian. 2008. *Verb meaning and the lexicon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sorace, Antonella. 2000. Gradients in auxiliary selection with intransitive verbs. *Language* 76(4), 850-90.
- Van Valin, Robert D. Jr. 1990. Semantic Parameters of Split Intransitivity. *Language* 66(2), 221–60.

Lina Baldus

University of Trier

What is ‘frequent enough’? A case study on the L2 acquisition of the catenative verb construction

Constructionist and usage-based approaches to language claim that the frequency with which linguistic input is experienced is a key factor in the process of second language acquisition (Bybee 2008, Ellis 2002; Goldberg 2006; Madlener 2015). One aspect that is often left underspecified, however, is which component parts of linguistic input need to be experienced with sufficient frequency by learners in order to form a native-like schema representation for a certain construction. The present study addresses this question, using the English catenative verb construction as a testbed phenomenon. The catenative verb construction consists of the ‘catenative verb’ (see bold verbs in (1) and (2) below) and a non-finite complement, the so-called ‘catenative complement’ (Huddleston Pullum 2002) which can be, for instance, a gerund-participial or a to-infinitival complement as in the following examples:

(1) *She* [**refused** *to leave the room.*]

(2) *My brother* [**enjoys** *reading comics in bed.*]

The construction is of particular interest to research in the study of English as a Second Language because learners often show choices of the complement type different from those of native speakers (Deshors 2015; Gries Wulff 2009; Martinez-Garcia Wulff 2012). Two complementary experiments will be presented, one involving a production task and one involving a grammaticality judgement task, where advanced German learners of English are asked to produce and assess catenative verbs which license only one complement type and occur with different frequencies in British English as attested in the *British National Corpus* (BNC). The paper provides a systematic quantitative study of how frequency affects the learners’ representation of the construction and which components of the construction need to be experienced with sufficient frequency in order to combine the catenative verb with the target-like complement type, thereby

gaining a native-like representation of the construction.

The results show that the frequency of the catenative verb together with its complement strongly correlates with the choice of the target-like complement. This is true for both the production and the grammaticality judgment task. Furthermore, it is shown that the more frequent the catenative verb together with its complement type occurs in English, the more often the target-like complement type is preferred by the learners. By contrast, there is no significant effect of the frequency of the catenative verb alone, independently of the complement type with which it occurs, on the learners' choice of the correct complement type in neither task. Hence it is argued that the frequency of the catenative verb plus its complement type promotes entrenchment of the construction whereas the experience of the verb itself is not sufficient to form a native-like schema for the catenative verb construction. More precisely, the findings suggest that in a learner's mental network a catenative verb occurring in different contexts is not accumulated under one category but is structured according to the different constructions it occurs in. This implies that linguistic material is not stored as separate components but as coherent units, namely constructions, which are stored on the basis of generalizations which are themselves promoted by frequency.

References

- Bybee, Joan L. 2008. Usage-based grammar and second language acquisition. In *Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition*. Peter Robinson Nick C. Ellis (eds), 216-236. New York/London: Routledge.
- Deshors, Sandra C. 2015. A multifactorial approach to gerundial and to-infinitival verb-complementation patterns in native and non-native English. *English Text Construction* 8(2): 207-235.3
- Ellis, Nick C. 2002. Frequency effects in language processing: A review with implications for theories of implicit and explicit language acquisition. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 24(2): 143-188.
- Goldberg, Adele E. 2006. *Constructions at work: the nature of generalization in language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gries, Stefan Th. & Wulff, Stefanie. 2009. Psycholinguistic and corpus linguistic evidence for L2 constructions. *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics* 7, 163-186.
- Huddleston, Rodney, Pullum, Geoffrey K. 2002. *The Cambridge Grammar of English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Madlener, Karin (2015). *Frequency Effects in Instructed Second Language Acquisition*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Martinez-Garcia, Maria T. & Stefanie Wulff. 2012. Not wrong, yet not quite right: Spanish ESLstudents' use of gerundial and infinitival complementation. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* (22.2). 225–244.

Magdalena Bator

University of Social Sciences, Warsaw

On the structure of rhymed culinary recipes in Middle English

The structure of the medieval recipe has already been investigated by a number of scholars, for instance Stannard (1982), Hunt (1990), Taavitsainen (2001), Grund (2003), Carroll (2005-06), and Makinen (2006). These studies, although dealing with different subtypes of recipes, i.e., medical, culinary and/or alchemical, agree that a certain structure is followed in the analysed instructional texts. The components which can be distinguished are: the title, the indication of use, the ingredients, the preparation and dosage, the application, and the efficacy (terminology after Taavitsainen 2001). However, all these studies draw their conclusions on the basis of recipes written in prose. Apart from a few brief notes (e.g. in Görlach 2004) which only mention rhymed forms of recipes, there is no extensive study of instructions written in verse.

The aim of the present paper is to analyse a late medieval culinary collection written in verse in order to find out whether the structure of these recipes differs from the 'traditional' one. The material selected for the present study is a 15th century collection, *Liber Cure Cocorum*, written in a northern dialect. The collection consists of one hundred and forty recipes. Most of the dishes presented in the collection are known from other medieval collections, written in prose. The author of *Liber Cure Cocorum* definitely must have paid a lot of attention to the structure of the collection. He writes for instance: "þo names in tabulle I shalle sete / þo number in augrym above, with outen lete, / In augrim pat shalle wryten be, / An po tytels with in on po same degre" (*Liber Cure Cocorum*: Introduction). The proposed study will show to what degree he respected the generally accepted structure of the text type, which he converted to verse.

References

- Carroll, Ruth. 2005-06. "Assessing paleographic evidence for discourse structuring in Middle English recipes", *Boletin Millares Carlo* 24-25: 305-325.
- Görlach, Manfred. 2004. *Text types and the history of English*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Grund, Peter. 2003. "The golden formulas: Genre conventions of alchemical recipes in the Middle

English period”, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 104(4): 455-475.

Hunt, Tony. 1990. *Popular medicine in thirteenth-century England. Introduction and texts.* Cambridge: Boydell Brewer.

Mäkinen, Martti. 2006. *Between herbals et alia: Intertextuality in Medieval English herbals.* Doctoral dissertation. University of Helsinki, Faculty of Arts, Department of English and The Research Unit for Variation, Contacts and Change in English.

Morris, Richard (ed.). 1862. *Liber Cure Cocorum. [Copied and edited from the Sloane MS].* Berlin: A.Asher & Co.

Stannard, Jerry. 1982. “Rezeptliteratur as Fachliteratur”, in: Eamon, William (ed.), *Studies on medieval Fachliteratur, Scripta 6.* Brussels: Omirel, 59-73.

Taavitsainen, Irma. 2001. “Middle English recipes. Genre characteristics, text type features and underlying traditions of writing”, *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 2.1: 85-113.

Douglas Biber

Northern Arizona University

Jesse Egbert

Brigham Young University

Franco Karlien

Benedikt Szmrecsanyi

University of Leuven

Toward more accountability: Modeling ternary genitive variation

We challenge the “consensus” (Rosenbach 2014:222) in the literature that the English genitive has only two interesting variants, the s-genitive and the of-genitive, and argue instead that in reality there are no less than three syntactic variants:

- (1) the FBI’s director (the s-genitive)
- (2) the director of the FBI (the of-genitive)
- (3) the FBI director (the NN-genitive)

While variation between the s-genitive and the of-genitive is extremely well researched, much less is known about the factors that favor the NN-genitive vis-à-vis the other variants, or about the patterns of variation between the s-genitive and the of-genitive when the NN-genitive is included as a possible competitor. Rather, most researchers have tended to ignore the NN-genitive, simplistically restricting attention to the binary variation between the s-genitive and the of-genitive. We seek to quit this negligence: how does the choice between the NN-genitive and either the s-genitive or the of-genitive differ from the well-known alternation between the s-genitive and the of-genitive? What are the relevant predictors, and how did they evolve during the LateModE period? Considering all three genitive variants in a more accountable fashion, how does the system work? On the methodological plane, observe that examples (1) to (3) are two-way interchangeable (i.e., in each case all three variants are possible), but the complication of studying ternary genitive variability is that there are many s-, of-, and NN-genitives that are interchangeable with only one of

the other genitive variants, but not both. Consider, for example, the NN-genitive in (4):

(4) the wheat fields

Wheat fields can be paraphrased as fields of wheat, but not as ?wheat's fields. The fact that not all genitive variants in our dataset can be paraphrased by all other genitive variants poses analytical challenges, which we addressed as follows. Using the variationist method (Labov 1982), we created a dataset that consists of $n = 10,054$ variable genitives drawn from the Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers (ARCHER). The material covers the period between 1650 and 2000, thus enabling us to track the evolution of variable genitive grammar in real time. We then annotated the genitives in this dataset for the extent to which they are interchangeable with one or both of the other variants, as well as for a range of predictors known to constrain genitive variation, such as possessor animacy and constituent length. Our analysis sliced up the dataset into four different variable contexts: three binary alternation contexts, plus one ternary alternation context where each variant is paraphrasable by both of the other variants. These four alternation contexts we analyzed one-by-one using customary logistic regression analysis. Key findings include that there is an overall drift towards the NN-genitive, and that the NN-genitive is popular with short constituents, inanimate possessors, highly thematic possessums, and non-plural possessors. Analysis also shows that there is robust probabilistic change during the LateModE period.

References

- Labov, William. 1982. Building on empirical foundations. In Winfred Lehmann – Yakov Malkiel (eds.), *Perspectives on Historical Linguistics*, 17–92. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Rosenbach, Anette. 2014. English genitive variation – the state of the art. *English Language and Linguistics* 18(02). 215–262. doi:10.1017/S1360674314000021.

Samuel Bourgeois

University of Neuchâtel

How oral discourse markers cross into writing: Colloquialization and the development of well

Recent research into changes of written text type conventions indicates that there has been a significant increase of oral speech elements in particular written genres, a trend which is known as *colloquialization* (Mair 2006: 187). Some of the elements already discussed in the literature include the increased use of verbal and negative contractions, *not*-negation compared to *no*-negation, and questions (Leech et al. 2009: 240-2). This paper extends the study of colloquialization by adding discourse markers (DMs) to the list of typically oral-like elements increasingly found in written genres. At this point, the adoption of discourse markers into written genres is an understudied topic (Rühlemann and Hilpert to appear). An in-depth investigation of DMs in written genres is necessary because despite the fact that the use of DMs in certain written genres has been attested (Aijmer 2013), it remains unclear how exactly DMs from the oral domain enter written genres and how they function in written texts.

Methodologically, this study adopts the outlook of corpus-based pragmatics (Aijmer 2015: 203) but then takes this approach into the less visited arena of written texts. In particular, it concentrates on the DM *well* in the following genres of American English: Non-fiction, Newspapers, Magazines, and Fiction. The first part of this study presents evidence from the COHA (Davies 2010) that shows a general increase in the frequency of the use of *well*, particularly its use in the sentence-medial position, which varies across text types. The second part of this study takes a qualitative approach and presents an in-depth look into how *well* functions in writing, both in the sentence-initial position which is primarily a marker of response and coherence, and in the sentence-medial position which has a greater variety of functions. All of these functions are compared with data from formal oral data in the Hansard Corpus (Alexander and Davies 2015) in order to determine how the oral use of *well* differs from its use in writing and how its function in writing has developed over time. The analysis focuses on the sentence-medial functions of *well* in the COHA data, which are labeled as quote marker *well*, clause marker *well*, predicative *well*, and word choosing marker *well*. Although all of these are present in the Hansard data, these features are significantly more widely distributed in the written genres than the oral genres, especially in the media-based ones (i.e. Magazines, Newspapers).

The finding that emerges from the analysis is that colloquialization is more than a mere inclusion of oral elements into writing. As DMs like *well* make their way into written genres, their functions change in order to adapt to the specific communicative needs of writers.

References

- Aijmer, K. 2015. "Pragmatic markers", In Aijmer, K. and C. Rühlemann. (eds) *Corpus Pragmatics: A Handbook*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Aijmer, K. 2013. *Understanding pragmatic markers. A variational pragmatic Approach*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Alexander, M. and M. Davies. 2015. Hansard Corpus 1803-2005. Available online at <http://www.hansard-corpus.org>.
- Biber, D. 1991. *Variation Across Speech and Writing*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Davies, M. 2010. The Corpus of Historical American English (COHA) 1810-2009. Available online at <http://corpus.byu.edu/coha>.
- Leech, G., M. Hundt, C. Mair, and N. Smith. 2009. *Change in Contemporary English: A Grammatical Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mair, C. 2006. *Twentieth-Century English: History, Variation, and Standardization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rühlemann, C. & M. Hilpert. (to appear) Colloquialization in Journalistic Writing: The Case of Inserts with a focus on *well*. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics*.

Marie-Louise Brunner

Stefan Diemer

Selina Schmidt

Saarland University

“... uhm Knödel ((German)) I don't know if there is a word in English for that ((chuckling))”. Context and discursive functions of code-switching in intercultural Skype conversations

This paper analyzes how code-switching is used by English as a Lingua franca (ELF) speakers communicating via Skype, a communication medium that has so far not been examined in an ELF context. The basis for the analysis is CASE, the Corpus of Academic Spoken English (forthcoming), in which participants from eight European countries (Belgium, Bulgaria, Finland, Germany, Italy, the UK, Spain and Sweden) discuss academic and cultural topics in an informal online setting. Code-switching, which we understand as a “phenomenon of language contact” (Auer and Eastman 2010: 85), i.e. an interplay of different “codes,” in this case different languages, is a key strategy in ELF interaction (Cogo 2009, Klimpfinger 2009, Pennycook 2010), and, as Vettorel (2014: 211) emphasizes, “commonly and effectively employed [...] without causing problems of intelligibility.” It can occur in the form of word fragments, single words, clauses or whole passages (Klimpfinger 2009: 351). As code-switching is tagged in our data, it can be extracted and quantified. First, we quantitatively analyze its frequency, the type of words that are switched, and its co-occurrence with paralinguistic (such as laughter or pauses) and organizational features (such as discourse markers) to get an impression of the context it occurs in. We then qualitatively analyze various instances of code-switching to illustrate concrete communicative aspects, such as motivated vs. performance (de Bot 2002), that is intentionally/consciously vs. unintentionally occurring code-switches, and flagged vs. skilled (Poplack 1987), that is whether a code-switch is embedded directly in the surrounding discourse or highlighted and marked in any way. We also investigate its discursive functions and communicative goals during the co-construction of meaning in ELF (cf. also Gumperz 1982). Code-switching in our data occurs frequently and for various purposes: to

improve the communication (cf. Klimpfinger 2009) and contribute to its continuation, e.g. by conveying words that are unknown or untranslatable, often in combination with explanations where the code-switch seems to be needed as focus point, i.e. as a kind of filler to serve as ‘anchor’ for the rest of the explanation; to enhance cultural connotations (cf. Vettorel 2014), as a means of emphasizing cultural identity and group membership (cf. Ochs 1993, Auer 2005, Cogo 2009), not only as part of their own national community but also as ELF speakers; in combination with laughter, as a means of creating rapport between interlocutors (cf. Spencer-Oatey 2000), not only creating common ground but also reducing the situational awkwardness, mitigating a delicate situation, here for example embarrassment, by indicating nonseriousness (cf. Chafe 2007); finally, code-switching can have humorous purposes (cf. Siegel 1995), either by breaking with the ‘norm’ of a monolingual communication, by its “creative or unusual use of language” (Siegel 1995: 101), or through humour based on dialects. All in all, we observe that code-switching (in combination with laughter) generally seems to have a positive effect on the communicative setting, putting partners at ease with each other.

Select Bibliography

- Auer, P. 2005. A Postscript: Code-Switching and Social Identity. *Journal of Pragmatics* 37 (2005): 403-410.
- Auer, Peter, and Carol M. Eastman. 2010. Code-switching. *Handbook of Pragmatics*, vol. 7: Society and Language Use, ed. by Jürgen Jaspers, Jan Ola Östman, and Jef Verschueren. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- CASE. Forthcoming. *Corpus of Academic Spoken English*. Saarbrücken: Saarland University. [<http://www.unisaarland.de/lehrstuhl/engling/case.html>] (03.03.2016).
- Chafe, Wallace L. 2007. *The importance of not being earnest: The feeling behind laughter and humour*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Cogo, A. 2009. Accommodating difference in ELF conversation. In Anna Mauranen and Elina Ranta (eds.), *English as a lingua franca: studies and findings* (pp. 254–273). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press.
- De Bot, Kees. 2002. Cognitive processing in bilinguals: From static to dynamic models. *The Oxford handbook of applied linguistics*, 2nd ed. by Robert B. Kaplan, 335-348
- Gumperz, J. J. 1982. *Language and social identity*. Vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Klimpfinger, T. 2009. “She’s mixing the two languages together” Forms and functions of code

- switching in English as a lingua franca. In Anna Mauranen and Elina Ranta (eds.), *English as a lingua franca: studies and findings* (pp. 348–372). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press.
- Ochs, E. 1996. *Constructing Social Identity: A Language Socialization Perspective*. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 26(3), 287-306.
- Pennycook, A. 2010. *Language as a local practice*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Poplack, Shana. 1987. *Contrasting patterns of code-switching in two communities*. *Aspects of Multilingualism: Proceedings from the Fourth Nordic Symposium on Bilingualism*, ed. By Erling Wande et al., 51-77.
- Siegel, J. 1995. *How to get a laugh in Fijian: Code-switching and humor*. *Language in Society*, 24(01), 95-110.
- Spencer-Oatey, H. 2000. *Rapport Management: A Framework for Analysis*. In H. Spencer-Oatey (Ed.), *Culturally Speaking: Managing Rapport Through Talk Across Cultures*. London: Continuum, 114-6.
- Vettorel, P. 2014. *ELF in wider networking: Blogging practices*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Sarah Buschfeld

University of Regensburg

***Investigating new native speaker contexts: An empirical analysis of the acquisition
of the L1 Singapore English vowel system***

As one result of both colonization and globalization and the ongoing spread of English worldwide, more and more children who would not fall within the traditional category of “native speakers of English” nowadays acquire it as their first language (L1), mostly in combination with one or more languages of their families’ linguistic repertoires. This phenomenon has been most prominently reported for Singapore (e.g. Bolton Ng 2014; Gupta 1994, 1998; Lim 2007; Lim Foley 2004; Tan 2014), but has not yet been investigated systematically, even though census data suggest an ever-increasing number of L1 learners in this traditionally second-language (L2) English context (cf. Census of Population 2000; Census of Population 2010), which opens up new and interesting perspectives – and challenges! – for both World Englishes and First Language Acquisition research.

The paper at hand is among the first that aim at facing such new perspectives. As such, it inquires into the acquisition of the L1 Singapore English (SingE) vowel system, offering first insights into its characteristics.

The data come from 30 bi- or multilingual Singaporean children, aged 2;5 to 12;1. Vowels were elicited by means of a picture naming task, aiming at the production of words such as *pig* and *key*, *sock* and *door* as well as *foot* and *spoon*, thus probing into the realization of the tense/lax vowel pairs in the lexical sets KIT and FLEECE, LOT and THOUGHT as well as FOOT and GOOSE (Wells 1982). Vowel quality and quantity were measured in PRAAT (Boersma Weenink 2014). Results were interpreted with respect to (1) the sociolinguistic variables “age” and “ethnicity” (as these have turned out to be significant factors influencing the grammatical development of L1 SingE; e.g. Buschfeld 2016), and (2) the linguistic input available to Singaporean children. Singapore Standard English (SSE) and Singapore Colloquial English (SCE) are available as L2 contact varieties spoken by Singaporean adults, British English (BrE) as the historical input variety, and American English (AmE) as an additional variety exerting influence on the linguistic repertoires of today’s Singapore (e.g. Brown et al. 2000; Deterding 2007; Tan 2016). This is of

particular relevance here, since these potential input varieties realize the vowel contrasts in different ways. BrE, SSE, and AmE generally employ distinctions between long and short vowels with AmE potentially merging LOT and THOUGHT. On the other hand, L2 SCE conflates these vowel pairs in terms of quantity and partly quality (e.g. Lim 2004: 20-23). The existence of these model variants provides competing linguistic input for the children and makes the question about the characteristics of L1 SingE all the more interesting.

Results show that Singaporean children indeed combine linguistic elements drawn from the different input varieties in their production of vowels (e.g. varying degrees of tense/lax vowel coalescence), showing both inter- as well as intra-speaker variation influenced by the sociolinguistic variables investigated, as well as language-internal, lexically motivated variation, especially in the realization of LOT and THOUGHT.

References:

- Byschfeld, Sarah. 2016. "English as a First Language in Singapore: A Corpus-based Analysis of Zero Subjects". Presentation at the ISLE4, 2016.
- Boersma, Paul & David Weenink. 2014. Praat: doing phonetics by computer (Version 5.3.68). <http://www.praat.org> (28 March 2014).
- Brown, Adam, David Deterding & Ee Ling Low. 2000. *The English Language in Singapore. Research on Pronunciation*. Singapore: Singapore Association for Applied Linguistics.
- Deterding, David. 2007. *Singapore English*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Bolton, Kingsley & Bee Chin Ng. 2014. "The dynamics of multilingualism in contemporary Singapore". *World Englishes* 33(3): 307-318.
- Census of Population 2000, Statistical Release 2. http://www.singstat.gov.sg/publications/publications_and_papers/cop2000/cop2000r2.html (31 Oct. 2014).
- Census of Population 2010, Statistical Release 1. http://www.singstat.gov.sg/publications/publications_and_papers/cop2010/census10_stat_release1.html (31 Oct. 2014).
- Gupta, Anthea F. 1994. *The Step-Tongue. Children's English in Singapore*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Gupta, Anthea F. 1998. "The situation of English in Singapore". In Joseph A. Foley, Thiru Kandiah, Bao Zhiming, Anthea Fraser Gupta, Lubna Alsagoff, Ho Chee Lick, Lionel Wee, Ismail S.

- Talib Wendy D. Bokhorst-Heng (eds.), *English in New Cultural Contexts: Reflections from Singapore*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 106-126.
- Lim, Lisa. 2004. "Sounding Singaporean". In Lisa Lim (ed.), *Singapore English: A Grammatical Description*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 19-56.
- Lim, Lisa. 2007. "Mergers and acquisitions: on the ages and origins of Singapore English particles". *World Englishes* 26(4): 446-473.
- Lim, Lisa Joseph A. Foley. 2004. "English in Singapore and Singapore English". In Lisa Lim (ed.), *Singapore English: A Grammatical Description*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1-18.
- Tan, Ying-Ying. 2014. "English as a 'mother tongue' in Singapore". *World Englishes* 33(3): 319-339.
- Tan, Ying-Ying. 2016. "The Americanization of the phonology of Asian Englishes: Evidence from Singapore". In Gerhard Leitner, Azirah Hashim Hans-Georg Wolf (eds.), *Communicating with Asia. The Future of English as a Global Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 120-134.
- Wells, John C. 1982. *Accents of English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Romina Buttafoco

Fabian Vetter

University of Bamberg

“There is twenty three million dollars less in the kitty”: A quantitative approach to informality in Australian parliamentary debates

While a trend towards informalisation of public discourse has been observed in L1 varieties of English and Western societies in general (cf. e.g. Fairclough & Mauranen 1997; Hundt & Mair 1999; Collins & Yao 2013), it is Australian speakers of English that are often associated with informality and casualness in interaction. As argued in previous studies, this informal character of Australian English (AusE) is not only a matter of lexical preferences but can be regarded as a culturally determined discourse strategy (cf. Wierzbicka 1992; Goddard 2006; Gassner 2013).

Although several studies have illustrated this, there has not been a systematic approach to the question of informality in AusE yet. Likewise, prior research focused on intra-language or cross-cultural issues related to the subject, but did not apply a comparative, variationist approach. Complementing former qualitative studies, this paper therefore aims at investigating informality in Australian English by quantitative measures in a comparative perspective.

We will present a case study on markers of informality in three L1 varieties from different world regions (Australian, British & Canadian English) with a focus on parliamentary debates. The respective components of the International Corpus of English family (ICE) form the basis for the analysis. The approach is twofold: In a first quantitative step we compile two different multivariate profiles for each variety, one based on part-of-speech (POS) tags and the other on informality markers (partly adopted from Sigley 1997). Informality markers include lexicogrammatical features such as contractions, the use of core vocabulary, a higher use of pronouns and emphatics. The profiles reveal differences in the distribution of features which in turn serve as a starting point for further qualitative analyses.

Both profiles hint at the more conversational character of Australian parliamentary debates. The POS-profiles show a higher usage of pronouns, most notably the second person pronoun, and hesitation markers. In addition, the second set of profiles displays a greater tendency of using core

verbs and generic nouns – features which typically point to a more spontaneous and informal speech production setting. Although some findings might be related to differences in transcription conventions (e.g. the higher use of contractions), results show nevertheless that a higher degree of informalisation can also be detected by applying quantitative methods to parliamentary debates in ICE-AUS. The results therefore suggest that a further investigation of the matter may contribute significantly to the assessment of informality in AusE.

References

- Collins, Peter Xinyue Yao. 2013. Colloquial features in World Englishes. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 18(4). 479–505.
- Fairclough, Norman Anna Mauranen. 1997. The Conversationalisation of Political Discourse: A comparative view. *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 11. 89–119.
- Gassner, Denise. 2013. Formality as a Cross-Cultural Issue: An Analysis of L1 and L2 Speaker Australian Employment Interviews. In Bert Peeters, Kerry Mullan Christine Béal (eds.), *Cross-culturally Speaking, Speaking Cross-culturally*, 47–73. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Goddard, Cliff. 2006. "Lift your game Martina!": deadpan jocular irony and the ethnopragmatics of Australian English. In Cliff Goddard (ed.), *Ethnopragmatics: Understanding Discourse in Cultural Context* (3), 65–97. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hundt, Marianne Christian Mair. 1999. "Agile" and "Uptight" Genres: The Corpus-based Approach to Language Change in Progress. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 4(2). 221–242.
- Sigley, Robert. 1997. Text categories and Where You Can Stick Them: A Crude Formality Index. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 2(2). 199–237.
- Wierzbicka, Anna. 1992. *Semantics, Culture, and Cognition: Universal Human Concepts in Culture-Specific Configurations*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Susanne Chrambach

Free University of Berlin

***Text, discourse, and adverbial placement in clusters. An investigation of historical
English data***

When adverbials occur immediately adjacent to one another in a clause, we speak of clusters. Among the adverbials in such clusters, there are certain ordering preferences in Present Day English. The most stable preference is that adverbials of place tend to precede adverbials of time, for instance in this sentence: *I am flying to London tomorrow* (cf. Biber et al. 2004: 811, Hasselgård 1996). In a large diachronic study, I have traced this word order pattern back in time. I have been able to show that it starts as *time-before-place* in Old English and changes to *place-before-time* at the end of the Middle English period. The following example illustrates the preference for time adverbials to precede adverbials of place in Old English: *He com nihtes to Criste* „He came by night to Christ“ (coaelhom,ÆHom_13:69.1921).

How does this preferred order of the adverbials of time and place come about in the different stages of English? Many factors are discussed in the literature on adverbial placement (e.g. Hasselgård 2010: 143ff). Most of these factors, such as the obligatoriness of the adverbials or their realization form, are clause-internal. In my analysis of the historical data, I have shown that the majority of the data can indeed be accounted for with reference to these clause-internal factors. In this presentation, I will broaden the focus beyond the level of the single clause and consider the clause in its context. My observations are based on a study of a randomized sample of 300 sentences from the historical data (100 sentences each per period of Old English, Middle English, and Early Modern English). I will explore how the placement of adverbials in clusters is influenced by textual factors and if these factors can help explain data that diverge from the preferred order.

My analysis builds on Hasselgård's account of textual factors influencing adverbial placement in Present Day English (2010: 61ff.). I will thus discuss aspects pertaining to information structure (Hinterhölzl 2009, van Kemenade 2009), thematic structure (Fries 1995), cohesion, and text strategy (Virtanen 1992, Enkvist 1976). Clauses with clusters of adverbials in the front position will be of particular interest in this context. The following Middle English sentence, for instance,

illustrates how sentence-initial adverbials can serve to create temporal continuity in a text: *Þerafter at 3ork þey were compelled to defende hem self* „Thereafter at York they were forced to defend themselves.“ (CMPOLYCH,VI,339.2483).

References

- Biber, Douglas, Stig Johansson, Geoffrey Leech, Susan Conrad, Edward Finegan. 2004. *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. 4th improved edition. Harlow: Longman.
- Enkvist, Nils Erik. 1987. “Text strategies: single, dual, multiple” In *Language Topics. Essays in Honour of Michael Halliday*. Edited by R. Steele and T. Threadgold. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 203-211.
- Fries, Peter H. 1995. “Themes, Development and Text”. In *On Subject and Theme*. Edited by Hasan, R. and P. H. Fries, Amsterdam: Benjamins. 317-360.
- Hasselgård, Hilde. 1996. *Where and When? Positional and functional conventions for sequences of time and space adverbials in present-day English*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press.
- Hasselgård Hilde 2010. *Adjunct Adverbials in English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hinterhölzl, Roland. 2009. “The Role of Information Structure in Word Order Variation and Word Order Change”. In *Information Structure and Language Change*. Edited by R. Hinterhölzl and S. Petrova. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter. 45-66.
- van Kemenade, Ans. 2009. “Discourse Relations and Word Order Change”. In *Information Structure and Language Change*. Edited by R. Hinterhölzl and S. Petrova. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter. 91-120.
- Virtanen, Tuija. 1992. *Discourse Functions of Adverbial Placement in English. Clause-initial Adverbials of Time and Place in Narratives and Procedural Place Descriptions*. Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press.

Anna Cichosz

University of Łódź

Quotative inversion in Old English

Quotative inversion is one of the few subtypes of full inversion (i.e. inversion of a lexical verb) still attested in English (Biber et al. 1999, Prado-Alonso 2011, Dorgeloh 1997).

(1) “*That’s the whole trouble,*” **said Gwen**, *laughing slightly*. (FICT) (Biber et al. 1999: 921)

The inversion of the subject and the reporting verb observed in (1) is “apparently a residue of earlier English where V2 was more pervasive” (Zwart 2005: 19). However, even though it is assumed that quotative inversion may derive from the V-2 construction (Los 2009: 110), it is treated as a separate phenomenon in studies devoted to Middle and Modern English because of its distinct discourse characteristics (Los 2009, Westergaard 2007) and structural ambiguity: such clauses could be interpreted as V-1 parentheticals or V-2 clauses in which the S-V inversion is triggered by the reported clause (Haeberli 2002: 10, fn. 13).

In the case of OE, quotative inversion, illustrated in (2), is not contrasted with other types of inversion. What is more, clauses such as (2) are often treated as instances of V-1 (cf. Calle-Martin Miranda-Garcia 2010, Mitchell 1985) and not examples of the V-2 construction.

(2) *Min gemet is, cwæþ Paulus, þæt ic bege mine cneowa.*
My measure is said Paul that I bow my knees
‘It is my measure, said Paul, that I bend my knees’ (coblick, LS_32_[PeterandPaul
[BIHom_15]]:187.285.2410)

In addition, there is an interesting inter-textual difference in OE prose noted by Mitchell (1985: §1949), who reports after Ogura (1979) that there are two competing patterns of parenthetical insertion with subject pronouns in OE: *cwæð he* used in Bede, as in (3), and *he cwæð* used in the

Homilies of Wulfstan, as in (4). All the examples with nominal subjects given by Mitchell (1985: §1949) follow the inverted pattern, just like in (2).

- (3) *Ac ic hæbbe, cwæð he, in minre mægðe*
But I have said he in my country
minne broðor mæssepreost (cobede, Bede_4:23.328.9.3292)
my brother priest
'But I have, said he, a brother who is a priest in my country' (cobede, Bede_4:23.328.9.3292)
- (4) *Bearn ic afedde, he cwæð* (cowulf, WHom_11:108.1029)
child I fed he said
'I fed a child, he said'

The present study is an analysis of all instances of quotative inversion (and its lack) in OE prose on the basis of the YCOE corpus (Taylor et al.). The analysis aims at uncovering the sources of variation between inverted and non-inverted reporting parentheticals in OE. It points to great intertextual differences in the use of the competing patterns and shows that some of these differences may be ascribed to Latin influence on OE translated texts. The ultimate goal of the research is to determine whether reporting parentheticals should be treated as V-1, V-2 or a special subtype of V-2, as is the case in studies devoted to ME and ModE.

In general, the study shows that quotative inversion is relatively infrequent in OE because of the regular placement of reporting clauses before the quoted message. There are isolated cases of (2) scattered across the corpus but almost 50% of all instances come from a single text, Orosius. As far as the competition between (3) and (4) is concerned, (3) is less frequent (ca. 30%), but its use is not limited to Bede. What is more, the exceptionally frequent use of (3) in Bede is correlated with a high frequency of non-parenthetical V-1 clauses with verbs of saying, as in (5).

- (5) *Cwæð he eft: Berað me husl to*
said he again bring me Eucharist to
'He said again: Bring me the Eucharist' (cobede, Bede_4:25.348.4.3496)

A similar correlation may also be observed in other OE texts, e.g. Vercelli Homilies, which shows that the factors behind the variation between *cwæð he* and *he cwæð* may be a general feature of OE

prose and not a text-specific peculiarity.

References

- Biber, Douglas, Stig Johansson, Geoffrey Leech, Susan Conrad and Edward Finegan. 1999. *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. Harlow: Pearson Education.
- Calle-Martín Javier and Antonio Miranda-García. 2010. 'Gehyrdon ge þæt geweden wæs' – a corpus-based approach to verb-initial constructions in Old English. *Studia Neophilologica* 82, 49–57.
- Dorgeloh, Heidrun. *Inversion in Modern English. Form and Function*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Haeberli, Eric. 2002. Observations on the loss of Verb Second in the history of English. In C. Jan-Wouter Zwart & Werner Abraham (eds.), *Studies in comparative Germanic syntax*, 245-272. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Los, Bettelou. 2009. The consequences of the loss of verb-second in English: information structure and syntax in interaction. *English Language and Linguistics*, vol. 13, no. 01, 97–125.
- Mitchell, Bruce. 1985. *Old English Syntax*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Prado-Alonso, Carlos. 2011. *Full-verb Inversion in Written and Spoken English*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Taylor, Ann, Anthony Warner, Susan Pintzuk, and Frank Beths. 2003. The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE). Department of Linguistics, University of York. Oxford Text Archive.
- Westergaard, Marit. 2007. English as a mixed V2 grammar: Synchronic word order inconsistencies from the perspective of first language acquisition. *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics* 43(2). 107-131.
- Zwart, Jan-Wouter. 2005. "Verb second as a function of merge". In Marcel den Dikken and Christina M. Tortora (eds.), *The Function of Function Words and Functional Categories*, 11-40. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

David Correia Saavedra

Martin Hilpert

University of Neuchâtel

Does go prime be going to but not vice versa? An experimental approach to the asymmetric priming hypothesis

In a programmatic paper, Jäger and Rosenbach (2008) appeal to the psychological phenomenon of asymmetric priming in order to explain why semantic change in grammaticalization is typically unidirectional, from more concrete and specific meanings towards more abstract and schematic meanings. This paper aims to evaluate their proposal on the basis of experimental evidence.

Asymmetric priming is a pattern of cognitive association in which one idea strongly evokes another, while that second idea does not evoke the first one with the same force. For instance, given the word 'paddle', many speakers associate 'water'. The reverse is not true. Given 'water', few speakers associate 'paddle'. Asymmetric priming would elegantly explain why many semantic changes in grammar are unidirectional. For instance, expressions of spatial relations evolve into temporal markers (English *be going to*), and expressions of possession evolve into markers of completion (the English *have-* perfect); the inverse processes are unattested (Heine and Kuteva 2002). The asymmetric priming hypothesis has attracted considerable attention (Chang 2008, Eckardt 2008, Traugott 2008), but as yet, empirical engagement with it has been limited.

Methodologically, this paper relies on reaction time measurements from a maze task (Forster et al. 2009). The experiments test whether asymmetric priming obtains between lexical forms and their grammaticalized counterparts, i.e. pairs such as 'keep the light on' (lexical *keep*) and 'keep reading' (grammatical *keep*). On the asymmetric priming hypothesis, the former should prime the latter, but not vice versa. The stimuli that are presented to readers are sentences such as the following:

- (1) The student kept_{lexical} the light on to keep_{grammatical} reading.
- (2) The student turned_{unrelated} the light on to keep_{grammatical} reading.
- (3) The student kept_{grammatical} checking facebook to keep_{lexical} up to date.

(4) The student was_{unrelated} checking facebook to keep_{lexical} up to date.

The asymmetric priming hypothesis predicts that grammatical *keep* should be processed faster in (1) than in (2). Crucially, no difference is expected between (3) and (4), since grammatical *keep* should not facilitate the subsequent processing of lexical *keep*.

We gathered experimental data from 200 native speakers of American English via Amazon's Mechanical Turk platform. All participants were exposed to 40 sentences with different pairs of lexical and grammatical forms (*keep, go, have, etc.*). We used mixed-effects regression modeling (Baayen 2008) to assess the impact of priming, lexical/grammatical status, and text frequency on speaker's reaction times. Contrary to the prediction described above, we observe a negative priming effect: Speakers who have recently been exposed to lexical *keep* are significantly slower to process grammatical *keep*. We interpret this observation as a *horror aequi* phenomenon (Rohdenburg and Mondorf 2003). Crucially, this negative priming effect is not observed when grammatical *keep* precedes lexical *keep*. The priming effect that we observe is thus asymmetric. Our discussion will target the question whether and how the asymmetric priming hypotheses can be reconciled with these results.

References

- Baayen, R. Harald 2008. *Analyzing Linguistic Data: A Practical Introduction to Statistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chang, Franklin. 2008. Implicit learning as a mechanism of language change. *Theoretical Linguistics* 34/2, 115-123.
- Eckardt, Regine. 2008. Concept Priming in Language Change. *Theoretical Linguistics* 34/2, 123-133.
- Forster, Kenneth, Christine Guerrero, and Lisa Elliot. 2009. The maze task: Measuring forced incremental sentence processing time. *Behavior Research Methods* 41/1, 163-171.
- Heine, Bernd and Tania Kuteva. 2002. *World lexicon of grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Jäger, Gerhard and Anette Rosenbach. 2008. *Priming and unidirectional language change*. *Theoretical Linguistics*, 34/2, 85-113.
- Rohdenburg, Günter and Britta Mondorf (eds.) 2003. *Determinants of Grammatical Variation in English*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2008. Testing the hypothesis that priming is a motivation for change.
Theoretical Linguistics, 34/2, 135-142.

Claire Cowie

University of Edinburgh

Rhoticity in Indian English and its sources

In their landmark sociolinguistic study *Indian English*, Sahgal and Agnihotri (1988) were the first to show that loss of rhoticity was increasing in prestige, with younger, English-medium educated, female speakers preferring null to a trill or tap in postvocalic position. Sahgal and Agnihotri follow the classic descriptions of Indian English (Bansal 1990, Kachru 1994) on the trilled quality of postvocalic /r/ and do not differentiate between any postvocalic /r/s in their study. Despite their prediction that non-rhoticity would spread even further in Indian English, more recent studies of English-medium educated speakers in India show diverse results. Wiltshire and Harnsberger (2006) found that the speakers of their study from Tamil and Gujarati L1 backgrounds were only 16% rhotic, but that the nature of this /r/ differed for the two groups. Chand (2010) however shows more than 50% approximant /r/ in postvocalic position among Delhi-based Hindi-English bilinguals alongside null and trill. This is a striking finding because the approximant /r/ may need to be treated as a recent import i.e. from American English. The present study investigates /r/ among Marathi speakers from Pune, and finds that speakers are indeed predominantly non-rhotic, but where there is postvocalic /r/ this consists of trills, taps and derhotacized taps; Approximant /r/ appears predominantly before retroflex consonants, and thus it is debatable whether approximant postvocalic /r/ exists in Indian English or whether it is an artefact of the following retroflex consonant. Issues such as the quality of postvocalic /r/, the influence of the L1, and the linguistic environment for postvocalic /r/ all issues that have to be considered carefully in the study of rhoticity in Asian Englishes more broadly (Sharbawi and Deterding 2010, Tan 2012) if we are to properly differentiate between local and global influences on rhoticity.

David Denison

University of Manchester

Underspecified categories, supercategories, or no categories?

In this paper I explore some consequences of recent work on word classes, starting from the admirable *Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* (Huddleston Pullum 2002) and its discrete, morphosyntactically defined categories. I will suggest that some aspects of present-day English are poorly served by such an approach, and diachronic changes in English (not of course the remit of the *Cambridge Grammar*) worse still.

In previous work I have examined cases where the same word in essentially the same meaning can belong to two different word classes in different contexts, e.g. *amateur* as noun, (1), or more recently as adjective, (2):

- (1) these people [...], who are essentially amateurs in matters of political science, sociology, international relations and diplomacy, bring a gentleman amateur's omnicompetent wisdom.. (BNC)
- (2) It is, also, true that the worst UK radio material is still very amateur (BNC)

If (1) and (2) are grammatical for a given speaker, the class of *amateur* in (3) is underdetermined and cannot be assigned without arbitrariness.

- (3) The basic offence would cover amateur hackers [...]. (BNC)

Other word class pairs can exhibit vagueness of this kind, including adjective and determiner (*various problems*), adjective and adverb (*I won't be long*), verb and adjective (*He was frightened*), preposition and adjective (*worth a look*).

The word class of *amateur* in (3) may be underspecified, but it is not random: it cannot be, say, a verb or a preposition. Is there, then, a supercategory that subsumes both noun and adjective but nevertheless distinguishes its members from other categories, and likewise for other pairs?

Compare Hudson (e.g. 1990: 268-76) on a supercategory for pronouns, determiners and nouns. This would modify the details of the *Cambridge Grammar* word classes while maintaining the relatively conventional principles used to determine them. I show that supercategories would create more problems of inconsistency and redundancy than they solve.

A different solution would demote word classes from being an axiomatic building-block of linguistic analysis to a more contingent set of partial generalisations. Word classes have prototypical internal structure and are arranged in relation to each other according to the kinds of underspecification attested (cf. the linear arrangement of Anderson 1997). Problems like (3) could be handled more gracefully, and likewise the decategorialisation seen in grammaticalisation. I also briefly consider what would be lost by such a move.

References

- Anderson, John M. 1997. *A notional theory of syntactic categories* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 82). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Huddleston, Rodney Geoffrey K. Pullum. 2002. *The Cambridge grammar of the English language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Hudson, R. A. 1990. *English word grammar*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Stefan Dollinger

University of British Columbia / University of Gothenburg

Margery Fee

University of British Columbia

Historical lexicography at the crossroad of philology and googleology: insights from The Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles, Second Edition

This talk is a pre-release introduction to the second edition of *The Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles, DCHP-2* (Dollinger and Fee forthcoming. [2016]). DCHP-2 is an updated and partial revision of DCHP-1 (Avis et al. 1967). After almost 10 years and 11,000 paid student hours (Dollinger 2006), DCHP-2 is scheduled to appear in open access in the summer of 2016 (www.dchp.ca/dchp2), which is currently password-protected to facilitate the editing process). *DCHP-1 Online* (Dollinger et al. 2013) was released in open access in 2013 after lengthy copyright negotiations and forms the backbone to *DCHP-2*, including DCHP-1's 10,000 headwords updated with some 1,000 new re-conceptualized and enhanced entries.

This talk will outline the features of DCHP-2, considered by the *Routledge Handbook of Lexicography* as an "innovative online dictionary" (Fuentes Olivera forthcoming). The talk will include many examples from the edited content. Innovations include a typology of Canadianisms (Dollinger 2015), which were defined in Avis (1967) as a word, expression or meaning either native or "characteristically distributed" in Canadian English. Such an approach necessitates a profoundly comparative perspective: writing DCHP-2 is almost as much about AmE, BrE or AusE, among others, as it is about CanE, because a quantitative approach was taken where possible. Frequency charts which use site-restricted normalized searches are featured with most entries and offer interesting insights (Dollinger under review).

In addition to the usual features of a historical dictionary, with definitions, full quotation blocks, PoS, and the like, DCHP-2 features readable "Word Stories", which may give important context, relevant linguistic information and, where possible, details on the historical development and trajectory of the term or meaning that go beyond the information shown in the quotation paragraph. This explicit approach of "evidence-based story telling" may represent a change in target

audience construction from previous historical dictionaries, but it will need to be seen how the feature is taken up by a wider audience. Unlike *DCHP-1*, *DCHP-2* is a born-digital project. It adheres to open access principles and, as such, will no longer produce paper copies. The present talk illustrates with many example entries the concepts and principles that structure *DCHP-2*. It will also demonstrate the functionality of the custom-made software tools BCE, DET and ling.surf (Dollinger 2010), which are available for not-for-profit researchers free of charge.

References:

- Avis, Walter S. 1967. Introduction. In: Dollinger, Stefan, Laurel Brinton and Margery Fee (eds.) 2013. *DCHP-1 Online*. <http://dchp.ca/DCHPM1/pages/frontmatter> (26 Oct. 2015).
- Avis, Walter S. (ed. MinMchief), Charles Crate, Patrick Drysdale, Douglas Leechman, Matthew H. Scargill, and Charles J. Lovell (eds.). 1967. *A Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles*. Toronto: Gage.
- Dollinger, Stefan. Under review. Googleology as Smart Lexicography: Big Messy Data for better Regional Labels. 10300 words. Submitted to *Dictionaries*, 4 Dec. 2015
- Dollinger, Stefan. 2015. How to write a historical dictionary: a sketch of *The Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles*, Second Edition. *Ozwords* 24(2): 1-3 & 6 (October 2015). http://andc.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/DICT_OZWORDS_OCT2015.pdf (25 Nov 2015). Canberra: Australian National Dictionary Centre.
- Dollinger, Stefan. 2010. Software from the Bank of Canadian English as an open source tool for the dialectologist: ling.surf and its features. In: *Joseph Wright's English Dialect Dictionary and Beyond: Studies in Late Modern English Dialectology*, ed. by Manfred Markus, Clive Upton and Reinhard Heuberger, 249-261. Berne: Lang.
- Dollinger, Stefan. 2006. Towards a fully revised and extended edition of the *Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles* (*DCHP-2*): background, challenges, prospects. *Historical Sociolinguistics/Sociohistorical Linguistics* 6, <http://ubc.academia.edu/StefanDollinger>
- Dollinger, Stefan (chief editor) and Margery Fee (associate editor). Forthcoming [2016]. *DCHP-2: The Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles, Second Edition*. With the assistance of Alexandra Gaylie, Baillie Ford and Gaby Lim. Online dictionary. Vancouver & Gothenburg: University of British Columbia & University of Gothenburg. www.dchp.ca/dchp2

- Dollinger, Stefan (ed.), Laurel Brinton and Margery Fee (eds). 2013. *DCHP%1 Online: A Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles Online*. Based on Walter S. Avis et al. (1967). (Online dictionary) <http://dchp.ca/DCHPM1/>
- Fuertes Olivera, Pedro A. (ed.). forthcoming. *The Routledge Handbook of Lexicography*. London: Routledge Taylor.

Raphaël Domange

Stockholm University

Towards a historical approach to Indian English phonology: obstacles and arguments

The characterisation of varieties such as Indian English is notoriously complicated by the considerable heterogeneity of usage due to the situation of varied proficiency. Several theoretical models, including Kachru's (1983) most influential Cline of Bilingualism, derive primarily from the significance and recognition of this issue. The centrality of this concern is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that discussions around Sridhar and Sridhar's (1986) call for bridging the "paradigm gap" between SLA and New Englishes studies have animated the field for the past three decades.

With research in this domain leaning towards ever more integration of those paradigms, the recent emergence of the historical question on the scholarly scene (e.g. Noël et al. 2014; Collins 2015) constitutes, in many respects, an unexpected turn. In fact, as shown by so many empirical studies notably in the domain of phonology and phonetics, attention to phenomena primarily relevant to the level of the individual learner (such as transfers, overgeneralisation, spelling influence or universals) have largely eclipsed interest in actual language variation and change. Addressing the dearth of such research, the aim of the present study is to open up a discussion on the conditions of possibility for a historical approach to those varieties' data. To this end, I will bring together broadly epistemological questions with recent empirical findings from an ongoing sociophonetic investigation carried out in South Delhi upper-middle class neighbourhoods. The oral corpus used is derived from a sample of 50 speakers aged between 19 and 62 at the time of the recordings, and consists of sociolinguistic interviews conducted through fieldwork sessions carried out between 2008 and 2014. Through this paper, I will present several diachronic phenomena established during the course of the investigation (conservation of features from varied historical inputs, lexical-distributional variation and change, and apparent-time changes in vowel configurations) and discuss the problem they pose to previous evidence and lines of interpretation of the data.

I will thus argue for the presence of a number of epistemological obstacles embedded at various levels of the discovery process: assumption of transparency in the cause/effect relation drawn from the comparison between individual speakers' mother tongues and Indian English forms, the founding of L1-based taxonomy guiding the study of regional variation, and the mobilisation of a *structural definition of a language* (Croft 2000) all contribute to the construction of a largely dehistoricised object. By foregrounding these issues, it is intended to point to ways to break with those obstacles as an initial step towards a rigorous and methodical approach to Indian English as a historical entity.

References

- Collins, Peter. 2015. *Grammatical change in English world-wide*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Croft, William. 2000. *Explaining language change: an evolutionary approach*. London: Longman.
- Kachru, Braj B. 1983. *The indianization of English: the English language in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Noël, Dirk; van Rooy, Bertus & van der Auwera, Johan. 2014. Diachronic approaches to modality in world Englishes. Special issue of *Journal of English Linguistics* 42(1).
- Sridhar, Kamal K. & Sridhar, S. N. 1986. Bridging the paradigm gap: second language acquisition theory and indigenized varieties of English. *World Englishes* 5 (1): 3-14.

Katharina Ehret

Berndt Kortman

Katja Roller

University of Freiburg

From dialect corpus to interactive open-access database: FRED online

FRED – the *Freiburg Corpus of English Dialects* – is a monolingual spoken-language dialect corpus including oral history interviews with speakers from nine larger dialect areas in England, Scotland, Wales, the Hebrides and the Isle of Man. The corpus consists of sound recordings and orthographic transcripts, spanning approximately 2.5 million words and 300 hours of speech (cf. Hernández 2006, Szmrecsanyi & Hernández 2007). A central aim in creating FRED was to provide a solid geographically balanced database for investigations into morphosyntactic variation in British English dialects. Up to this point, such investigations using the full corpus have been restricted to on-site research in Freiburg, with off-site uses being limited to a small subset of the corpus. This talk outlines how FRED is now made available to the whole research community by publishing it online. We will demonstrate how FRED transcripts and audio files (in a first step, of the subset “FRED-Sampler”, comprising approximately 1 million words) can be accessed online. Furthermore, we introduce an interactive research database which facilitates searching for words in the texts and sorting them by social parameters of the speakers, such as age, sex and dialect area. In sum, this data presentation aims to show that FRED online offers multiple new opportunities for research and teaching – not only for dialectologists and linguistics, in general, but also, for example, for narratologists and oral historians.

References:

- Hernández, Nuria. 2006. *User's guide to FRED: Freiburg Corpus of English Dialects*. English Dialects Research Group. University of Freiburg. Url: <https://www.freidok.unifreiburg.de/data/2489>
- Szmrecsanyi, Benedikt & Hernández, Nuria. 2007. *Manual to accompany the Freiburg Corpus of*

4th Conference of the International Society for the English Language
18-21 September 2016, Poznań, Poland

English Dialects Sampler ("FRED-S"). English Department. University of Freiburg. Url:
<https://www.freidok.uni-freiburg.de/data/2859>

Mohammad Fazleh Elahi

Daphné Kerremans

Hans-Jörg Schmid

Quirin Würschinger

Desislava Zhekova

Ludwig-Maximilians University, Munich

Recent advances in the web-based investigation of lexical innovations

The proposed paper is part of a long-term funded project on the diffusion and establishment of lexical innovations. The aim of this project is to identify and measure the strength of the factors that influence to which extent neologisms catch on, spread and become part of the lexicon. In order to collect large amounts of longitudinal data with a high temporal resolution, occurrences of several hundred English neologisms on the Internet have been monitored and archived in weekly intervals over the past six years. This is done with the help of the NeoCrawler (Kerremans et al., 2012; Kerremans, 2015), which retrieves newly attested occurrences, carries out a series of linguistic post-processing and classification procedures and feeds the results into a database. Work on the project will continue for at least another three years and will culminate in statistical models of more than a dozen predictors of the diffusion of new words.

Our paper will first report on recent advances concerning the linguistic post-processing and classification of attestations of new words found on the web. Our focus will lie on language identification, token position extraction, detection of metalinguistic uses as well as part-of-speech tagging. These procedures are required for preparing data for later quantitative analyses regarding the variables that affect the diffusion of recent neologisms.

We will then present a case study of the early diffusion of three dysphemistic neologisms (*rapefugee*, *rapeugee* and *rapugee*) used as hateful propaganda terms by right-wing extremist in their attempts to disparage refugees and influence public opinion. Based on our data, we will demonstrate both the power of the computational tools and the theoretical aspects related to our

overall research aims.

References

- Kerremans, Daphné and Susanne Stegmayr and Hans-Jörg Schmid. 2012. The NeoCrawler: identifying and retrieving neologisms from the internet and monitoring ongoing change. In Kathryn Allan and Justyna A. Robinson, editors, *Current Methods in Historical Semantics*, pages 59–96, Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Kerremans, Daphné. 2015. *A Web of New Words: A Corpus-based Study of the Conventionalization Process of English Neologisms*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Laura García--Castro

University of Vigo

Finite and non-finite verb complementation in nativised varieties of English: The case of remember and forget in Indian English

As Schneider (2007:86) has pointed out, the complementation patterns which verbs typically enter constitute a classic example of the innovation of varieties in phase 3 of his Dynamic Model: nativization. Thus far, the study of verb complementation profiles in World Englishes has focused on ditransitive verbs such as *give*, *send*, *convey*, *submit*, *supply* and *offer* (Olavarria de Ersson and Shaw 2003; Mukherjee and Hoffman 2006; Mukherjee and Schilk 2008, 2012; Mukherjee and Gries 2009; Bernaisch 2013; Nam et al. 2013; Schilk et al. 2012, 2013; Deshors 2014; Gries and Bernaisch 2015). Only very recently have other types of complementation patterns received attention, such as infinitival vs. gerundial verb complementation (Deshors 2015; Deshors and Gries forthcoming). This paper broadens the scope and explores variability in verb complementation including both finite and non-finite patterns. The verbs selected are *remember* and *forget*, both of which can take a wide array of complement clauses (Ccs) depending on factors that are sometimes far from obvious (cf. Cuyckens et al. 2014). This indeterminacy in the choice of CC might make these verbs more susceptible to variation and innovation in their complementation profiles in nativised L2 varieties of English. Moreover, they share the same semantic frames (cf. FrameNet 2016), which is relevant here in that structural innovation in complementation patterns occurs at the interface between lexicon and grammar, emerging in a verb or group of verbs and then extending to other semantically related verbs (Schneider 2007: 86).

The nativised variety studied here is Indian English as represented in the *International Corpus of English* (ICE), using the parallel ICE-GB (British English) as a reference corpus. In this study, all examples of *remember* and *forget* with a clause as a complement are analysed in SPSS according to the following language-internal variables (cf. Cuyckens et al. 2014): (i) meaning of the matrix verb, animacy and complexity of the subject; (ii) type of CC (*to*-infinitive CC, *-ing* CC, nominal (*that*) CC, *wh*- CC); (iii) presence, absence and resumptiveness of the complementizer (e.g. ... *it's easy to forget that in the early eighteenth century ... that people actually knew the Bible*

<ICE-GB>); (iv) meaning and voice of the CC verb; (v) animacy of the CC subject; and (vi) complexity of the CC measured in terms of both the number of constituents and number of words. The relationship between matrix clause and CC will also be explored in terms of the presence of intervening material, and the co-referentiality between the matrix clause and the CC subject. On a semantic level, I will analyse whether the time reference of the CC and the meaning of the main verb are dependent or independent, and also the temporal relation between the matrix clause and the time of the CC, which can be backward-looking, same-time, forward-looking, general, judgement or contemplation constructions. Preliminary results show a remarkable difference between Indian and British English as far as the choice between finite and non-finite CCs is concerned, with Indian English exhibiting a far stronger preference for non-finite complement clauses in *forget* and for finite complement clauses in *remember*, as compared to British English. Analysis of the above mentioned factors are expected to shed light on the language-internal reasons behind such differences.

References

- Bernaish, Tobias. 2013. "The verb-complementational profile of *offer* in Sri Lankan English." In *Corpus Linguistics and Variation in English: Focus on Non-Native Englishes* (Studies in Variation, Contacts and Change in English 13), edited by Magnus Huber and Joybrato Mukherjee. Helsinki: VARIENG. <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/series/volumes/13/bernaish/>
- Cuyckens, Hubert, and Frauke D'hoedt. 2015. "Variability in Clausal Verb Complementation: the Case of *Admit*." In *Perspectives on Complementation. Structure, Variation and Boundaries*, edited by Mikko Höglund, Paul Rickman, Juhani Rudanko and Jukka Havu. 77-100. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cuyckens, Hubert, Frauke D'hoedt, and Benedikt Szmrecsanyi. 2014. "Variability in verb complementation in Late Modern English: finite vs. non-finite patterns." In *Late Modern English Syntax*, edited by Marianne Hundt. 182-203. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Deshors, Sandra C. 2014. "Towards an identification of prototypical non-native modal constructions in EFL: a corpus-based approach." *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* 11.1: 19-50.
- Deshors, Sandra C. 2015. "A constructionist approach to gerundial and infinitival verb complementation patterns in native and Hong Kong English varieties." *English Text Construction* 8.2: 207-235.
- Gries, Stephan Th., and Sandra C. Deshors. Forthcoming. "Profiling verb complementation

constructions across New Englishes: A two-step random forests analysis to ing vs. to complements.” *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics. Corpora and Language in Use*. FrameNet. 2016. FrameNet Project. Last modified March 14. <https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/>

- Mukherjee, Joybrato, and Marco Schilk. 2008. “Verb-complementation Profiles across Varieties of English.” In *The Dynamics of Linguistic Variation: Corpus evidence on English past and present*, edited by Nevalainen, Terttu, Irma Taavitsainen, Päivi Pahta and Minna Korhonen. 163-181. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Mukherjee, Joybrato, and Marco Schilk. 2012. “Exploring Variation and Change in New Englishes: Looking into the International Corpus of English (ICE) and beyond.” In *The Oxford Handbook of the History of English*, edited by Nevalainen, Terttu and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 189-199. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mukherjee, Joybrato, and Sebastian Hoffman. 2006. “Describing verb-complementation profiles of New Englishes. A pilot study of Indian English.” *English World- Wide* 27.2: 147–173.
- Mukherjee, Joybrato, and Stephan Th. Gries. 2009. “Collostructional nativisation in New Englishes. Verb-construction associations in the International Corpus of English.” *English World-Wide* 30.1: 27–51.
- Nam, Christopher, Sach Mukherjee, Marco Schilk, and Joybrato Mukherjee. 2013. “Statistical analysis of varieties of English”. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 176: 777–793.
- Olavarria de Ersson, Eugenia, and Phillip Shaw. 2003. “Verb complementation patterns in Indian standard English.” *English World-Wide* 24.2: 137-161.
- Schilk, Marco, Tobias Bernaisch, and Joybrato Mukherjee. 2012. “Mapping unity and diversity in South Asian English lexicogrammar.” In *Mapping unity and diversity world-wide: corpus-based studies of New Englishes*, edited by Marianne Hundt and Ulrike Gut. 137-166. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Schilk, Marco, Joybrato Mukherjee, Christopher Nam, and Sach Mukherjee. 2013. “Complementation of ditransitive verbs in south Asian Englishes: A multifactorial analysis.” *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* 9.2: 187-225.
- Schneider, Edgar. 2007. *Postcolonial English: Varieties around the world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jason Grafmiller

University of Leuven

Reconsidering the locative syntax of experiencers in English

The unusual behavior of English psychological verbs, Object-Experiencer (Obj-Exp) verbs (e.g. amaze, annoy, frighten) in particular, has motivated a wealth of research at the intersection of argument realization, syntactic structure and verbal semantics. In a recent monograph, Landau (2010) proposes that object Experiencers are universally locative arguments, i.e. governed by a (null) prepositional head.

- (1) a. Experiencers are mental locations
- b. All object experiencer are oblique, (or dative) (Landau 2010:ex 10 & 11)

Obj-Exp verbs are thus set apart from canonical transitives in having oblique rather than direct complements, and this analysis makes clear, yet counter-intuitive predictions: the direct objects of verbs such as amuse and frighten should behave syntactically like other dative or oblique arguments. This paper marshals evidence from corpora and grammaticality judgment surveys against such an analysis, and in favor of one in which Experiencer arguments of verb like frighten are true direct objects in English. While the locative analysis may be plausible for some languages, it is problematic for English for a number of reasons. Oblique accounts wrongly predict that resultative phrases should not be predicated of objects experiencers, as this would violate the Direct Object Restriction (Simpson 1983).

- (2) a. I shot (*at) him dead.
- b. the kind you feel when you drift out of your lane onto the rumble strips, as the vibration and noise scare you awake [COCA]
- c. *I gave the children a present happy.

Experiencer objects in English also differ from obliques with respect to null object constructions (3)

and synthetic compounds (4) (contra Grimshaw 1990; Baker 1997).

- (3) a. Alliteration almost always annoys.
- b. *Sisters always confide (in).
- (4) a. Peppy, the child-frightening clown
- b. *spy-talking, *stranger-confiding

English middle formation (5a) and -er nominalization (5b) also require that a verb take a direct, internal argument. Corpus evidence of these phenomena further demonstrates that English Obj-Exp verbs take true direct objects.

- (5) a. No I don't depress easily.
- b. The most dangerous and heretical astonisher of all. . .

Lastly, I present grammaticality judgment surveys showing that object-island effects (6) fail to distinguish Obj-Exp verbs from canonical transitives, contrary to researcher intuitions. All these findings follow if English Obj-Exp verbs are true transitives.

- (6) a. ?Which company does international unrest frighten the president of t?
- b. Which company does the international community fear the president of t? (Baker 1997:ex 67)

Ultimately, I argue that the locative approach advocated by Landau (2010) cannot be supported. Obj-Exp verbs further do not constitute a heterogeneous class in English, whether one wants to distinguish them according to stativity, agentivity, or any other property. The evidence that provided here suggests that all Obj-Exp verbs have both external and direct internal, affected arguments, just like ordinary causative verbs (Bouchard 1995; Iwata 1995). Moreover, the findings here illustrate the potential pitfalls of relying entirely on researcher intuitions, and highlight the importance of considering more naturalistic data and/or robust experimental evidence in developing linguistic theory.

References

Baker, Mark. 1997. Thematic roles and syntactic structure. In L. Haegeman (ed.), *Elements of*

Grammar, 73–137. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Bouchard, Denis. 1995. *The Semantics of Syntax*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Grimshaw, Jane. 1990. *Argument Structure*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Landau, Idan. 2010. The explicit syntax of implicit arguments. *Linguistic Inquiry* 41(3). 357–388.
doi: 10.1162/LING_a_00001.

Simpson, Jane. 1983. Resultatives. In Beth Levin, Malka Rappaport & Annie Zaenan (eds.), *Papers in Lexical-Functional Grammar*, 143–157. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Linguistics Club.

Theresa Heyd

Free University of Berlin

Anglophone Berlin

This paper explores an understudied site of English usage, namely the history and present role of English in Berlin. Berlin is historically associated with a high level of diversity, incoming new communities and emerging populations. Today, the city is both self-promoted and perceived as a global metropolis involved in transnational flows and new, constantly changing populations. In this sense, the city's multilingual and sociolinguistic profile is commensurate with its history and its metropolitan status. In terms of current sociolinguistic accounts and public perception, however, the multilingual setting of Berlin is first and foremost described and analyzed in terms of *Kiezdeutsch* and related ethnolectal repertoires. As a result, other aspects of multilingual practice in Berlin, in particular the tradition of English usage in the city and its multifarious roles in current urban settings, have received comparatively little attention. By drawing on both urban and digital ethnographic data, this paper therefore gives a first overview on different forms of Anglophone practice in Berlin, and their implications for the sociolinguistic economy of the city.

After giving a diachronic overview on the rise of English as a privileged repertoire in West Berlin through the post-war influence of the Allied Forces, and the emerging Anglophone 'creative class' of the 1980s, this paper charts the field of present-day Anglophone Berlin by identifying four important contexts of usage:

- 1) German native speakers in educated and upwardly mobile milieus, where a high English proficiency is endowed with prestige and perceived as beneficial and necessary for academic and employment success, for participation in entertainment, culture, and public life.
- 2) Tourism as one of the driving forces of the city's industry, where English usage is deeply involved into the push/pull mechanism between the marketing and commercialization of urban space, and the backlash to such 'authenticity threats' in urban displays of power such as anti-tourist sentiment.
- 3) The global expat community: Berlin as home to a rapidly growing community of temporary

or long-term residents of the city with an international background who are L1 or highly proficient L2 speakers of English, portrayed as a hypermobile élite associated with arts and culture, digital media or other post-industrial industries and thus, in some sense, the continuation of Berlin's international creative classes.

- 4) Immigrants, workers and refugees: In the shadow of the highly visible and mediatized expat community, Berlin as home to a multitude of English-based speakers and speaker communities involved in global migration under more austere socioeconomic conditions.

By discussing linguistic evidence from these different contexts, this paper does not just provide a first description of English practices in present-day Berlin. It also offers insights into the socioeconomic flows that are involved in shaping linguistic diversity in urban settings, and the discourses of power and legitimacy that are associated. Finally, the insights discussed here also have implications for the modeling of global English varieties in Germany and similar 'expandingcircle' domains.

Raymond Hickey

University of Duisburg and Essen

A third way for variety formation: The diversification model

The development of new varieties of language has been the subject of at least two major models with regard to forms of English which arose during the colonial period in overseas territories of England. These are (i) Peter Trudgill's New Dialect Formation (NDF) model (Trudgill 2004, 2008; Trudgill, Gordon, Lewis & Maclagan 2000) and (ii) Edgar Schneider's Dynamic Model (Schneider 2003, 2008). Trudgill's model is deterministic in nature and sees the quantitative representation of features in early NDF as pivotal; it furthermore vigorously rejects the operation of sociolinguistic factors in this early phase. Schneider's model does not share these standpoints but concentrates more on the swing away from an exonormative model towards an endonormative one. Both Trudgill's Schneider's models are unidirectional, linear models which describe a progression of stages from the beginning of a variety to a later time, usually close to the present. As an alternative to these models, a third way for variety formation, the Diversification Model, is presented here. It consists of four identifiable stages:

- 1) GENESIS through internal development, transportation or language contact/shift
- 2) DIVERSIFICATION through social layering
- 3) CO-EXISTENCE of vernacular and supraregional varieties on a vertical scale
- 4) CONTINUATION – the phase in which the *relative equilibrium* of Phase 3 is broken by a number of possible developments, e.g. (i) the relationship between vernacular and supraregional varieties can become less obvious through developments in only one of these varieties leading to realignment or (ii) vernacular and supraregional varieties can merge with only one surviving, usually by the vernacular variety losing its most local features. In both these cases there can be a return to Phase 2 with renewed diversification later, i.e. one can have a *cyclic* process.

Key to this model is the operation of *sociolinguistic factors* and the *co-existence of several varieties*

at any one time and place. The latter is realised through social layering which results in a vertical continuum at the bottom of which are the most vernacular forms of language and the top of which is the supraregional variety of the region or country in question.

In the current paper the details of the model will be presented and a set of varieties examined which offer support for the model. A critical comparison with features of the other models will be offered and the advantages in terms of more accurate accounting for variety development will be delineated.

References

- Hickey, Raymond 2003. 'How do dialects get the features they have? On the process of new dialect formation', in: Raymond Hickey (ed.) *Motives for language change*. Cambridge: University Press, pp. 213-239.
- Schneider, Edgar W. 2003. 'The dynamics of New Englishes: From identity construction to dialect birth', *Language* 79.2: 233-281.
- Schneider, Edgar 2007. *Postcolonial English. Varieties around the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Raymond Hickey *A Third Model for Variety Formation* Trudgill, Peter 2004. *New Dialect Formation: The Inevitability of Colonial Englishes*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Trudgill, Peter 2008. 'Colonial dialect contact in the history of European languages: On the irrelevance of identity to new-dialect formation', *Language in Society* 37.2: 241-254.
- Trudgill, Peter, Elizabeth Gordon, Gillian Lewis & Margaret MacLagan 2000. 'Determinism in new-dialect formation and the genesis of New Zealand English', *Journal of Linguistics* 36: 299-318.

keywords:

varieties of English, variety development, comparison with existing models, new model proposal

Tomoharu Hirota

University of British Columbia

The split negative infinitive on the move: A corpus-based diachronic study

The so-called split infinitive, a phenomenon often discussed in the degrammaticalization literature (e.g. Fischer 2000) as well as in prescriptive grammar, is rarely subject to corpus studies (a few exceptions are Calle-Martín & Miranda-García 2009, Perales-Escudero 2011). The present paper thus seeks to contribute to the literature by investigating a special case of the split infinitive, namely the split negative infinitive.

The construction in question is exemplified by (1), in which the negative particle *not* separates the infinitive marker *to* from the infinitive:

(1) [...] I try *to not* get too emotional about it. (COHA: NEWS, 2005)

The split negative infinitive has been existent since Middle English (Visser 1966: 1040-1041). In her 2000 article, Fitzmaurice (2000: 171) observes that it is becoming “more noticeable” in contemporary American English; however, there have yet to be quantitative studies to back up the alleged rise. In other words, it remains to be seen whether it is truly on the rise and when the rise, if happening at all, began.

The present paper has two objectives. The first is to provide quantitative evidence for the rise of the split negative infinitive. The analysis based on the *Corpus of Historical American English* (COHA) reveals that while far less frequent than the non-split variant (i.e. *not to V*), the split negative infinitive does witness a rise in frequency within the last few decades of the twentieth century. Thus, Fitzmaurice’s observation is empirically borne out. However, the rise seems restricted to American English since there is no such trend found in historical corpora of British English, such as the *Hansard Corpus 1803-2005*.

The second objective of the paper is to address motivations for the rise of the split negative infinitive. I will primarily focus on two factors: on the one hand, I consider its pragmatic functions, advocated by Fitzmaurice (2000: 174ff.). She argues that the split negative infinitive is

pragmatically different from the non-split variant, expressing stronger negative meanings. In order to reinforce her view, a number of iconic factors such as conceptual distance and markedness will be adduced. Furthermore, I attempt to qualitatively demonstrate that the split negative infinitive seems to occur where the language user intends to add rhetorical emphasis to their utterances. On the other hand, I propose that the increasing use of the split infinitive in general (cf. the more lenient attitude towards the construction among usage guides: see Burchfield 2004: 738; Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 582) also plays a pivotal role in the case at hand. In COHA, the split infinitive has been on the increase since around the 1950s. Therefore, it seems to have paved a pathway for the split negative infinitive to rise.

References

- Alexander, Marc & Mark Davies. 2015-. *Hansard Corpus 1803-2005*. Available online at <http://www.hansard-corpus.org>.
- Burchfield, Robert W. 2004. *New Fowler's Modern English Usage*. Revised 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Calle-Martín, Javier & Antonio Miranda-García. 2009. On the use of split infinitives in English. In Antoinette Renouf & Andrew Kehoe (eds.), *Corpus Linguistics: Refinements and Reassessments*, 347–364. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi.
- Davies, Mark. 2010-. *The Corpus of Historical American English: 400 million words, 1810-2009*. Available online at <http://corpus.byu.edu/coha/>.
- Fischer, Olga. 2000. Grammaticalization: Unidirectional, non-reversible? The case of *to* before the infinitive in English. In Fischer, Rosenbach & Stein (eds.), 149–169.
- Fischer, Olga, Anette Rosenbach & Dieter Stein (eds.). 2000. *Pathways of Change: Grammaticalization in English*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Fitzmaurice, Susan. 2000. Remarks on the de-grammaticalisation of infinitival *to* in present-day American English. In Fischer, Rosenbach & Stein (eds.), 171–186.
- Huddleston, Rodney & Geoffrey K. Pullum. 2002. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Perales-Escudero, Moisés D. 2011. To split or to not split: The split infinitive past and present. *Journal of English Linguistics* 39(4), 313–334.
- Visser, Fredericus Th. 1966. *An Historical Syntax of the English Language. Part II: Syntactical Units with One Verb (Continued)*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Thomas Hoffmann

Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt

Football chants as multimodal constructions

When Northern Ireland was beating Spain in a friendly match in 2009, the Irish fans sang ‘Are you England, are you England, are you England in disguise, are you England in disguise’. Frequently, when winning, Arsenal fans sing ‘Are you Tottenham,...’ – although they are playing against another team. In fact, many English football clubs have similar versions of the same chant.

From a cognitive linguistic point of view, these various Are-you-X-in-disguise chants can be argued to give rise to a schematic constructional template such as (1):

- (1) FORM: [α: ju: [FOOTBALL TEAM]₁]
α: ju: [FOOTBALL TEAM]₁
α: ju: [FOOTBALL TEAM]₁ in dɪsgaɪz,
α: ju: [FOOTBALL TEAM]₁ in dɪsgaɪz]_{chant}

MEANING: ‘our current opponent play like X₁ and X₁ is a crap football team’

The form part has the fixed elements [α: ju:] and [in dɪsgaɪz] as well as a slot for the name of a football team that is repeated four times. Another property of the construction’s form, not shown in (1), is that it has a fixed tune associated with it (the religious hymn ‘Cwm Rhondda’, or ‘Bread of Heaven’; Shaw 2010: 7). Interestingly, as indexed on the meaning level of the construction, the football team that is inserted in the schematic slot is not the name of the current opponent.

Drawing on a large on-line collection of British football chants (www.footballchants.org) as well as YouTube clips, I will present a multi-modal construction grammar analysis (Steen and Turner 2013) that provides a cognitive analysis of the rhythmic, metric as well as situationalcontextual, social factors (cf. Kopiez and Brink ³1999) that constrain the use of these templatebased chants. As I will argue, this constructionist analysis not only provides an adequate analysis of football chants, but also yields important sights into the general cognitive grammatical system of speakers (as summarized in Hoffmann and Trousdale 2013; Hoffmann 2015).

References

- Hoffmann, Thomas and Graeme Trousdale. 2013. "Construction Grammar: Introduction". In: G. Trousdale and Th. Hoffmann, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Construction Grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-12.
- Hoffmann, Thomas. 2015. "Cognitive Sociolinguistic Aspects of Football Chants: The Role of Social and Physical Context in Usage-based Construction Grammar". *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 63,3: 273-294.
- Kopiez, Reinhard and Guido Brink. ³1999. *Fussball-Fangesänge: Eine Fanomenologie*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann.
- Morris, Desmond. 1981. *The Soccer Tribe*. Jonathan Cape, London.
- Shaw, Alex (2010). *Shall we sing a song for you? The good, the bad and the downright offensive-Britain's favourite football chants*. John Blake.
- Steen, Francis and Mark Turner. 2013. "Multimodal Construction Grammar". In: Michael Borkent, Barbara Dancygier and Jennifer Hinnell (eds.). *Language and the Creative Mind*. Stanford, CSLI Publications.

Fumino Horiuchi

Keio University / Japan Society for the Promotion of Science

***The meaning and function of under phrases as a clause-level modifier:
A comparison with over phrases***

While the semantics of English prepositions has been studied in cognitive linguistics from its inception (Brugman 1981; Lakoff 1987; Deane 2005; Tyler & Evans 2003), little attention has been paid to their syntactic aspect. The theory of Cognitive Grammar claims that the form of a linguistic unit is motivated by its meaning. This approach implies that the formal characteristics (i.e. syntactic behavior) of each preposition might reveal its meaning and function. This study compares the syntactic aspect of prepositional phrases headed by *under* (*under* phrases) with those headed by *over* (*over* phrases), demonstrating their semantic and functional characteristics based on their syntactic differences. To examine the behavior of *under* and *over* phrases quantitatively, I extracted 1,000 examples from the *British National Corpus* using a random sampling method. Then, I annotated them manually based on their (i) syntactic status, (ii) position in a clause, and (iii) semantic domain (spatial/abstract).

The results show that, though *under* and *over* are traditionally considered to be antonymic words, they exhibit some different tendencies, as illustrated by the following sentences:

- (1) a. *Under* these conditions your anxiety will be greater...
b. *Under* the agreement, most agricultural prices would be frozen or cut.
- (2) a. His contribution *over* the years was massive... /b. Laura put her hand *over* the mouthpiece.

First, an *under* phrase tends to appear as a clause-level modifier (i.e. sentence adjunct) as in (1), while an *over* phrase tends to occur within a NP or a VP as in (2). Second, an *under* phrase occurs in the clause-initial position more frequently than an *over* phrase. Third, an *under* phrase as a clause-level modifier usually expresses an abstract rather than spatial meaning.

This study goes on to identify the semantic and functional characteristics of *under* phrases, compared to *over* phrases. According to Langacker (1990), the distinction between clause-level modifiers and the nominal arguments of verbs reflects the conceptual difference between the global

“setting” for an event and its “participants”. This theory implies that an *under* phrase, which frequently occurs as a clause-level modifier, tends to express a “setting” of an event (i.e. conditions or presupposed circumstances).

Further, from a functional viewpoint, it is well known that adverbial elements preceding main clauses have text-organizing functions in discourse (Thompson 1985). This can be taken to indicate that an *under* phrase, which tends to appear in the clause-initial position, also has a text-organizing function to guide the reader’s attention and connect the preceding context with the following context. In terms of where in a sentence they occur, *under* phrases are similar to *if* clauses, which appear in the sentence-initial position more frequently than other adverbial clauses (Ford 1993). This suggests that the formal characteristics of *under* phrases are associated with the semantic characteristics of expressing conditions like *if* clauses as in (1).

The summary of the syntactic, semantic, and functional tendencies is as follows:

	Syntactic Status	Semantic Characteristics	Position in a Clause	Discourse Function
<i>Under</i> phrase	Clause-level modifier	Setting	Initial	Textual level
<i>Over</i> phrase	Within NP/VP	Modifier of participant/action	Not initial	Content level

This research highlights the formal characteristics of *under* phrases compared to *over* phrases, and illustrates the importance of focusing on grammatical behavior to investigate each preposition’s semantic and functional characteristics in detail.

Jeffrey Lijffijt

Terttu Nevalainen

Tanja Säily

Turo Vartiainen

University of Helsinki

What can you do with 200 studies of language change?

Thirty years ago the digital turn in linguistics changed the empirical basis for studies of language change. Since the publication of the first text collections, such as the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts, diachronic corpora have multiplied and grown in size. While the material basis of the research in the field has gradually become more unified and accessible, this is not necessarily the case with publications: English historical linguistics has a long publishing tradition in monographs and articles in collective volumes, which means that the fast growing empirical work on the changing English language is often scattered and not easy to retrieve, especially as far as research articles, and the data on which they are based, are concerned.

In 2014, we launched a project to remedy this situation. The aim of our project is to make research more accessible and cumulative by compiling an online Language Change Database (LCD), which will be made freely available to the research community on a wiki-style platform that can be updated by the researchers themselves. The LCD draws together a growing collection of empirical studies on the history of English. Each LCD entry is annotated for several features according to which the database can be queried, including grammatical and sociolinguistic keywords, the periods studied, and bibliographical details. The numerical data discussed in the articles are included in the entries as Excel files, which the end users can download and reanalyze on their own computers. Each entry also includes an abstract and a summary of the main findings of the study.

In the first part of our talk we will present the search interface of the current version of the LCD, which has some 200 entries.

We envisage a wide variety of uses for the LCD in both research and teaching. The database gives an easy access to work published on the different topics, periods and data sources, thus providing versatile baseline data for future research and replication of earlier findings with new data sets. As the database grows, it becomes possible to test assumptions on issues such as the rate and direction of language change in particular grammatical domains, periods and registers. It will also be possible to carry out meta-analyses on the numerical data included in the LCD by applying a variety of computational techniques. This approach offers new perspectives, for example, on a given period and invites further computational modelling of the diffusion of linguistic change.

By way of a pilot study, the second part of our talk applies some computational techniques to work done on the history of English connectives.

Inspired by meta-analysis in the field of medicine, we discuss how to analyze and compare results from several studies by means of forest-plot-like visualizations (Lewis & Clarke 2001). Additionally, we review how to quantify the rate of change over time based on the numerical data from studies selected by an end-user of the database.

References

Lewis, Steff & Mike Clarke (2001). Forest plots: Trying to see the wood and the trees. *British Medical Journal* 322(7300): 1479–80.

Samuli Kaislaniemi

Anni Sairio

Tanja Säily

Terttu Nevalainen

University of Helsinki

‘my languishinge spiritts’ or ‘my languishing spirits’?:

***Charting editorial interference and orthographical reliability in modern editions of
English historical letters***

The *Corpus of Early English Correspondence* (CEEC) has been compiled of edited personal letters in order to facilitate sociolinguistic research into the history of English; the CEEC family of five corpora spans from 1400 to 1800 and includes 5.1 million words. According to Nevalainen and RaumolinBrunberg (2003: 44), CEEC is a reliable tool for research on grammar, lexis and pragmatics, but “not necessarily for orthography and phonology, which should be studied from the most scrupulous editions and original manuscripts”, and this has been accepted as a limitation for the use of this material. However, CEEC has not been systematically examined for a) the orthographical research opportunities it may nevertheless provide and b) the types of editorial interference in the corpora. The CEEC family does not include editions with modernized spelling, but what have been the editors’ exact choices? What do the editors state as their principles, and what have they actually done with the letters? And what kind of orthographical research might be carried out using CEEC?

This paper presents the work of the ERRATAS project which charts editorial conventions in the roughly 200 collections of letters in the CEEC, starting from the seventeenth century texts. The range of features charted include (for example) how spelling, capitalization and word divisions are retained, whether (and in what way) abbreviations are expanded, whether the entire letter text is reproduced, and so on. The goal is to code the CEEC letter collections for orthographical reliability in order to make this material accessible for orthographical analysis. In addition, the work will contribute to creating standard practices for compiling manuscript based editions.

The ERRATAS project is part of the multidisciplinary project *Interfacing Structured and Unstructured Data in Sociolinguistic Research on Language Change* (STRATAS), which aims to further historical sociolinguistic research by addressing social meaning in language change and by developing new digital tools for exploring linguistic data.

References

Nevalainen, Terttu & Helena Raumolin-Brunberg. 2003. *Historical sociolinguistics: language change in Tudor and Stuart England*. London: Pearson Education.

Mareike Keller

University of Mannheim

Two sets of rules: Nominal inflection in macaronic sermons

Historical mixed texts are an interesting, yet still widely unexplored, source of information concerning language use in the multilingual society of Medieval England (Trotter 2000; Schendl & Wright 2011; Pahta 2012; Jefferson & Putter 2013). Drawing on so-called macaronic sermons from 14th/15th-century England, this contribution will discuss to what extent the *Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF model)* (Myers-Scotton 2002; 2008), which is based on findings from modern oral code-switching data, is also applicable to historical written texts. The aim of this is two-fold: First, to demonstrate how we can use language mixing patterns found in historical sources to support or question existing code-switching models. Second, to argue that modern code-switching models explain details of language use of bilinguals in Medieval England. The empirical data from MS Bodley 649 (ed. Horner 2006) consists of 192 clauses containing mixed noun phrases, e.g.

- (1) A blisful rex comus to ȝe. (A blissful king comes to you.) (H269)
- (2) Fugite istum venemus draconem. (Flee from this venomous dragon.) (H195)
- (3) Iste ventus hath made magnam tempest. (This wind has created a great storm.) (H113)

As it turns out, 5% of the clauses cannot be explained by the MLF model: 2,5% are genuinely indeterminate due to abbreviations in the manuscript or the occurrence of cognates; the remaining 2,5% show morphological features incompatible with the predictions of the model. For example, the model does not allow the Latin adjective *magnam* in (3) to receive overt case marking from an English verb group. Nevertheless, the vast majority of clauses (95%, or 182 out of 192) conform to the predictions of the MLF Model. This implies that the MLF model is applicable not only to modern oral data but also to historical written sources, and that it provides a valuable tool for the assessment of morpho-syntactic details in historical mixed texts. With respect to the 5% of target structures not accounted for by the model, I propose that the discrepancies between the predictions of the MLF model and the actual realization of grammatical morphemes in the sermons are an

indicator of written, and thus premeditated code-switching. The morpho-syntactic realizations of case endings might not necessarily be a direct reflection of bilingual oral language use but rather a consequence of the sermon authors' normative understanding of Latin: The clerics who wrote down the sermons were trained formally in Latin but not in English. In cases of insufficient overlap between the structures of Latin and the structures of English (e.g. inflections for case in Latin but no longer in English) the perceived obligation to use explicitly learned, fixed rules of Latin grammar overrides any implicit and seemingly arbitrary "rules" of code-switching. How far this needs to be borne in mind in assessing reflections of orality in Middle English mixed manuscripts will be discussed.

References

- Horner, P. (ed.) (2006). *A macaronic sermon collection from late medieval England*. Toronto.
- Jefferson, J.A. & Putter, A. (eds.) (2013). *Multilingualism in medieval England (c. 1066-1520): Sources and analysis*. Turnhout.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (2002). *Contact linguistics: Bilingual encounters and grammatical outcomes*. Oxford.
- Myers-Scotton, Carol. 2008. Language contact: Why outsider system morphemes resist transfer. *Journal of Language Contact* Thema 2: 21-41.
- Pahta, P. (2012). "Code-switching in English of the Middle Ages." In T. Nevalainen & E. Closs Traugott (eds.), *Handbook of the History of English: Rethinking the History of English* pp. 528-537). Oxford.
- Schendl, H. & Wright, L. (eds.) (2011). *Code-switching in early English*. Berlin, Boston.
- Trotter, D.A. (ed.) (2000). *Multilingualism in Later Medieval England*. Cambridge.

Gabriele Knappe

University of Bamberg

Wunder æfter wundre: *The earliest history of the NPN construction in English*

This paper investigates all Old English occurrences of two identical bare nouns combined by a preposition (henceforth: NPN construction). This construction, whose manifestations may or may not be phraseological (i.e., fixed), has been the focus of several recent papers (in particular Jackendoff 2008, Lindquist and Levin 2009, Pskit 2015), but has not yet been studied in a historical perspective. Jackendoff (2008) as well as Huddleston and Pullum (2002) have pointed out this construction's syntactically puzzling status, which they describe as an untypical prepositional phrase (1) or an untypical noun phrase (2), respectively.

(1) *Page for page*, this is the best book I have ever bought.

(2) We filled *crack after crack*.

While Jackendoff's classification concentrates on the specific prepositions which occur in NPNs and their productivity in Present-day English, this paper first of all presents a new synchronic grouping of NPN sub-constructions according to their literal senses. The two major subgroups are DYNAMIC (e.g., *day after day*) and STATIC (e.g., *face to face*) meanings, each with several subdivisions. These are: additive and subtractive cumulation, bidirectional and unidirectional movement, juxtaposition/closeness, contact and inclusion. It will be suggested that in a cline from the subdivisions of the dynamic towards the static senses the noun phrase character of the construction decreases while the phraseological use increases.

On the basis of this new classification, this paper then develops a first step towards testing the hypothesis that this synchronic state reflects a diachronic development: Are the static meaning of NPN sub-constructions and their prepositional phrase character later developments? To this end, all instances of Old English NPN constructions are extracted from the Dictionary of Old English Corpus, which with more than three million words covers all extant Old English texts, in the following way: First, the 27 most frequent Old English prepositions (cf. Mitchell and Robinson

2011) – including their spelling variants according to the *Dictionary of Old English* and the *Oxford English Dictionary* – are searched in the corpus. Then the Old English NPN constructions are extracted semi-automatically with the help of a complex Regular Expression. From the results which have been obtained so far, about 80 Old English instances are expected. A good example is the additive cumulation expressed by the NPN in *Beowulf* (3).

(3) ā mæg God wyrcean *wunder æfter wundre*, wuldres Hyrde (*Beowulf*, ll. 930b-931a)

‘God, the Guardian of Glory, can always work marvel upon marvel’ (Swanton transl.)

One of the factors which will have to be taken into account in the analysis of the data is the widespread use of NPN constructions in many languages, and in particular the direct Latin influence on some of the Old English NPNs, such as the bidirectional / reciprocal use in (4) and (5).

(4) audistis quia dictum est oculus pro oculo et dentem pro dente / geherde gie forð on acueden
is *ego fore ego & toð fore toðe* (Matthew 5:38)

‘You heard that it is said, “eye for eye, and tooth for tooth”’

(5) Hwylum he sette *word be worde*, hwylum *andgit of andgite* (Alfred, Preface to his translation of Gregory’s *Cura Pastoralis*; formula used by classical authors and the Church Fathers)

‘Sometimes he put word for word, sometimes sense for sense’

References

Dictionary of Old English: A to G online, ed. Angus Cameron, Ashley Crandell Amos, Antonette diPaolo Healey *et al.* (Toronto: Dictionary of Old English Project 2007).

Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus. 2009 release. Antonette diPaolo Healey, Editor, with John Price Wilkin and Xin Xiang. <http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doecorpus/index.html>

Huddleston, Rodney, and Geoffrey K. Pullum. 2002. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: University Press.

Jackendoff, Ray. 2008. *Construction after construction* and its theoretical challenges. *Language* 84: 8-28.

Lindquist, Hans, and Magnus Levin. 2009. The grammatical properties of recurrent phrases with body-part nouns: the n1 to n1 pattern. In: Ute Römer and Rainer Schulze, eds. *Exploring the Lexis-Grammar Interface*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 171-188.

Mitchell, Bruce, and Fred C. Robinson. 2011. *A Guide to Old English*. 8th ed. Oxford: Blackwell.

Oxford English Dictionary Online. 2000-. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com>.

Pskit, Wiktor. 2015. The categorial status and internal structure of NPN forms in English and Polish. In: Anna Bondaruk and Anna Prażmowska, eds. *Within Language, Beyond Theories (Volume I)*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 27-42.

Uwe-Alexander Küttner

University of Potsdam

thAt's what I'M gonna dO

Demonstrative wh-clefts as a practice for constructing sequential junctures: An interactional linguistic perspective

It is one of the central tenets of Conversation Analysis that the actions participants perform through talk are systematically and normatively organized into sequences of actions (e.g., Schegloff 2007; Schegloff & Sacks 1973). This implies that participants generally distinguish between (primarily) initiating actions (e.g., requests, offers, announcements) and (primarily) responsive actions (e.g., grantings/acceptances, declinations/rejections, news-receipts). However, due to the locally distributed nature of conversational turns (cf. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974), participants may occasionally face the problem of how to launch an initiating action although they momentarily find themselves talking in a primarily responsive sequential position.

This paper offers an empirical account of how speakers of English recurrently use a specific biclausal linguistic format at the beginning of responsive turns for dealing with precisely this problem. The targeted format follows the lexico-syntactic pattern

[*That* + form of *be* + *wh*-word + clause]

(e.g., *That's what I'm gonna do*)

and thus structurally resembles what has elsewhere been called demonstrative *wh*-clefts (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 961; Calude 2007, 2008, 2009).¹ Drawing on a set of audio-recorded naturally occurring telephone calls and using Conversation Analytic and Interactional Linguistic methods (cf. Sidnell 2010, 2013; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 1996, 2001), I will show that participants use this format methodically as a practice for constructing sequential junctures, i.e., to launch new sequences from primarily responsive positions in ongoing sequences of actions. Semantic-pragmatically, speakers accomplish this by anaphorically referencing the substance of what a prior speaker has just said with the demonstrative pronoun *that* and subsequently invoking an identity or congruence relation

between the anaphorically referenced material and whatever it is that they introduce in the following subordinate clause (e.g., *that = what I'm gonna do*). Moreover, speakers systematically design the subordinate clause in ways that project turn-continuation beyond the demonstrative *wh*-cleft format (DWC) itself, which appears to be a crucial ingredient for the construction of sequential junctures and renders this particular DWC use recognizably distinct from other DWC uses at the beginning of responsive turns.

While the precise formal means speakers employ to set up this projection vary from case to case in a highly context-sensitive fashion, two recurrent procedures can be identified:

- a) Leaving the subordinate clause designedly unspecific in its local context (e.g., *what I'm gonna do*), thereby creating an interactional expectation of further elaborative talk regarding the identity or congruence relation invoked with the DWC (cf. Hopper 2008 for a similar observation with respect to basic *wh*-/pseudo-clefts used as projector phrases), and/or
- b) prefiguring a subsequent perspective shift by using a primary prosodic accent on some person-referential element in the subordinate clause of the DWC (typically, though not invariably, on its subject, e.g., *that's what I'M gonna do*).

These flexibly employable features, along with its lexico-syntactic patterning, make the DWC format a valuable resource for participants' management of certain recurrent, but always locally emerging and locally handled, interactional exigencies. Finally, the implications of these findings for empirical (grammatical?) descriptions of linguistic formats based on situated spoken language use will be discussed.

¹ Some scholars prefer to treat these structures as contextual variants of reverse *wh*-clefts rather than as a distinct cleft type (cf. Collins 1991; Oberlander & Delin 1996; Weinert & Miller 1996; see also Lambrecht 2001).

References

- Biber, Douglas, Johansson, Stig, Leech, Geoffrey, Conrad, Susan & Finegan, Edward (1999). *Longman grammar of spoken and written English*. Harlow: Longman.
- Calude, Andreea S. (2007). *Demonstrative clefts in spoken English*. [Doctoral Dissertation.] Australia: University of Auckland.
- Calude, Andreea S. (2008). Demonstrative clefts and double cleft constructions in spontaneous spoken English. *Studia Linguistica* 62(1), 78-118.
- Calude, Andreea S. (2009). Formulaic tendencies of demonstrative clefts in spoken English. In:

Corrigan, R.,

Moravcsik, E.A., Ouali, H. & Wheatley, K. (Eds.). *Formulaic language: Distribution and historical change* (Vol. 1). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 55-76.

Collins, Peter C. (1991). *Cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions in English*. London: Routledge.

Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth & Selting, Margret (1996): Towards an interactional perspective on prosody and a prosodic perspective on interaction. In: Couper-Kuhlen, E. & Selting, M. (Eds.). *Prosody in*

conversation: Interactional studies. Cambridge: CUP, 11-56.

Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth & Selting, Margret (2001). Introducing Interactional Linguistics. In: Selting, M. & Couper-Kuhlen, E. (Eds.). *Studies in Interactional Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1-22.

Hopper, Paul J. (2008). Die Bedeutsamkeit der mündlichen Interaktion für die Linguistik: Die Pseudocleft- Konstruktion im Englischen. In: Stefanowitsch, A. & Fischer, K. (Eds.). *Konstruktionsgrammatik II: Von der Konstruktion zur Grammatik*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg Linguistik, 179-188.

Lambrecht, Knud (2001). A framework for the analysis of cleft constructions. In: *Linguistics* 39(3), 463-516.

Oberlander, Jon & Delin, Judy (1996). The function and interpretation of reverse wh-clefts in spoken discourse. In: *Language and Speech* 39(2-3), 185-227.

Sacks, Harvey, Schegloff, Emanuel A. & Jefferson, Gail (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. In: *Language* 50(4), 696-735.

Schegloff, Emanuel A. (2007). *Sequence organization in interaction: A primer in Conversation Analysis* (Vol. 1). Cambridge: CUP.

Schegloff, Emanuel A. & Sacks, Harvey (1973). Opening up closings. *Semiotica* 8(4), 289-327.

Sidnell, Jack (2010). *Conversation Analysis: An introduction*. Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell.

Sidnell, Jack (2013). Basic conversation analytic methods. In: Sidnell, J. & Stivers, T. (Eds.). *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis*. Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 77-99.

Weinert, Regina & Miller, Jim (1996). Cleft constructions in spoken language. In: *Journal of Pragmatics* 25(2), 173-206.

Anu Lehto

University of Helsinki

Social roles in parliamentary acts between the 19th and 20th centuries

The paper studies British parliamentary acts enacted between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, focusing on how different social groups are portrayed in legal writing. National legislation affects the lives of all citizens and shapes the status of different social groups. Sociolinguistic studies have earlier examined the social roles negotiated by speakers themselves, for instance, in Late Modern English letters and newspapers (see Pahta et al. 2010), but the representation of social groups in historical national legislation has not been considered in earlier analyses. My study uses corpus linguistics methods to survey the various groups of people in national legislation, and the data is a self-compiled diachronic corpus of nineteenth and twentieth century parliamentary acts retrieved from the National Archives of the UK government. The Victorian era is known as the Age of Reform, as society was faced with several challenges including the industrial revolution and rapid population increase. As a consequence of the industrialisation, several acts were enacted that concerned the rights of employers, e.g. working hours and the use of child labour were limited in the nineteenth century (Cornish et al. 2010, Fraser 1978, Englander 1998, Rees 2001). In addition, egalitarianism became more important, supporting the idea that the law should treat people equally. Legislation was thus seen as a more crucial tool to improve the living conditions of the citizens. However, the status of women and children, for instance, was rather poor, and legislation further strengthen this lower status. The different social groups and legal actors can be detected by keyword analysis. The historical acts often refer to citizens as *people* or *person* but the texts define more focused groups as well such as *woman*, *child*, *the poor*, *poor tenants*, *married women*, *vagabonds*, *sturdy beggars* and *the king*. The legal actors are also often defined through regions such as *parishes*. My study employs collocation and cluster analysis to examine the contexts in which these words are used (see also McEnery 2015). The word *poor*, for instance, occurs with words relating to schooling such as *education of poor persons*, and *the king* is used with the word *noble*. Collocation analysis reveals word strings that appear together more often than random word combinations and these routinised forms spread to new contexts (Hoey 2005, McEnery and Hardie 2012).

The study is based on genre analysis and historical pragmatics: social roles are related to genres, as groups of people are portrayed differently in various genres, depending on the audience, function and purpose of the texts. Historical pragmatics further considers genres and texts in their sociohistorical contexts, paying attention to diachronic changes (see Taavitsainen and Jucker 2010). Collocations and other routinised wordings emerge when the same communicative situations and goals are repeated in the community (Croft 2000). The study considers how the image of the social groups change over two hundred years of legal writing, as the living conditions of the citizens were improved.

References

- Cornish, William, J. Stuart Anderson, Ray Cocks, Michael Lobban, Patrick Polden and Keith Smith. 2010. *The Oxford History of the Laws of England, 1820–1914*. Vol. 11 and 13. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Croft, William. 2000. *Explaining Language Change: An Evolutionary Approach*. London: Longman.
- Englander, David. 1998. *Poverty and Poor Law Reform in Nineteenth Century Britain, 1834–1914: From Chadwick to Booth*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Fraser, Derek. 1978. *Evolution of the British Welfare State: A History of Social Policy since the Industrial Revolution*. London: Macmillan.
- Hoey, Michael. 2005. *Lexical priming: A new theory of words and language*. New York: Routledge.
- McEnery, Tony. 2015. The Criminalized Poor: Exploring a marginalized group in public discourse in the 17th century. Plenary in DtoE – from data to evidence conference. Research Unit for the Study of Variation, Contact and Change in English.
- McEnery, Tony and Andrew Hardie. 2012. *Corpus Linguistics: Method, Theory and Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pahta, Päivi, Minna Nevala, Arja Nurmi and Minna Palander-Collin (ed.) 2010. *Social Roles and Language Practices in Late Modern English*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Rees, Rosemary. 2001. *Poverty and Public Health: 1815–1948*. Oxford: Heinemann. Taavitsainen, Irma and Andreas H. Jucker. 2010. Trends and Developments in Historical Pragmatics. In Jucker, Andreas H. and Irma Taavitsainen (ed.), *Historical Pragmatics*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter. 3–30.

Eetu Mäkelä

Aalto University

Tanja Säily

University of Helsinki

Jukka Suomela

Aalto University

Variation in morphological productivity in the history of English: The case of -er

We study sociolinguistic variation and change in the productivity of the nominal suffix *-er* in the history of English. Pilot results from present-day English in the *British National Corpus* suggest that even though *-er* is one of the most productive derivational suffixes (Bauer 2001: 160), there is gender-based variation in its productivity. This study will complete the present-day analysis and find out whether similar variation applies to historical English in the *Corpora of Early English Correspondence*.

The study is part of a project related to linguistic syntheticity. Past empirical work on analyticity and syntheticity usually excludes derivational morphology (e.g. Szmrecsanyi 2012). Part of the reason is the strict compartmentalization of inflectional and derivational morphology, the latter being viewed in terms of varying degrees of productivity rather than ongoing change. There are useful pointers bridging the two branches in the literature (e.g. Brinton & Traugott 2005) but their empirical impact still largely remains to be made. In this project, we aim to further the understanding of language change by exploring the interface between lexis and grammar in the history of English. Our hypothesis is that similar variation and change can be observed in the productivity of both derivational and inflectional processes, and comparisons yield a cline from derivation to inflection rather than a sharp divide. Thus, both derivation and inflection contribute to syntheticity, which is also the view expressed by Danchev (1992).

As a methodological innovation, the study explores the possibility of automatic identification of *-er* derivatives in a historical corpus by cross-referencing types with gold-standard present-day data as well as the *Oxford English Dictionary*. If successful, the same procedure will

later be applied to the study of the inflectional comparative *-er*. The *types2* and *Khepri* software will be used to analyse and explore the data. These novel tools operate on the linked-data principle, enabling fluid movement between data, metadata, statistical analyses and visualizations, which facilitates hypothesis generation and interpretation.

References

- Bauer, L. (2001) *Morphological Productivity*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Brinton, L.J. & E. Closs Traugott (2005) *Lexicalization and Language Change*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Danchev, A. (1992) Analytic and synthetic developments in English. In M. Rissanen et al. (eds.), *History of Englishes*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 25–41.
- Szmrecsanyi, B. (2012) Analyticity and syntheticity in the history of English. In T. Nevalainen & E. Closs Traugott (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of English*. Oxford/New York: OUP, 654–665.

Michael C. Mensink

University of Wisconsin-Stout

Katherine Muschler

Andreas Schramm

Hamline University

***Cognitive processing of aspectual meanings by higher and lower-skilled readers
during narrative comprehension***

The role of grammatical aspect in establishing causal relationships across sentences in short narratives (12-15 sentences) is examined at two reading skill levels. The semantic domain of aspect has been subdivided into two components: situation (or lexical) aspect and viewpoint (or grammatical) aspect (e.g., Smith 1997). Situation aspect is expressed through semantic and lexico-syntactic means and understood compositionally on the sentence level. Viewpoint aspect is expressed through verbal morphosyntactic forms and their meanings. The two main viewpoint aspect categories in English are the perfective (completed) *-ed* or *have+ed* and imperfective (ongoing) *be+ing* aspects. The current study contrasts the strength of causal connections in the perfective Simple Past (*She passed a truck*) and imperfective Past Progressive (*She was passing a truck*). Recently, there has been interest in the effect of aspect on discourse processing in English readers (e.g., Becker, Ferretti, & Madden-Lombardi, 2013). Aspect affects the construction of mental representation. Much of this research shows that aspect affects what portions of event schemas become available: readers treat grammatical aspect as processing instructions (Magliano & Schleich, 2000).

Results from comparisons of higher-skilled and lower-skilled readers indicate that the former have better recall (Recht and Leslie, 1988). Specifically, lower-skilled readers may remember fewer verbal action units, complex sentences, and words and display inefficient recognition of important ideas. Thus, we expected a main effect of aspect immediately after a narrative cause at both skill levels because concepts will be more available in WM when their situations of origin are in the imperfective viewpoint aspect (Schramm & Mensink, in press). We also expected that this

availability effect of viewpoint aspect will subside after several situations. However, after 5-7 sentences we predicted little target concept activation for lower-skilled yet higher activation for higher-skilled readers because of their higher recall capacity. Finally, we expected the integration of the effect with the preceding context to re-generate higher availability for concepts from an imperfective cause for both groups. Unexpectedly, the WM pattern predicted for higher-skilled readers did not exist. Also, we predicted and confirmed a main effect of aspect off-line for both groups: situations in the imperfective aspect are more available.

Since the results are not consistent with the claim that higher-skilled readers have better recall, we argued that higher-skilled readers may create representations of aspectual meanings that are ‘good enough’ (Ferreira & Patson, 2007). By contrast, it appears that lower-skilled readers produce representations that are more “detailed, complete, and accurate.” The current study uses more sensitive eye-tracking software to explore these aspectual memory patterns further. After initial data analysis, reading times indicate higher imperfective target concept activation at surprise endings of stories for 34 lower-skilled readers and in answers to comprehension questions for both groups (65 participants). No group differences seem to exist during the reading of such questions. Reading times at narrative causes and regressions to them are currently analyzed. Comparison and discussion of the data from these two studies will provide further insights into the reading behavior of readers with different skills and with different purposes. (499 words)

References

- Becker, R.B., Ferretti, T.R., & Madden-Lombardi, C.J. (2013). Grammatical aspect, lexical aspect, and event duration constrain the availability of events in narratives. *Cognition*, 129, 212-220.
- Ferreira, F & Patson, N. 2007. The ‘Good Enough’ Approach to Language Comprehension *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 1(1/2), 71–83.
- Magliano, J., & Schleich, M. (2000). Verb aspect and situation models. *Discourse Processes*, 29, 83-112.
- Recht, D. R., & Leslie, L. (1988). Effect of prior knowledge on good and poor readers' memory of text. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 80(1), 16.
- Schramm, A. & Mensink, M. (in press). Processing of aspectual meanings by non-native and native English speakers during narrative comprehension. In O. Timofeeva, S. Chevalier, A. Gardner, & A. Honkapohja (Eds.), *New Approaches in English Linguistics: Building Bridges*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Smith, C. (1997²). *The parameter of aspect*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Lilo Moessner

RWTH Aachen University

Old English law-codes: A genre study

In Bhatia's model of the language of the law, the genres law-codes/statutory texts, contracts and wills form a hyper-genre, which is characterized by the parameters legislative setting, written mode, and formal style (Bhatia 1987). Whereas modern English laws have recently been analysed with corpus-linguistic methods (Hiltunen 2001,2012; Williams 2005), a similar study of Old English (OE) laws is still missing. The OE part of Hiltunen's diachronic study (1990) does not contain quantitative data, and Schwyter (1996) treats only the offence of theft in OE law-codes. In this paper I propose to fill this gap, addressing the following issues: Which societal norms are propagated in OE laws? Which offences are specified, and which punishments are prescribed for them? Among the style markers I will focus on sentence length and complexity, on patterns of clausal subordination, and on the realisation of the categories tense, mood, voice, and modality of the verbal syntagm. My corpus will contain laws from Liebermann's *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, some of which are taken over from the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*. The results of the analysis will allow a diachronic comparison of OE and modern English laws on the one, and a synchronic comparison of OE laws and other genres of the same hyper-genre on the other hand. Generalising from a pilot study with a smaller corpus I expect that the diachronic comparison will not only reflect sociohistorical changes (e.g. the social class system, the legislative body), but also discover differences between OE and modern English laws which concern the degree of ambiguity and precision of law texts, average sentence length, frequency and type of adverbial clauses, the use of relative clauses, the occurrence of verbless clauses, backgrounding of the agent in passive constructions, as well as frequency and function of the subjunctive mood. The synchronic comparison of OE laws and OE wills will reveal differences in the number of clauses per sentence, the distribution of relative and adverbial clauses, and in the frequency of the subjunctive mood.

References

Bhatia, Vrjay K. 1987. "Language of the law". *Language Teaching* 2014:227-234.

- Hiltunen, Risto. 2012. "The Grammar and Structure of Legal Texts". In Tiersma Peter M. & Solan Laurence M. (eds): *The Oxford Handbook of Language and Law*. [Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics]. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 39-51.
- Hiltunen, Risto. 2001. "'Some Syntactic Properties of English Law Language': Twenty-five Years after Gustafsson(1975)*". In Hiltunen, Battarbee, Peikola & Tanskanen (eds): *English in Zigs and Zags: A Festschrift for Marita Gustafsson*. *Anglicana Turkuensia* 23, 53-66.
- Hiltunen, Risto. 1990. *Chapters on Legal English. Aspects Past and Present of the Language of the Law*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
- Liebermzlln,F . 1903. *Die Gesetze der Angelsacltsen*. Band I. Halle: Max Niemeyer.
- Schwyer, J. R. 1996. *Old English Legal Language. The Lexical Field of Theft*. Odense University Press.
- Williams, Christopher. 2005. *Tradition and Change in Legal English. Verbal Constructions in Prescriptive Texts*. Bern, etc.: Peter Lang.

Minako Nakayasu

Hamamatsu University School of Medicine

Metadiscourse That/This is to say: Historical change and discourse

The metadiscourse formula *that is to say* is known to provide a translation, interpretation or explanation. The following example from Chaucer, however, shows that this formula may be combined with *this*:

(i) Ne that a monk, whan he is recchelees,

Is likned til a fissh that is waterlees –

This is to seyn, a monk out of his cloystre.

(A.GP 179-81)

Kerkhof (1982) considers both of *that* and *this* in this formula in Chaucer as anaphoric uses of an independent pronoun, and does not note any difference between them. Boggel (2009), who conducted a first systematic analysis of the historical data of metadiscourse, regards *this is to say* as a mere variant in her diachronic analysis of *that is to say*.

The purpose of this paper is to conduct quantitative and qualitative analyses of the metadiscourse expressions *that is to say* and *this is to say* to examine their difference in the history of English. The present study makes use of the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpora of Middle English and Early Modern English (PPCME2 and PPCEME) (Kroch & Taylor (2000); Kroch, Santorini & Diertani (2004)), and Chaucer's texts taken from Benson (1987).

After providing a definition of metadiscourse based on Boggel (2009), the present paper conducts a quantitative analysis of how frequently both expressions are employed in the corpora of Middle English and Early Modern English. The analysis demonstrates this formula's general tendency to decrease in the Early Modern period. Regarding *this is to say*, there are no instances recorded in Early Modern English, while its occurrences are largely concentrated in the M3 period (1350-1420). The statistical analysis also exhibits a difference among genres: for example, genres such as handbook employ *this is to say* more frequently.

Qualitative analysis of Middle English data is then conducted to examine how the use of

these two expressions is influenced by discourse-pragmatic factors (Jucker & Taavitsainen 2015). Although there is not an obvious difference felt between *that is to say* and *this is to say* in some of the examples where the speaker makes a further explanation, the speaker employs *that is to say* when he/she provides a translation, definition or specific idea, while he/she chooses *this is to say* when a longer previous context is required. This particular use of *this is to say* derives from the text-structuring function performed by the anaphoric use of *this*. In other words, whereas *that is to say* has only intertextual functions, *this is to say* serves an intratextual function as well.

This research shows that the difference between these two expressions is not merely that of variation, but lies in the way they contribute to the text.

References

- Benson, Larry Dean (ed.). 1987. *The Riverside Chaucer*. 3rd edition. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Boggel, Sandra. 2009. *Metadiscourse in Middle English and Early Modern English Religious Texts: A Corpus-based Study*. Frankfurt am Main, etc.: Peter Lang.
- Jucker, Andreas H. & Irma Taavitsainen. 2015. "Twenty Years of Historical Pragmatics: Origins, Developments and Changing Thought Styles". *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 16(1): 1-24.
- Kerkhof, Jelle. 1982. *Studies in the Language of Geoffrey Chaucer*. 2nd edition. Leiden: E. J. Brill/Leiden University Press.
- Kroch, Antony & Ann Taylor. 2000. *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (PPCME2)*. 2nd edition. University of Pennsylvania.
- Kroch, Antony, Beatrice Santorini & Ariel Diertani. 2004. *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME)*. University of Pennsylvania.

Cornelia Neubert

Chemnitz University of Technology

Through the age groups: An apparent time study of KIT and NURSE in Black South African English

The realisation of the KIT and NURSE vowel is a salient marker of Black South African English (BSAE). For example, the mesolectal variety shows a KIT-FLEECE and a DRESS-NURSE merger. In the acrolectal variety, these mergers do occur as well, though less frequently (Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen 2000; Van Rooy 2004). This paper investigates the pronunciation of KIT and NURSE in BSAE and analyses whether the elimination of segregation, i.e. the de jure unrestricted inter-ethnic contact has an effect on the pronunciation of these two vowels. A sample of 50 BSAE speakers performing three different speech styles (wordlist, reading passage and interview) was recorded. Some 2,600 tokens of Lobanov-normalised vowel formant values were extracted and subjected to descriptive and analytical statistics using a range of linguistic (L1 language family, context, spelling) and social (gender, educational background, age group) factors.

The results suggest that of the social variables, age has the highest influence on vowel realisation. The greatest differences occurred among the youngest participants (19-23 years old). For example, the majority of them neither merge KIT and FLEECE nor NURSE and DRESS, features that are often reported for BSAE (e.g. Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen 2000; De Klerk & Gough 2002). Moreover, some young participants show a centralised KIT vowel or a lowered, DRESS-like variant, which are characteristics of White South African English (WSAE). A "KIT split", the context-dependent production of KIT allophones (Wells 1982; Lass 1991; Bekker 2014), as a possible adoption from WSAE, could not be observed, however. It was also investigated whether various graphemic representations of the NURSE vowel (e.g. *word, learn, first, turn, serve*) influences its pronunciation. Significant differences were not found, but <ear> spelling seems to correlate with a generally slightly fronted pronunciation while <wor> may trigger a slightly retracted realisation.

The divergence of the youngest participants from commonly reported features of BSAE suggests an ongoing language change. The reasons for that may be manifold, but all occur against

the background of the changes in the political system in the country. For example, early exposure to English (e.g. in multi-racial, English-speaking crèches) may account for this development as well as improved educational conditions at schools. It is equally conceivable that young adult BSAE speakers consciously approximate features of WSAE as the prestigious linguistic norm, a suggestion that is backed by studies of Da Silva (2007) and Mesthrie (2010). However, since not all young participants show this outcome, it is also reasonable to assume that not everyone welcomes a white role model in post-apartheid South Africa.

The results indicate that age dominates the variation patterns in the social factors. Other factors (such as gender and education) at this stage only seem to play a minor role, but may become more important at a later stage.

Keywords: socio-phonetics, Black South African English, vowel formants, pronunciation

References

- Bekker, Ian. 2014. The KIT-Split in South African English: A critical review. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 32(1). 113–131.
- Da Silva, Arista. 2007. *South African English: A Sociolinguistic Investigation of an Emerging Variety*. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand PhD [Available at <http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/handle/10539/4955>].
- De Klerk, Vivian & David Gough. 2002. Black South African English. In Rajend Mesthrie (ed.), *Language in South Africa*, 356–378. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lass, Roger. 1991. A 'standard' South African vowel system. In Susan Ramsaran & Alfred C. Gimson (eds.), *Studies in the pronunciation of English: A commemorative volume in honour of A.C. Gimson*, 272–285. London: Routledge.
- Mesthrie, Rajend. 2010. Socio-phonetics and social change: Deracialisation of the GOOSE vowel in South African English 1. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 14(1). 3–33.
- Van Rooy, Bertus. 2004. Black South African English: Phonology. In Edgar W. Schneider, Kate Burridge, Bernd Kortmann, Rajend Mesthrie & Clive Upton (eds.), *A handbook of varieties of English: A multimedia reference tool. Vol. 1, Phonology*, 943–952. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Van Rooy, Bertus & Gerhard Van Huyssteen. 2000. The vowels of BSAE: Current knowledge and future prospects. *South African Journal of Linguistics* 18(sup38). 15–33.
- Wells, J. C. 1982. *Accents of English 3: Beyond the British Isles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University

Press.

Joanna Nykiel

University of Silesia

Processing preferences and ellipsis alternation

English elliptical constructions allow an alternation between remnants with prepositions and remnants without prepositions when the remnants' correlates are prepositional phrases, as illustrated in (1) and (2) (the correlates and alternating remnants are marked in bold). I dub this alternation ellipsis alternation.

(1) A: I'm here **for the audition**. B: **Which audition?** / **For which audition?**

(2) A: I'm sorry.

B: Sorry **for what?**

A: **Trying to steal your car.** / **For trying to steal your car.**

This alternation is found outside English, and available crosslinguistic data show that remnants with prepositions are more acceptable than remnants without prepositions (Rodrigues et al. 2009, Merchant et al. 2013, Nykiel 2013). However, English does not follow this pattern in the sense that remnants without prepositions have higher frequencies than remnants with prepositions (Nykiel 2016). This raises two questions, which I address in this paper: (1) why remnants with prepositions should be the crosslinguistically more common option, and (2) why this is not the case in English.

I propose a processing account of ellipsis alternation, arguing that it is best suited for handling English data and the available crosslinguistic data in terms of both the availability of this alternation and the frequency of remnants with prepositions vs. the frequency of remnants without prepositions. The data collected for this study total 411 items and represent two elliptical constructions: sluicing, illustrated in example (1), and fragment answers, illustrated in example (2). The data were harvested from three corpora of spoken American English (the Santa Barbara corpus, the Switchboard corpus, and the Corpus of Contemporary American English) and analyzed by means of regression modeling (binary logistic regression).

The processing account I defend here is independently motivated by one of the principles of

efficient language processing articulated in Hawkins (2004, 2014), Minimize Forms. This principle predicts that linguistic entities can undergo form minimization (e.g., through ellipsis) if their features can be easily assigned to them, given the surrounding context. One of the environments supporting form minimization involves structural parallelism between a given linguistic entity and its antecedent. In the context of ellipsis alternation, structural parallelism holds between remnants and their correlates if they are both PPs, that is, if prepositions are not dropped from remnants. This predicts that remnants with prepositions are overall more acceptable and/or frequent than remnants without prepositions, a pattern supported by existing crosslinguistic data. I next offer support for the hypothesis that English ellipsis alternation is impacted by strong semantic dependencies between prepositions and other lexical categories, which leads to a preference for remnants without prepositions and explains why English behaves differently than other languages. This hypothesis is an extension of the principle of Minimize Domains of Hawkins (2004, 2014). Finally, I consider possible ways of incorporating the proposed processing account into two formal approaches to ellipsis, the deletion-based approach (Ross 1969, Merchant 2001, 2004) and the direct interpretation approach (Ginzburg & Sag 2000, Culicover & Jackendoff 2005, Kim 2015), concluding that the latter is better suited for handling the available data.

Naoki Otani

Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

Prepositional phrases used as complements of prepositions: A functional and cognitive account

The present paper discusses prepositional phrases (PPs) used as complements of prepositions (e.g., *from under the bed, since before the war*), arguing that these nominal uses of PPs can be divided into three functional types. Previous literature has found that some prepositional phrases function as noun phrases (NPs) (Quirk et al. 1985; Huddleston and Pullum 2002; Brinton and Brinton 2010). However, these studies mainly focused on the nominal use of PPs appearing in the subject position (Taylor 1998). In contrast, this study focuses on complement PPs of prepositions, which have received little attention.

To investigate the characteristics of prepositions' complement PPs, the present paper investigates 'preposition-preposition' sequences that are headed by 45 major prepositions (Altenberg and Vago 2010: 65) in the *British National Corpus*. Some findings are as follows: First, among the first prepositions, *from* is most widely used (see T-score in the table below). In addition, the prepositions following *from* are usually two-syllable words; one-syllable 'typical' prepositions such as *at, in, and on*, do not appear in this position. Second, complement PPs can refer not only to 'space' and 'time' but also to various abstract regions such as 'organization,' 'experience,' and 'price,' e.g., *from within the company; from outside experience; from between \$150-\$2,400*. These abstract regions, referred to by complement PPs, have not been discussed in previous literature.

This study then classifies the functions of complement PPs into three types with respect to their relations to the first preposition: (1) 'Emphasis type,' (2) 'Specification type,' and (3) 'Addition type.' Examples are shown in (1)-(3).

(1) (a) Mr. Gonzalez has also come in for criticism from *within his own party*. [BNC: A95]

(b) ... when you have it on from one o'clock right through *till six o'clock* ... [BNC: KRL]

(2) (a) His mother's voice was cold from *behind the make-up towel*. [BNC: A0D]

(b) They will dig away the earth from *under the bodies of small creatures* ... [BNC: EWC]

- (3) (a) This time they approached from *across the field above the bank*, ... [BNC: HDC]
(b) Designed by Hawksmoor in 1731, it was not completed until *after his death*. [BNC: A65]

In the ‘emphasis type,’ inserting the second preposition does not cause a major change in the propositional content of the original sentence. That is, the second preposition merely emphasizes the original situation as shown in (1a) and (1b). In the ‘specification type,’ the second preposition specifies the meaning of the original sentence. In (2a) and (2b), the original sentences, *from the make-up towel* and *from the bodies* can possibly denote any regions near the towel or bodies. However, *behind* and *under*, which appear immediately after *from*, specify a marked area – the areas from which the voice was heard and the earth was dug away. In the ‘addition type,’ the second preposition adds extra meaning to the original sentence. In (3a), *from the field* and *from across the field* refer to different locations.

In conclusion, the second complement prepositions are neither meaningless nor redundant; rather, they function to emphasize, specify, or add extra meaning to the original situations.

Table Raw frequency and T-scores of ‘preposition-preposition’ sequences in the *BNC*

#	Preposition sequence	T-score (frequency)
1	<i>from behind</i>	21.89 (610)
2	<i>from within</i>	17.56 (587)
3	<i>from under</i>	12.49 (468)
4	<i>from beneath</i>	12.22 (180)
5	<i>from among</i>	9.92 (233)
6	<i>from across</i>	9.62 (217)
7	<i>from around</i>	9.61 (281)
8	<i>from amongst</i>	6.65 (73)
9	<i>from beyond</i>	4.57 (77)
10	<i>from outside</i>	3.78 (73)
11	<i>from outside of</i>	3.31 (16)
12	<i>from throughout</i>	3.10 (67)
13	<i>through till</i>	2.87 (11)
14	<i>like unto</i>	2.71 (8)
15	<i>from beside</i>	2.35 (33)
16	<i>from underneath</i>	2.25 (11)
17	<i>from atop</i>	2.01 (5)

References

- Altenberg, Evelyn. P. and Robert M. Vago (2010) *English Grammar: Understanding the Basics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brinton, Laurel J. and Donna M. Brinton (2010) *The Linguistic Structure of Modern English*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Huddleston, Rodney and Geoffrey K. Pullum (2002) *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, John R. (1998) "Syntactic Constructions as Prototype Categories," *The New Psychology of Language: Cognitive and Functional Approaches to Language Structure*, 177-202. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Quirk, Randolph, Sydney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, and Jan Svartvik (1985) *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.

Sofia Rüdiger

University of Helsinki

Morpho-syntactic patterns of spoken English in an Expanding Circle context

The systematic investigation of Englishes from the Expanding Circle (so-called English as a foreign language, EFL, contexts) is particularly challenging for linguists. So far, it is not clear, which methodological and theoretical approach(es) are suitable to adequately describe the language forms encountered in those contexts. Frequently, the foregrounded questions refer to issues of variety status: Is the respective English a ‘legitimate’ variety (i.e. English as a Second Language; ESL) or does it have to be classified as a learners’ English (i.e. EFL)? Some scholars of World Englishes though start to move away from this dichotomous class system of English and realize the need of a more dynamic model of World Englishes (e.g. Buschfeld and Kautzsch forthcoming).

In this paper, I describe some of the morpho-syntactic patterns identified in one Expanding Circle context with the help of a newly-available corpus. The Corpus of Spoken Korean English consists of 60 hours of spoken material by 115 speakers (altogether 300,000 words). During data collection, special emphasis was put on an informal interview environment and atmosphere, resulting in speech data which is spontaneous and not resulting from classroom or language learning interactions (as spoken data in corpora from Expanding Circle contexts often use to be). Due to the compelling status of the English language in South Korean society (see e.g. Park 2009) and the existence of morpho-syntactic patterns, I argue that Expanding Circle Englishes are a special case in variational research and call for a more fluent approach to established frameworks of World Englishes (e.g. Kachru’s Concentric Circles of World Englishes, ENL/ESL/EFL). As can be seen in the case of South Korea, the linguistic realities of language use (i.e. the emergence of nativized patterns) seem to contradict the dichotomous distinction between variety features (in the case of native and second language varieties) and learner errors (for Expanding Circle Englishes). This paper will focus on the use of prepositions and articles as well as other morpho-syntactic patterns such as reduced plural redundancy and the distinction between countable and uncountable nouns.

References

- Park, J. S.-Y. 2009 *The Local Construction of a Global Language: Ideologies of English in South Korea*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Esaúl Ruiz Narbona

University of La Rioja

***The effects on transitivity of verbal prefixes in Old English morphological
causatives***

The present study concentrates on the valency of morphological causatives in Old English. More specifically, I focus on 13 *-jan* pairs such as *meltan-myltan* ('melt intr.'- 'melt trans.')

which according to García García 2012 present syntactic merger, i.e. one or both members of the inchoative-causative pair takes on a further valency value belonging originally to its counterpart. This process results in a labile verb, that is, a verb which can function as intransitive or causative with no formal marking. As is common in Old English, the verbs under analysis usually occur preceded by prefixes, mainly *a-*, *be-*, *for-* and *ge-* in this case. The main objective of this paper is to analyze the way these prefixes interact with the notion of transitivity and causativity. The main methodological tool I made use of in this work in order to analyze the effects of transitivity of these verbs are the parameters conforming what Hopper and Thompson (1980: 252) call *cardinal transitivity*. The alteration of several of these parameters, such as the number of participants, aspect, or degree of affectedness of the object are argued (see Bosworth and Toller 1898 and Hiltunen 1983: 48-50) to be part of the effects that some of the prefixes analyzed in this study have on the verb they are attached to. My results show that there are clear differences among prefixes concerning effects on transitivity. On the one hand, the prefixes *a-* and *ge-* do not show any clear effects what transitivity is concerned. Forms with these prefixes do not consistently appear in more transitive clauses than their unprefixated counterparts nor do they clearly present effects related to a telicity or other parameters. *Be-* and *for-*, on the other hand, do cause some alterations in the aforementioned patterns according to my data. The former does have effects concerning traditional transitivity, since *be-* forms tend to be transitive regardless of whether the verb it is attached to is the strong intransitive member of the causative pair or the derived causative. On the contrary, *for-* does not seem to affect traditional transitivity, but does alter other parameters such as aspect and affectedness of the object, adding a telic meaning lacking in the unprefixated forms of the verbs. Additionally, some prefixated forms with *be-* and *for-* present a high degree of lexicalization, a

process that also contributes to the collapse of the morphological causative construction.

References

- Bosworth, J. and Toller, T. N. 1898. *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- García García, L. 2012. 'Morphological causatives in Old English: the quest for a vanishing formation'. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 110.1: 122-148.
- Hiltunen, R. 1983. *The decline of the prefixes and the beginnings of the English phrasal verb*. *Annales Universitatis Turkuensis. Series B.*, Vol. 160. Turku.
- Hopper, P. J. and S. A. Thompson. 1980. "Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse". *Language* 56, 251-299.

Julia Schlüter

University of Bamberg

Coordinated colours: Sequencing constraints on colour terms in English

The paper focuses on a specific subtype of binomials, viz. coordinations among 16 frequent English colour words, and a set of constraints that determine their order. Binomials have provided a preferred object of linguistic research because they afford insights into the conundrum of constraints impinging on the sequencing of syntactic constituents in general (e.g. Malkiel 1959; Cooper and Ross 1975; Benor and Levy 2006, to name just a few prominent studies). Most recently, two book-length studies (Lohmann 2014 and Mollin 2014) carried out large-scale corpus-based studies of reversible binomials (i.e. such in which the serialization is not conventionalized), evaluating the relative importance of a large array of ordering constraints. Very roughly, the constraints tested can be grouped into semantic/pragmatic ones and phonological ones, with the latter including both metrical and non-metrical ones. Their results indicate that semantic/pragmatic constraints, and among them perceptual markedness (salient before non-salient categories) are the strongest, and metrical phonological constraints occupy the middle ground.

The present paper presents a close-up study of the relatively homogeneous field of colour terms, which are coordinated in usage events describing multicoloured (groups of) objects, e.g. *red and yellow (flowers)*, *yellow and red (flowers)*. These structures are serialized on-line in language production and are typically reversible. While the real colouring of the referents in the extralinguistic world cannot be controlled for in a corpus, both semantic/pragmatic and metrical constraints can be operationalized with a high degree of precision in this research context.

To establish a markedness hierarchy among colour words, various independent sources of information will be exploited: the extent to which different colours are perceived as focal in human vision and memory (Heider 1972); acquisition sequences (Johnson 1977); cross-linguistic evolutionary hierarchies (Berlin & Kay 1969); first attestations of colour names in English (OED); their raw corpus frequencies; and behavioural data such as lexical decision and naming latencies (Balota et al. 2007).

The metrical constraints will be narrowed down to two constellations: cases where a

monosyllabic colour term precedes a disyllabic one (the universally preferred ‘short before long’ order) or where the reverse is the case in an otherwise neutral context; and cases where a reverse (‘long before short’) order in addition violates the preference for alternating stressed and unstressed syllables.

On the basis of multi-million-word corpora (BNC and COCA) and even more extensive news-paper archives totalling 1.5 billion words, the relative importance of the semantic/pragmatic constraints and the metrical constraints thus defined are weighed against each other. The results show that despite the imponderability of extralinguistic factors, all constraints under investigation have a statistically robust influence on binomial order. As for rhythmic alternation, in particular, these findings go beyond both Lohmann (2014), who finds no rhythmic effect on reversible binomials, and Mollin (2014), who does not control for syntactic positions of binomials.

References

- Balota, David A., Yap, Melvin J., Cortese, Michael J., Hutchison, Keith A., Kessler, Brett, Loftis, Bjorn, Neely, James H., Nelson, Douglas L., Simpson, Greg B., & Treiman, Rebecca (2007) “The English Lexicon Project.” *Behavior Research Methods* 39. 445-459.
<<http://elexicon.wustl.edu/>>
- Benor, Sarah B. & Levy, Roger (2006) “The chicken or the egg? A probabilistic analysis of English binomials.” *Language* 82(2). 233-278.
- Berlin, Brent & Kay, Paul (1969) *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution*. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Cooper, William E. & Ross, John R. (1975) “World order.” In: Terence E. Moore (ed.). *Papers from the Parasession on Functionalism*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society. 63-111.
- Heider, Eleanor Rosch (1972) “Universals in color naming and memory.” *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 93 (1). 10-20.
- Johnson, E.G. (1977) “The development of color knowledge in preschool children.” *Child Development* 48. 308-311.
- Lohmann, Arne (2014) *English Coordinate Constructions: A Processing Perspective on Constituent Order*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Malkiel, Yakov (1959). “Studies in irreversible binomials.” *Lingua* 8. 113-160.
- Mollin, Sandra (2014) *The (Ir)reversibility of English Binomials: Corpus, Constraints, Developments*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Hans-Jörg Schmid

Carla Vergaro

Saarland University

***Do the meanings of abstract nouns correlate with the meanings of their
complementation patterns? A case study on English commissive shell nouns***

There is a widespread assumption in Construction Grammar (but also before and elsewhere) that the meanings of *verbs* correlate with or even determine the choice of forms of complementations. There is much less research on *noun* complementation, even though this category is even more interesting for a number of reasons such as valency reduction, nominal topicalization constructions, and additional complementation options, e.g. *of*-PPs and existential constructions.

In this paper we focus on one class of abstract nouns, viz. commissive shell nouns (*promise, offer, pledge, refusal, bet, threat, etc.*), and address the question of whether there is a correlation (i) between the meaning of these nouns and their preferred complementation patterns, and (ii) between their semantic/pragmatic similarity and their similarity in terms of the distribution of complementation patterns.

We report the results of a corpus-based study of 17 commissive nouns chosen from a wider corpus of illocutionary nouns. 200 tokens of each noun type were randomly sampled from the Corpus of Contemporary American English. Using these data, the 17 nouns were subjected to an analysis of their behavioral profiles, i.e. the relative frequencies of the complementation patterns they occur with. This analysis was restricted to occurrences in the specific function of reporting a commissive illocutionary act (and frequently its propositional content). The following examples are cases in point:

- (1) This generally means a significantly reduced work force, despite Mr Kalikow's **pledge** to "save as many jobs as possible". [COCA, NEWS1992]
- (2) Without getting any **promise** from Israel that occupation was going to end, it was very difficult to see how that was going to succeed. [COCA, SPOK2003]

The methodology used involves descriptive and exploratory statistics as well as semantic analyses. As for descriptive statistics, reliance scores, which capture the degree to which a particular noun depends on a pattern for its occurrence, are calculated. As for exploratory statistics, a hierarchical cluster analysis is applied to the data in order to discover similarity patterns in the data that are based on their behavioral profiles. These are then tallied with an in-depth analysis of the nouns' meanings inspired by speech-act theoretical pragmatic approaches.

Results indicate a general match between nouns meanings and complementation patterns. More specifically, however, they indicate that the closeness of this match depends on the semantic/pragmatic prototypicality of nouns as members of the class of commissives, such that more central commissive nouns tend to show a statistically significant correlation with *to*-infinitive, i.e. the complementation pattern that is associated with futurity, opinion, wanting, potentiality, non-factivity, while medial and peripheral commissive nouns are also and even more strongly associated with other constructions (*that*-clause, *it*-extraposition, topicalizing and focalizing constructions).

The study, then, contributes to our understanding of the relation between lexis and syntax, as well as to our understanding of the semantics/pragmatics and syntax of commissive shell nouns.

Ole Schützler

University of Bamberg

Semantic and syntactic variation of concessive constructions in varieties of English

This paper investigates concessive constructions that employ the conjunctions *although*, *though* and *even though* in British, Irish and Canadian English, using the respective components of the *International Corpus of English* (cf. Greenbaum 1996). The variation and interaction of semantic and syntactic properties of such constructions is compared between varieties and between written and spoken language.

There are (at least) three different semantic types of concessives (Sweetser 1990; Crevels 2000). Example (1) is a *content concessive*, in which the concessive semantics are based on a *topos*, i.e. a general presupposition (cf. Anscombe 1989; König 2006) – in this case the assumption that a poor election result will normally lead to a state of frustration or dejection; example (2) uses a *topos* with inverted polarity and is called an *epistemic concessive*; finally, in the so-called *speech-act concessive* of example (3), propositions are not causally or conditionally linked. Instead, they constitute two opposed or qualitatively different pragmatic views of a situation. For all semantic types, the subordinate clause may be in initial, medial or final position relative to the matrix clause (cf. Altenberg 1986).

(1) **Although** he collected only 603 votes, he remains undaunted. [ICE-CAN:W2C-020]

(2) He collected only 603 votes, **although** he remains undaunted.

(3) [T]his is not actually against the law, **although** they do say it is in breach of planning control. [ICE-IRE:S2B-008]

This paper investigates how frequent the three concessive markers are, which semantic types are predominantly used in combination with each of them, to what extent final or non-final placement of subordinate clauses is conditioned by the connective itself or the semantics of the construction as a whole, and whether the patterns that are found are stable or variable across speech and writing on the one hand, and the three varieties of English on the other.

General differences in frequency apart, similar patterns are found in all three varieties. The conjunctions are considerably more frequent in writing and can be clearly ranked according to frequency (*although* > *though* > *even though*). Concerning semantic types, it appears that *although* and *though* are predominantly used in speech-act concessives, while *even though* is associated mainly with the topos-based content and epistemic types. Speech-act concessives tend to be placed after the main clause, while topos-based concessives are more likely to occur in non-final position.

The paper makes three valuable additions to our existing knowledge of concessive adverbials: (i) It highlights the semantic specialisation of *even though*, which is not merely an emphatic variant of *though* as claimed by Quirk et al. (1985); (ii) it demonstrates that the syntactic placement of subordinate clauses is partly conditioned by semantic and pragmatic content; (iii) it shows that those syntactic and semantic properties are relatively stable across L1-varieties of English. It will be argued that different types of concessives are based on different cognitive mechanisms: Apparently, a topos needs to be triggered early in a construction, while a qualifying or corrective subordinate structure can be presented late, i.e. after the matrix clause.

References

- Altenberg, Bengt. 1986. Contrastive linking in spoken and written English. In Gunnel Tottie & Ingegerd Bäcklund (eds.) *English in speech and writing. A Symposium*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell. 13–40.
- Anscombre, Jean-Claude. 1989. Théorie de l'argumentation, topoï, et structuration discursive. *Revue Québécoise de Linguistique* 18(1): 13–55.
- Crevels, Mily. 2000. Concessives on different semantic levels: A typological perspective. In Elisabeth Couper-Kuhlen & Bernd Kortmann (eds.) *Cause – Condition – Condition – Contrast. Cognitive and Discourse Perspectives*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 313–39.
- Greenbaum, Sidney. 1996. Introducing ICE. In Sidney Greenbaum (ed.) *Comparing English Worldwide. The International Corpus of English*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 3–12.
- ICE: The International Corpus of English*. <http://ice-corpora.net/ice/index.htm>.
- König, Ekkehard. 2006. Concessive clauses. In Keith Brown (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. Vol. 2. Amsterdam: Elsevier. 820–4.
- Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech & Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Arnold.
- Sweetser, Eve E. 1990. *From Etymology to Pragmatics. Metaphorical and Cultural Aspects of*

4th Conference of the International Society for the English Language
18-21 September 2016, Poznań, Poland

Semantic Structure. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Martin Schweinberger

University of Hamburg

Ongoing change in the New Zealand English intensifier system

This study examines the use of intensifiers in pre-adjectival slots based on the New Zealand component of the *International Corpus of English* (ICE) and takes a corpus-based variationist approach. The analysis investigates the social stratification of intensifier use in order to determine whether or not the intensification system of NZE is undergoing change and whether ongoing changes mirror trajectories of change observed in other varieties of English.

While traditional descriptions divide intensifiers into intensives and downtoners, the present study, considers only the former, i.e. it analyses intensives or intensive adverbs in preadjectival position (cf. 1) which boost or maximize meaning (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 567).

- (1) a. It's a *very* elegant technique (ICE NZ: S2A-038)
- b. oh wow that's *really* cool (ICE NZ: S1A-096)
- c. she looks *bloody* old in that picture any rate (ICE NZ: S1A-096)

From a sociolinguistic perspective intensifiers are particularly interesting as they play a crucial part in the “social and emotional expression of speakers” (Ito & Tagliamonte 2003: 258) and because intensifier systems are prone to change (Ito & Tagliamonte 2003:257; Quirk et al. 1985:590).

To extract all adjectives, the corpus data was POS-tagged by implementing a maximum entropy part-of-speech tagger. For each adjective, it was determined whether or not it was intensified and which type of intensifier occurred. The socio-demographic information on the speakers was extracted from the respective files contained in ICE New Zealand. The statistical analysis applied the principle of accountability and used mixed-effects binomial logistic regressions to evaluate the impact of extra-linguistic, social factors (age, gender, ethnicity, and socio-economic status). Additional configural frequency analyses (CFAs) were used to determine whether certain intensifiers were associated with specific social reference groups.

The results of the mixed-effects binomial logistic regression show that while the age, gender, and socio-economic background of speakers substantially affect the use of intensifiers, ethnicity does not impact their occurrence. To elaborate, younger speakers use more intensifiers than older speakers, females show higher rates of intensifiers than males, and speakers with a higher socio-economic background tend to use more intensifiers than speakers with a lower socio-economic status. A supplementary register analysis confirms that the frequency of intensifiers declines near-monotonically with formality: as texts become more formal, the frequency of intensifiers declines. Furthermore, the data show that the distributions of distinct intensifiers vary substantially. Especially, the two intensifiers *really* and *very* deserve additional attention: the apparent-time distributions suggest that *really* – as a more innovative variant – may be replacing the more traditional and conservative variant *very* in private dialogue which mirrors the finding from similar studies which have focused on Canadian English (Ito & Tagliamonte 2003; Tagliamonte 2008).

The similarity of the trajectories between Canadian and New Zealand English pose the question of whether there is a more general, cross-varietal trend at work which underlies the restructuring of the intensification system across varieties of English.

References

- Ito, R. and Tagliamonte, S. 2003. Well weird, right dodgy, very strange, really cool: Layering and recycling in English intensifiers. *Language in Society* 32: 257—279.
- Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., and Svartvik, J. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London & New York: Longman.
- Tagliamonte, S. and Roberts, Chr. 2005. So weird; so cool; so innovative: The use of intensifiers in the television series Friends. *American Speech* 80(3): 280—300.
- Tagliamonte, S. 2008. So different and pretty cool! Recycling intensifiers in Toronto, Canada. *English Language and Linguistics* 12(2): 361–394.

Elena Seoane

University of Vigo

Cristina Suarez-Gomez

The University of the Balearic Islands

An onomasiological approach to the perfect in African, Asian, and Caribbean Englishes

The perfect in World Englishes has attracted much attention recently, including studies comparing and contrasting indigenized varieties (Author; Davydova 2011; Yao & Werner 2014; Werner et al. forthcoming, to name only a few). Most of these works have approached the study of the perfect from a semasiological perspective, in which the analytic HAVE+past participle (*have gone*) is analyzed in comparison with the synthetic preterite form (*went*). This paper intends to achieve a more holistic picture of the expression of perfect meaning in World Englishes. To this end, we believe it is necessary to adopt an onomasiological perspective, i.e. a function-to-form approach which will allow us to identify how speakers choose to express perfect meaning in all pragmatic contexts. In our study, we examine all the occurrences of ten high-frequency verbs (*come, finish, get, give, go, hear, see, say, tell* and *think*, with a total of c.84,000 tokens) in order to single out those expressing perfect meaning. The corpus used is the *International Corpus of English* and our sample consists of eight Outer Circle varieties from Africa, Asia and the Caribbean, and two reference varieties: British English and American English (total number of words: 8.8 million). The relevant examples, i.e. those expressing perfect meaning (around 20% of the total), will be tabulated across the standard variables in variationist sociolinguistics: (i) intralinguistic variables, such as presence/absence of an adverbial element, type of perfect meaning (experiential, resultative, recent past and persistent situation), influence of substrate languages, and (ii) extralinguistic variables, including mode, text-type, geographic variety and cognitive constraints derived from language contact situations (e.g. increase of isomorphism and grammatical simplification). A preliminary analysis indicates that the envelope of variation is much wider than the one traditionally acknowledged in current grammars of English, since forms other than the canonical HAVE+past participle and the synthetic preterite have proved to be recurrent enough in Outer Circle varieties

not to be considered performance or transcription errors. This is the case of the BE+past participle periphrasis with a transitive verb (as in *Michelle always tries to look at the good things in life, and as her brother is said, she is always thinking of those worse off than herself* <ICE-JA:W2D-020>), invariable forms of irregular verbs such as *think* (e.g. *So where are you going to work when you graduate. Have you think of this question* <ICEHK: S1A-070>) and participles used with perfect meaning (e.g. *You never seen this movie this movie called The Disclosure* <ICE-EA:S1A-100K>). Whilst the function-toform approach will bring to light a more complete view of the variation involved in the expression of perfect meaning in World Englishes, examination of the variables mentioned will additionally, and crucially, offer an insight into the determinants of such variation.

References

- Davydova, Julia. 2011. *The Present Perfect in Non-Native Englishes. A Corpus-Based Study of Variation*. [Topics in English Linguistics, TiEL] Berlin & Boston: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Werner, Valentin. 2014. *The Present Perfect in World Englishes: Charting Unity and Diversity*. Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press.
- Werner, Valentin, Elena Seoane & Cristina Suárez-Gómez (eds.).2016. *Reassessing the Present Perfect: Corpus Studies and Beyond*. [Topics in English Linguistics, TiEL]. Berlin & Boston: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Yao, Xinyue & Peter Collins. 2012. The present perfect in World Englishes. *World Englishes* 31.3: 386-403.

Jude Ssempuuma

Ruhr University Bochum

The use of be going to, will, and shall to mark futurity in Ugandan English

Since there is no future tense in the English language, the future time is rendered by means of modal auxiliaries (will and shall) and semi-auxiliaries (be going to) (Quirk et al. 1985: 213). Leech et al. (2009: 78) observe that “the semi-modal *be going to* appears to be competing with *will* as a future auxiliary in contemporary English”. They go on to state that “the use of the *be going to* to refer to the future has more than doubled from 18 (8%) to 39 (12%) in Brown and Frown corpus” (Leech et al. 2009: 108). In addition, they argue that “there is a highly significant increase in the use of *be going to* (54%) in the Brown family corpus but no such increase at all in the British [corpus]” (Leech et al. 2009: 107).

This presentation explores the extent to which *be going to*, *will*, and *shall* are used to mark futurity in Ugandan English. In addition, it investigates the variation in the use of these future markings by the three groups of Ugandan first languages speakers, that is, Luganda, Runyankole-Rukiga, and Acholi-Langi, in order to explore possible substrate influence. Scholars such as Mufwene (2013: 218) have emphasized the influence of substrate languages on the features of second language English varieties most especially in Africa.

The spoken Ugandan data used for the analysis was compiled between 2012 and 2014 at Katigondo National Major Seminary. It consists of 74,545 words of orthographic transcription of semi-structured interviews with 23 Ugandan graduates and undergraduates: 7 Luganda L1 speakers (29,100 words), 7 Runyankole-Rukiga L1 speakers (18,610 words), and Acholi-Lango L1 speakers (26,835 words). The WordSmith software is used to search for the occurrence of *be going to*, *will*, and *shall* in the data.

Preliminary results show that *will* is mostly used by the Luganda L1 speakers for future marking accounting for 72.62 percent (61 out of 84 occurrences) of future marking in the data. It is followed by *be going to*, which accounts for 22.62 percent (19 out of 84 occurrences) of future marking in the data. By the Acholi-Lango L1 speakers, *will* is also the preferred future marking accounting for 89.1 percent (139 out of 156 occurrences) of future marking in the data. This is

followed by *be going to* which accounts for 6.41 percent (10 out of 156 occurrences) of future marking in the data.

These preliminary results indicate that in Ugandan English, *will* is the preferred mark of futurity. In addition, *be going to* is used more by the Luganda L1 speakers (22.62 percent) than by the Acholi-Lango L1 speakers (6.41 percent). This seems to point at a possible substrate influence since the equivalent of *be going to* construction is used in the Luganda language (Chesswas 1967) but there is no equivalent of this construction in the Acholi-Lango language (Noonan 1981: 36).

References

- Chesswas, J. D. (1967). *The Essentials of Luganda*. Fourth Edition. London: Oxford University Press
- Leech, Geoffrey, Hundt, Marianne, Mair, Christian, Smith, Nicholas (2009). *Change in Contemporary English: A Grammatical study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Mufwene, Salikoko. (2013). "Driving forces in English Contact Linguistics" In Schreier, Daniel and Hundt, Marianne (eds.). *English as a Contact Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (204 - 221)
- Noonan, Michael Paul (1981). *Lango Syntax*. Los Angeles: University of California
- Quirk, Randolph, et al., (eds.). (1985). *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London and New York: Longman

Irma Taavitsainen,
University of Helsinki

Polite society language practices: Letters to the Editor on medical issues in The Gentleman's Magazine 1731-1800

Politeness, sociability, affability, benevolence and liberality have been pointed out as values underpinning the late eighteenth-century culture among gentility (Brown 2011: 74), and recognizing one's own position in relation to others and acting accordingly were important (Culpeper and Demmen 2011: 51). Detailed assessments on how these qualities were expressed in language use are still few. The material of this study comes from the Letters to the Editor in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (GM), where issues of health were debated on a broad front. Polite society readership formed an active community interacting in the written form in the new channel of communication. The Editor had a central role and letters were regularly addressed to him, though the intended recipient could be the author of a previous letter who had asked for advice, and the real audience was much larger. Metatextual passages are of special interest as they reveal the norms of polite interpersonal interaction, and the pragmatic units of speech acts have proved especially fruitful for politeness studies. Compliments expressing appreciation and good wishes, gratitude and other positive feelings, as well as requests and responses to previous turns, are the core speech acts in communicating medical matters in GM.

I shall apply an ethnographic and socio-constructivist approach to politeness as a discursive practice with focus on people's own notions of what was appropriate and desirable for smooth interaction in polite society; this is labeled as Politeness 1 in the literature, in contrast to the more technical models of Politeness 2 with face work. The method of analysis is qualitative and corpus-based; the examples are selected by close reading but the tendencies have been confirmed and additional examples located by corpus searches. Some lines of development can be noticed, as the frequency of medical and scientific items increases and public health issues gain ground. Some more polemical trends are also present, and ongoing debates show how lay practices overlapped and interacted with professional concerns. GM provided a new means for literate people to keep abreast of the latest developments, and through the language practices recorded in it, we have access to

eighteenth-century opinions on what “anyone of rank, education, or presumption to recon himself genteel” considered worth attention (Porter 1985: 141).

References

Burney collection of Newspapers. <http://www.jisc.ac.uk/news/stories/2009/01/burney.aspx>

Brown, Michael 2011. *Brown, Performing Medicine: Medical Culture and Identity in Provincial England, c. 1760-1850*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Culpeper Jonathan and Jane Demmen. 2011. Nineteenth-century English Politeness: Negative Politeness, conventional indirect requests and the rise of individual self. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 12 (1): 49-81.

Porter, Roy. 1985. Lay medical knowledge in the Eighteenth century: the evidence of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. *Medical History* 29: 138-168.

Laura Terassa,
University of Freiburg

On a couple of plural(s):

A usage-based account of omission of plural marking in Asian Englishes

While research on New Englishes is ever growing, both in the form of variety-specific investigations (e.g. Sharma 2005 for Indian English, Ziegeler 2015 for Singapore English) and typological approaches to New Englishes (e.g. Siemund 2013), there is further need for data-driven approaches that confirm theoretical findings. With regard to Singapore English, which is one of the better-researched varieties, Low (2014: 454) stresses “an urgent need for empirical validation” of the theoretical foundations laid.

This paper approaches omission of inflectional noun plural marking from a usage-based perspective in that it investigates degrees to which the frequency of a lemma accounts for omission rates observed for that lemma. The underlying assumption is that omission rates decrease with higher lemma frequency. This assumption is based on the so-called “conserving effect” described by Bybee (1985: 119; 2007: 10), whereby repetition of forms leads to stronger memory representations, ease of access and, what is of particular importance for this paper, stability (i.e. lower likelihood to change).

The varieties considered here are Hong Kong English (HKE), Singapore English (SgE) and Indian English (IndE). The variety-specific lemma frequencies are approximated by corpus data, namely by the International Corpus of English (ICE) and the Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE; Davies 2013). Since lack of inflectional plural marking as a non-standard feature is expected to occur in spoken language in particular, only the spoken parts of ICE are taken into account. GloWbE comprises web data exclusively, the status of web language being a matter of discussion (e.g. Biber & Kurjian 2007: 110-112). In line with Mair’s (2015: 31) argument that “[d]igital writing encourages informality”, GloWbE is considered here as recent data source that complements the findings obtained from ICE with due awareness that comparisons of the ICE and GloWbE data need to be treated with caution.

A cross-varietal comparison of lack of inflectional noun plural marking in the corpus data

shows that omission rates are surprisingly low in general and comparatively high in HKE. Transfer from isolating Sinitic substrata is a likely explanation. In SgE, in contrast, inflectional plural marking seems to have developed towards a stable feature (excluding Singlish). I argue that in SgE, which shares a number of Sinitic substrata with HKE, transfer is blocked by the comparatively high degree of institutionalization of the variety (cf. Schneider 2007: 273). Furthermore, the corpus analyses show that it is the plurality rate of a noun (rather than its lemma frequency) that impacts on omission rates. Nouns that seldom occur in the plural are comparatively likely to lack plural marking in all three varieties. The trend is most pronounced for HKE, which means that in the least institutionalized variety the relative frequency of occurrence of a noun in the plural impacts on omission rates in particular. The finding that only a combination of potential determinants of omission (i.e. usage frequency, substratum transfer, degree of institutionalization) can explain the observed trends underlines the importance of data-driven approaches to disentangle the complex mechanisms underlying language use and development.

Keywords: omission, plural marking, usage-based, ICE, GloWbE

References

- Biber, Douglas, & Jerry Kurjian. 2007. Towards a taxonomy of web registers and text types: a multidimensional analysis. In Marianne Hundt, Nadja Nesselhauf & Carolin Biewer, eds. *Corpus linguistics and the web*. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, 109-131.
- Bybee, Joan L. 1985. *Morphology: a study of the relation between meaning and form*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bybee, Joan L. 2007. *Frequency of use and the organization of language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Davies, Mark. 2013. *Corpus of Global Web-Based English: 1.9 billion words from speakers in 20 countries*, <http://corpus.byu.edu/glowbe/>.
- ICE, International Corpus of English. The ICE Project. 2016. *International Corpus of English*, <http://ice-corpora.net/ice/index.htm>.
- Low, Ee-Ling. 2014. Research on English in Singapore. *World Englishes* 33(4), 439-457.
- Mair, Christian. 2015. Responses to Davies and Fuchs. *English World-Wide* 36(1), 29-33.
- Schneider, Edgar W. 2007. *Postcolonial English: varieties around the world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Sharma, Devyani. 2005. Language transfer and discourse universals in Indian English article use. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 27(4), 535-566.
- Siemund, Peter. 2013. *Varieties of English. A typological approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ziegeler, Debra. 2015. *Converging grammars: constructions in Singapore English*. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter Mouton.

Jacob Thaisen

University of Oslo

Standardisation and the North-South divide

This paper discusses orthographic standardisation in Middle English, paying particular attention to the north of England and to evidence from script.

Northern Middle English is increasingly being reappraised. Histories of the English language have tended to be biased toward southern, standardising varieties and to portray northern characteristics as deviations from them. The reappraisal shifts the point of reference northward and disconnects northern varieties from southern ones. One commentator speaks of “a common speech area, or *Sprachgebiet*, stretching from the Midlands into Scotland”, while another observes that “many of the diagnostic features [of] Old Northumbrian continue to appear in Middle English, and prove to be quite resistant to the standardisation process.” The linguistic basis for the north-south division is well-known and relates to orthographic, morphological, phonological, and lexical variables. However, little support appears to have been adduced for it from script.

This paper adds that support. It presents (1) quantitative evidence: tree-structured regression analyses (conditional inference trees) of the distribution of six variants; and (2) qualitative evidence: visual analysis of the distribution of types of the 2-shaped variant of the grapheme <r>. The distributions are established from a corpus of 449 texts comprising the Middle English Grammar Corpus, version 2011.1, and associated texts. These texts sample the population of texts written in non-standardised spelling in England and in English during the late Middle English period. They are mostly documents and they are all localised in *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* [LALME] according to the similarity of their spelling to other texts' spelling.

Different configurations of the variables found to be predictors result in different frequencies of the variants. The trees which find LALME localisation in eastings to be a predictor cohere to single out East Anglia, while those which find LALME localisation in northings to be a predictor cohere to single out the Far North, and what movements appear to be underway suggest innovation takes place in those two regions. It is well-known that the introduction of Secretary script on English soil coincides with the beginnings of orthographic standardisation, and there is nothing

surprising about these developments being traceable in texts localisable to East Anglia. It is no exaggeration, however, to claim that what happened in texts localisable to the Far North is largely uncharted. The paper concludes by discussing the separate tradition existing there and what support it had from administrative divisions.

Kathrin Uebler

Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt

The perception of English taboo words by German learners of English

Swearing, or the use of words that are taboo in a certain culture, is using expressions that have a non-literal, connotative, meaning (cf. e.g. Anderson and Trudgill 1990, Jay and Janschewitz 2008, Ljung 2011, McEnery 2006). In order to express positive or negative emotions, speakers use prefabricated expressions including words referring to topics considered offensive by a specific society. From a second language perspective, swearing thus poses a special challenge for learners since they need not only learn the meaning of a taboo word but also have to acquire the subtle emotional impact these expressions have for native speakers.

In order to investigate the knowledge that second language learners have of swear words, the present study examines the difference in perception of offensiveness of the four most frequent four-letter swear words (*hell, damn, shit* and *fuck*) between native speakers of American English and German learners of English. Based on prior research (especially Jay and Janschewitz 2008) and incorporating insights from *Audience Design* (Bell 1984), an on-line questionnaire was used to collect data from 250 Americans and 216 Germans (age range 17-25) on the perceived offensiveness of 13 different phrases, using the above mentioned words in different speech acts (expressing positive or negative emotion) and different social settings (alternating between a public and a private location, with auditors, overhearers and eavesdroppers in an amicable, socially distant or hierarchical relationship to the participant). The results show that in 42% of the ratings the Germans' perception of offensiveness was significantly higher than that of the American native speakers. Moreover, the native speakers exhibited a more nuanced understanding of the contextual usage constraints of swear words, as indicated by significant interaction effects for the factors location and social setting. Overall, the study thus shows that while advanced learners of English might have acquired a basic knowledge of the taboo status of swear words, they are not aware of the subtle contextual usage constraints a native speaker possesses, implying that connotations are not learned as easily as denotations.

References

- Anderson, Lars and Peter Trudgill. 1990. *Bad Language*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Bell, Alan. 1984. "Language Style as Audience Design". *Language in Society, Vol 13(2)*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press. 145-204.
- Jay, Timothy and Kristin Janschewitz. 2008. "The Pragmatics of Swearing". *Journal of Politeness Research, 4*. 267-288.
- Ljung, Magnus. 2011. *Swearing: a Cross-Cultural Linguistic Study*. Houndsmills Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- McEnery, Tony. 2006. *Swearing in English: Bad Language, Purity and Power from 1586 to the Present*. Oxon: Routledge.

Susanne Wagner

University of Mainz

Amplifying the world – evidence from GloWbE

Among the most prominent means of intensifying in English are amplifiers modifying adjectives. For the past few decades, *very* (1), *really* (2) and *so* (3) seem to have shared the top slots in terms of relative frequency. *Pretty* (4) is a relative newcomer, mostly associated with American English (Biber et al. 1999).

- (1) when they're going off to relax in their **very nice** cottages in the countryside (GH G)
- (2) It makes you feel **really cool** and powerful! (AU G)
- (3) **So glad** this collection has been preserved . (US B)
- (4) and im **pretty sure** you hav no proof at all that the earth is 4.3b years old? (*sic*; HK G)

Previous studies have analysed the historical development of amplifiers (Gonzalez-Diaz 2008, Mendez-Naya 2008), preferences according to genres and (major) varieties (Biber et al. 1999). Most attention has been paid to variation and change in the system and the role of social factors in it, where notions such as “recycling” (Ito & Tagliamonte 2003, Tagliamonte 2008) and rapid change (Barnfield & Buchstaller 2010, Macauley 2006, Tagliamonte & Roberts 2006) are emphasised.

This paper uses data from GloWbE (Davies 2013) to contrast and compare six major regional Englishes (US, GB, Australia/New Zealand, Indian subcontinent, South East Asia, Africa) with regard to:

- a) their distributions and preferences concerning amplifier use, including statistical analysis for all top 10 amplifier-adjective pairs
- b) their preferred amplifier-adjective pairs
- c) the collostructional/collexeme status (Gries & Stefanowitch 2004) of these pairs vis-à-vis each other and for same pairs across varieties

d) the impact of adjective frequency on amplifier-adjective collexeme status.

Overall distributional preferences show some regional patterning (e.g. the same four amplifiers form the top 4 in the same order in all regions), but do not confirm earlier assumption regarding e.g. the spread of *so* (Tagliamonte & Roberts 2006). Rather, they indicate that results should not be generalised across amplifiers or adjectives, but maximally across amplifier-adjective pairs (examples (1) to (4) represent some typical 2-grams). A comparison of low-, mid- and high-frequency adjectives in amplified contexts shows that increased adjective frequency leads to increased cueness/collexeme status. Collexeme analysis of 150 amplifier-adjective pairs also discloses broad international similarities but also regionally distinctive sub-patterns.

In addition, the status of two regions concerning their position vis-à-vis Great Britain and the United States is scrutinised: Australia/New Zealand oscillates between the two, emulating British patterns for some collexemes but American ones for others. South East Asia, on the other hand, is clearly following American trends more than British ones. The results add to our knowledge of amplifier use in (varieties of) English; GloWbE is a suitable data source, particularly since this study uses totals cumulated across regions to avoid possible outliers/non-representative sections of the corpus (cf. Davies & Fuchs 2015).

Cathleen Waters

University of Leicester

Quite Victorian: Degree adverbs in a historical context

This paper explores the modification of adjectives by degree adverbs (e.g. *very good*) in a variety of British English from the 1840s. The results demonstrate both a consistency over time in the linguistic correlates of degree modification and additional insight to the path of degree adverb development and grammaticalization.

This research examines data from the recently released Hansard Corpus of British Parliament proceedings (Alexander & Davies 2015), with a focus on the earliest decade for which a robust selection of adjectives is available (1840-1849). The analysis combines the form-based, more qualitative approaches of historical studies (e.g. Mustanoja 1960) with the quantitative approaches used in studies of more recent use of English, both for PDE (e.g. Ito & Tagliamonte 2003 for a variety of British English) and for early 20th century English (e.g. D'Arcy 2015 for New Zealand English).

From the Hansard Corpus, I extracted a sample (n=1929) comprising 35 of the most commonly used adjectives in that decade, thus allowing an accountable analysis (Labov 1972:72). The overall rate of degree modification in the Hansard sample is 13%, a proportion that is substantially lower than in PDE (Ito and Tagliamonte 2003:264), but which is likely a result of the less vernacular nature of the Hansard data. Similar to results in 20th century varieties of English, the most common degree modifier in the 1840s sample is *very*. In addition, the relationship observed in studies of 20th century data between adjective type and the frequency of degree modification (Ito and Tagliamonte 2003:264, D'Arcy 2015:475) is also present in the 1840s data (and is statistically significant for the most common degree adverb, *very*). There is also a greater use of degree modification with predicative adjectives. Thus, the results indicate long-term stability in some linguistic constraints on degree modification, despite changes in the popularity of individual intensifiers.

Aside from *very*, the most commonly used degree adverbs in the 1840s data are *quite*, *most*, and *extremely*, and differ from those in present-day British varieties (i.e. *really*, *so*, *absolutely*, and

pretty [Ito and Tagliamonte 2003:266], cases of comparatives and superlatives such as *the most important* excluded in both studies). Although *very* occurred with a wide range of adjectives, the other common degree adverbs in the Hansard sample occurred in far more restricted contexts. About half of the instances of *quite*, *most*, and *extremely* occurred in the collocations/colligations *quite clear*, *most important*, and *extremely difficult*, which suggests that degree modification is not always a site of inventiveness for speakers. Finally, an analysis of the limited instances of *really* + adjective reveals that it is frequently used in postpositive position (“*many voters really independent would be disqualified*”), providing a glimpse not available in PDE of the grammatical contexts giving rise to the degree function of *really*.

Valentin Werner

University of Bamberg

Obsolescence, persistence, revitalization: A case study of the BE-perfect in electronically-mediated registers

A number of recent lexicogrammatical studies (e.g., Van Herk & Childs 2015; Hundt 2016) have discussed the persistence and revitalization of features that are conventionally considered obsolete from a synchronic perspective. The present paper will focus on one of these seemingly archaic structures, the BE-perfect (BEP; BE + past participle). While the BEP is found in a number of (particularly European) languages, in English it has almost exclusively been analyzed from a diachronic perspective, and is commonly considered as a receding (and, at best, low-frequency) structure in present-day varieties (see, e.g., Anderson 1982; Denison 1993; Brinton 1994; Kytö 1997). By contrast, previous acceptability and corpus studies (see, e.g., Tagliamonte 2000; Davydova 2011; Yerastov 2015) have indicated that the BEP persists as a formal variant. Against the backdrop of this apparently conflicting evidence, the status of this structure is assessed. With the help of data from the *Corpus of Global Web-based English* (GloWbE; Davies & Fuchs 2015), the study aims at updating and sharpening the synchronic perspective on the BEP. In particular, it (re-)addresses whether the BEP has really become a relic structure or rather continues to represent a productive pattern in present-day varieties of English. In this connection, lexical restrictions are considered as important indicators, and the role of different factors favoring the BEP as well as its potential status as a vernacular universal are discussed. The corpus data suggest that the BEP is particularly vital in L2 varieties of English, where an increased lexical scope of the structure can be found. Results tie in with more general statements that have identified forces of both innovation and conservatism in these varieties (Hundt 2009), and potentially extends the scope of this claim when electronically-mediated registers are taken into account. It is further argued that in the case of the BEP the observed revitalization is supported by the presence of a historical template, even though this template is much more restricted in its communicative scope. From a methodological angle, it emerges that important additional insights into partly informal and vernacular-like usage can be gained from studying electronically-mediated registers as one expanding form of communication.

Therefore, it is argued that the consideration of this discourse type (in addition to other written and spoken registers) will become increasingly important for the study of variation.

References

- Anderson, Lloyd B. 1982. The 'perfect' as a universal and as a language-specific category. In Paul J. Hopper (ed.), *Tense-aspect: Between semantics & pragmatics*, 227–264. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Brinton, Laurel J. 1994. The differentiation of statives and perfects in Early Modern English: The development of the conclusive perfect. In Dieter Stein & Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade (eds.), *Towards a standard English, 1600–1800*, 135–170. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Davies, Mark & Robert Fuchs. 2015. Expanding horizons in the study of World Englishes with the 1.9 billion word Global Web-based English Corpus (GloWbE). *English World-Wide* 36(1). 1–28.
- Davydova, Julia. 2011. *The present perfect in non-native Englishes: A corpus-based study of variation*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Denison, David. 1993. *English historical syntax*. London: Longman.
- Kytö, Merja. 1997. *Be/have + past participle: The choice of the auxiliary with intransitives from Late Middle to Modern English*. In Matti Rissanen, Merja Kytö & Kirsi Heikkonen (eds.), *English in transition: Corpus-based studies in linguistic variation and genre styles*, 17–86. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hundt, Marianne. 2009. Global feature – local norms? A case study on the progressive passive. In Thomas Hoffmann & Lucia Siebers (eds.), *World Englishes – Problems, properties and prospects*, 287–308. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Hundt, Marianne. 2016. Error, feature, (incipient) change – or something else altogether? In Elena Seoane & Cristina Suárez-Gómez (eds.), *World Englishes: New theoretical and methodological considerations*, 37–60. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Tagliamonte, Sali. 2000. The grammaticalization of the present perfect in English: Tracks of change and continuity in a linguistic enclave. In Olga Fischer, Anette Rosenbach & Dieter Stein (eds.), *Pathways of change: Grammaticalization in English*, 329–354. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Van Herk, Gerard & Becky Childs. 2015. Active retirees: The persistence of obsolescent features. In: Rena Torres Cacoullos, Nathalie Dion & André Lapierre (eds.), *Linguistic variation:*

Confronting fact and theory, 193–207. London: Routledge.

Yerastov, Yuri. 2015. A construction grammar analysis of the transitive *be* perfect in present-day Canadian English. *English Language and Linguistics* 19(1). 157–178.

Hiroshi Yadomi

University of Glasgow

***Third-person present singular inflections -th and -s in the religious sermons of
early seventeenth century England***

This study aims to discuss the correlation between the use of third-person inflections in sermons and the confessional states of the sermon writers. It examines the use of third-person singular inflections (-*th* vs. -*s*) in religious sermons published in the early seventeenth century. Particular emphasis is placed on the idiolects of 20 preachers who represent different religious standings and their social networks.

Many studies have been conducted on the transition of third-person singular endings (Holmqvist 1922, Bambas 1947, Kytö 1993, Ogura & Wang 1996, Stein 1987, Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2000, 2003, etc.). Previous studies agree that the transition from the old variant -*th* to the new one -*s* occurred in the period 1590-1640 (Bambas 1947, Stein 1987, Ogura & Wang 1996) and the choice between the two forms was highly idiosyncratic to individuals (Raumonlin-Brunberg 2005, 2009). For example, some writers categorically used the old form until as late as 1638, while others already accepted the new form in the 1590s (Bambas 1947).

This difference in personal preference has not been satisfactorily explained in terms of traditional sociolinguistic variables; this variation was attributed to each writer's personal habit or whim (Bambas 1947). I will interpret this interpersonal variation in terms of the social networks of preachers. However, I will not employ the strict social network theory as in Bergs (2005) and Sairio (2009), but will rather employ one that is loosely based on the preachers' religious faith. Preachers who have the same religious faith form a sort of faction, a group who share similar attitudes to preaching. This distinction has been captured as two different preaching styles: "Anglican Metaphysical style" and "Puritan Plain style" (Mitchell 1932). I will show that this difference in religious faith can be observed in the use of a morpho-syntactic feature in the sermons of preachers. I have examined the language of 20 preachers who represented various religious standings in the late Tudor and early Stuart periods. The rapid transition to the new variant -*s* was clearly observed in the corpus. The preachers chose one form over the other rather categorically. The findings

indicate that the Puritans, who placed preaching over anything else, tended to retain the old form *-th* longer than other clergymen. This Puritan group consists of William Perkins, George Abbot, Thomas Hooker, and John Preston. On the other hand, metaphysical preachers such as Lancelot Andrewes, John Donne and Jeremy Taylor used the advanced form *-s* more frequently.

In the presentation, I will show the detailed results and discuss the importance of social networks as a factor conditioning the use of the linguistic feature.

References

- Bambas, Rudolph C. 1947. "Verb Forms in *-s* and *-th* in Early Modern English Prose". *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*. 46: 183-187.
- Barber, Charles. 1997. *Early Modern English*. London: André Deutsch.
- Bergs, Alexander. 2005. *Social Networks and Historical Sociolinguistics. Studies in Morphosyntactic Variation in the Paston Letters (1421-1503)*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Holmqvist, Eric. 1922. *On the History of the English Present Inflections Particularly *-th* and *-s**. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Kohnen, Thomas, Tanja Rütten, and Ingvilt Marcoe. 2011. "Early Modern English Religious Prose - a Conservative Register?". *Methodological and Historical Dimensions of Corpus Linguistics (Studies in Variation, Contacts and Change in English 6)*, ed. by Paul Rayson, Sebastian Hoffmann, and Geoffrey Leech. Helsinki: Research Unit for Variation, Contacts and Change in English. http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/series/volumes/06/kohnen_et_al/
- Kytö, Merja. 1993. "Third-Person Present Singular Verb Inflection in Early British and American English". *Language Variation and Change* 5: 113-139.
- Lass, Roger. 1999. "Phonology and Morphology" *The Cambridge History of the English Language, III 1467-1776*, ed. by Roger Lass, 56-186. Cambridge: CUP.
- Mitchell, W. F. 1932. *English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson: A Study of its Literary Aspects*. London: S.P.C.K.
- Nevalainen, Terttu & Helena Raumolin-Brunberg. 2000a. "The Third-Person Singular *-(E)S* and *-(E)TH* Revisited: The Morphophonemic Hypothesis". *Words: Structure, Meaning, Function. A Festschrift for Dieter Kastovsky (Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 130)*, ed. by Christiane Dalton-Puffer & Nikolaus Ritt, 235-248. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Nevalainen, Terttu & Raumolin-Brunberg, Helena. 2003. *Historical Sociolinguistics: Language Change in Tudor and Stuart England*. London: Pearson Education.

- Ogura & Wang 1996. "Snowball Effect in Lexical Diffusion: The Development of -s in the Third Person Singular Present Indicative in English". *English Historical Linguistics 1994, Papers from the 8th International Conference on English Historical Linguistics*, ed. by Derek Britton, 119-141. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: OUP. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>
- Raumolin-Brunberg, Helena. 2005. "Language Change in Adulthood: Historical Letters as Evidence". *European Journal of English Studies*. 9 (1): 37-51.
- Raumolin-Brunberg, Helena. 2009. "Lifespan Changes in the Language of Three Early Modern Gentlemen". *The Language of Daily Life in England (1400-1800)* ed. by Arja Nurmi, Minna Nevala & Minna Palander, 165-196. Amsterdam: Benjamin.
- Sairio, Anni. 2009. *Language and Letters of the Bluestocking Network - Sociolinguistic Issues in Eighteenth-Century Epistolary English* (Mémoires de la Société Néo-Philologique de Helsinki 75). Helsinki: Société Néophilologique.
- Stein, Dieter. 1987. "At the Crossroads of Philology, Linguistics and Semiotics: Notes on the Replacement of *th* by *s* in the Third Person Singular in English," *English Studies*. 5: 406-431.

Zhixia Yang

Birmingham City University

***A corpus-based discursial study of rhetorical questions (RQs) in the framework of
Relevance Theory***

This study aims to provide a pragmatic study of Rhetorical Questions in the theoretical framework of Relevance Theory (Sperber & Wilson, 1986). Two research questions are involved: in the first stage, our interest is in discovering: how the recipients manage to perceive the question as one not to be answered, so do not provide an unexpected answer, thereby causing an exchange dilemma or a totally failed communication, as always happens in different social contexts , e.g.

A: How high will taxes be when my kids are my age?

B: Well, that's a great question! Let me tell you, based on the current trajectory of income tax valuation along with the growing number of Americans on social security and Greenspan's waning confidence in the dollar, I'd say taxes are likely to increase drastically over the next thirty to thirty-five years.

(Example cited from Rohde, 2006:163)

We intend to show that code model is not sufficient in interpreting RQs, since lexical indicators (e.g. adverbial intensifiers) or semantic indicators (e.g. value-loaded terms) cannot guarantee a question's rhetorical reading. It will be demonstrated that implicatures conveyed by a RQ can only be interpreted by an inferential model (Sperber & Wilson, 1986; Frank, 1990; Slot, 1993; Goto, 2011).

The second stage focuses on a qualitative corpus study of RQs in persuasive genres to answer our research question: how RQs are used in manipulating the addressee's thoughts in these genres in which the addresser does not explicitly state the proposition he wishes to communicate. The corpora consulted are BNC and FLOB, complemented by two self-compiled textual corpora. By taking into account the role of context, we illustrate, in the light of Relevance Theory, how linguistic and non-linguistic information allow inferences of different levels of implicatures indicated in a RQ and how the addresser manipulates the addressees by deliberately avoiding stating

his opinion in a direct manner to establish more firmly the contextually available proposition in the audience's mind. Our study is not only theoretical argumentation but also an analysis of corpus data, an attempt to extend corpus study to rhetoric and pragmatics, beyond the current concentration (Sinclair, 1991; Biber et al.1999; Stubbs, 2001; etc.) on the semantic, lexical, and syntactic domains.

References

- Biber, D., Johansson, S., Leech, G., Conrad S. and Finegan, E. (1999), Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English. Harlow: Pearson Education.
- Frank, Jane. (1990) You call that a rhetorical question? Forms and functions of RQs in conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 14, pp.723-738. F
- Goto, R. (2011) Relevance theoretic analysis of the properties and understanding process of rhetorical questions. *Annual reports of Graduate School of Humanities and Sciences of Nara Women's University Digital Information Repository*, 26, pp.1-14, Available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/10935/2795> [accessed on 10th, March, 2014]
- Rohde, Hannah. (2006) Rhetorical Questions as redundant interrogatives. *San Diego Linguistics Papers*, 2, pp. 134-168. W
- Sinclair, J. (1991). *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Slot, Pauline. (1993). *How Can You Say That? Rhetorical questions in argumentative texts*. Amsterdam: IFOTT. F
- Sperber, Dan and Wilson, Deirdre. (1986) *Relevance Communication and Cognition*. Harvard University Press.
- Stubbs, M. (2001), *Texts, Corpora, and Problems of Interpretation: A Response to Widdowson*. In: *Applied Linguistics* 22(2), 149-172.

WORKSHOPS

WORKSHOP 1

**Grammar-Discourse-Context: Widening the horizon for a theory of
grammatical change**

Conveners:

Kristin Bech

University of Oslo

Ruth Möhlig-Falke

University of Heidelberg

This workshop aims to bring together linguists working in different theoretical and methodological frameworks on diachronic language change, who specifically look at processes of **grammatical change in context**. We follow a maximally comprehensive view of *context*. From a pragmatic and discourse-analytic perspective, context may comprise the following (cf. Wodak 2014):

On the **micro-level** (van Dijk 2008)

- 1) the immediate surrounding text of the communicative event in question, i.e. what has also been called *co-text* (Halliday & Hasan 1985);
- 2) a) the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres, and discourses;
b) the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between spoken and/or written texts and other modes of communication (e.g. pictures, colours, fonts, scripts);
c) the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between different varieties and languages

that are part of the “world of discourse”;

- 3) the structural context provided by the language system, i.e. the system of interdependencies between lexemes (semantic fields, cognitive domains, collocations, etc.) and grammatical patterns and constructions (Fischer 2007: 116; Möhlig-Falke 2012: 24) which form the linguistic input and underlying cognitive structures (mental grammars) of speakers at any historical stage of the language.

On the **macro-level** (van Dijk 2008)

- 4) the extralinguistic social, environmental variables and institutional frames of a specific ‘context of situation’, including multilingual and multicultural settings; and
- 5) the broader sociopolitical and historical context that discursive practices are embedded in and related to.

We would like to invite contributions by researchers working on processes of grammatical change in discourse, dealing with the role of (selected levels of) context in processes of grammatical change and the issue of modelling this in critically-reflexive ways. We specifically invite contributions focusing on one or more of the following **central questions**:

- What is the influence of (selected levels of) *context* on processes of grammatical change?
- Does a “contextual” approach add to our knowledge and understanding of causes and mechanisms of grammatical change (e.g. analogy, redundancy and the principle of economy (Los 2012), transparency and simplification, subjectification)?
- In which phase do contextual factors influence a process of grammatical change, in the actuation or implementation phase? (MacMahon 1994)
- What triggers language change? Does cultural (contextual) change precede processes of grammatical change, or does grammatical change happen independently of this?
- In which way may a multilingual and multicultural environment influence grammatical change?
- What is the relationship between *text* and *context*? *Text* is what we have available for the analysis of historical stages of a language and of diachronic processes of language change. *Context* needs to be reconstructed and may be up to different interpretations.

- Is it possible to model the influence of context on processes of grammatical change and *how* can this be done?

Bibliography

- Baker, P. 2014. Considering context when analysing representations of gender and sexuality: A case study. In John Flowerdew (ed.), *Discourse in Context*. London: Bloomsbury, 27-48.
- Blommaert, J. 2005. *Discourse. A Critical Introduction*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Duranti, A. & C. Goodwin. 1992. *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Fischer, O. 2007. *Morphosyntactic Change. Functional and Formal Perspectives*. Oxford/New York: OUP.
- Flowerdew, J. (ed.) 2014. *Discourse in Context*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Foucault, M. 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. Translated from French by A. M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1977. Text as semantic choice in social contexts. In T.A. van Dijk & J.S. Petöfi (eds.), *Grammars and Descriptions*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 176-226.
- Halliday, M.A.K. & R. Hasan. 1989. *Language, Context and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective*. Geelong/Australia: Deakin University Press.
- Los, B. 2012. New perspectives, theories and methods: Generative approaches to English historical linguistics. In A. Bergs & L. Brinton (eds.), *Historical Linguistics of English* (HSK 34.2). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1613-1631.
- Möhlig-Falke, R. 2012. *The Early English Impersonal Construction. An Analysis of Verbal and Constructional Meaning*. Oxford/New York: OUP.
- Van Dijk, T.A. 2008. *Discourse and Context. A Sociocognitive Approach*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Wodak, R. 2014. Discourse in politics. In John Flowerdew (ed.), *Discourse in Context*. London: Bloomsbury, 321-346.

Kristin Killie

UiT Arctic University of Norway

The grammaticalization of English sentence adverbs in -ly

This paper discusses the development of adverbs such as those in (1)–(4):

- (1) *Wisely*, she answered the question.
- (2) *Frankly*, I do not like him at all.
- (3) She will *probably* lose the contest.
- (4) *Naturally*, she won the contest.

Swan (1988 and elsewhere) refers to the adverbs in (1)–(4) as, respectively, ‘subject disjuncts’, ‘speech act adverbs’, ‘modal adverbs and ‘evaluative adverbs’. What these adverbs have in common is that they have scope over the entire proposition, or clause/sentence, providing a speaker perspective on it. The relevant adverbs are termed ‘sentence adverbs’ (Swan 1988) or ‘disjuncts’ (Greenbaum 1969). I will adopt Swan’s term here.

It has been claimed that SA such as those in (1)–(4) have developed out of VP-internal *-ly* adverbs like those in (5)–(8) through subjectification and concomitant scope extension (see among others Hanson 1987; Swan 1988, 1997; Traugott 1989; Tabor & Traugott 1998; cf. Killie 2015 for an overview and discussion).

- (5) She answered the question *wisely*.
- (6) Speaking *frankly*, I do not like him at all.
- (7) Logique is an arte to reason *probably*, on bothe partes, of all matters that bee put furth, so farre as the nature of euey thyng can beare (1552 T. Wilson Rule of Reason (rev. ed.) sig. Bij, from the Oxford English Dictionary)
- (8) She was *naturally* inclined to do such things.

One important process in the development of sentence adverbs is reanalysis. Thus, adverbs such as

those in (1)–(4) arose through the reanalysis of adverbs like those in (5)–(8). This happened in contexts where both analyses were possible, so called ‘bridging contexts’ (Evans & Wilkins 1998: 5, Heine 2002: 84). In this paper I take a closer look at these bridging contexts, discussing the role of position and the semantics of subject and verb etc. in the reanalysis of adjuncts into sentence adverbs. I also discuss the development of sentence adverbs against the backdrop of the development of basic SVO-order in English. The data are taken from the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English* (PCCME, 1150–1500), the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English* (PCCME, 1150–1710) and the Oxford English Dictionary.

References

- Evans, Nicholas & David Wilkins. 1998. *The knowing ear: An Australian test of universal claims about the semantic structure of sensory verbs and their extension into the domain of cognition*. [Arbeitspapier 32.] Cologne: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft.
- Fischer, Olga. 2007. *Morphosyntactic Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Greenbaum, S., 1969. *Studies in English adverbial usage*. Longman, London.
- Heine, Bernd. 2002. On the role of context in grammaticalization. In: Wischer & Diewald (eds.), *New reflections on grammaticalization*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 83–101.
- Killie, Kristin. 2015. Secondary grammaticalization and the English adverbial *-ly* suffix. *Language Sciences* 47 (Part B): 199–214.
- Swan, Toril. 1997. From manner to subject modification: adverbialization in English. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 20, 179–95.
- Swan, Toril. 1988. *Sentence Adverbials in English. A Synchronic and Diachronic Investigation*. Oslo: Novus.
- Tabor, Whitney & Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 1998. Structural scope expansion and grammaticalization. In A. Giacalone Ramat & P.J. Hopper (eds.), *The Limits of Grammaticalization*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 229–72.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1989. On the rise of epistemic meanings in English: an example of subjectification in semantic change. *Language* 65: 31–55.

Martin Konvička

Free University of Berlin

Grammar: ancillary, discursively secondary, and obligatory?

The idea that all linguistic signs can be divided into two prototypical groups, i.e. into grammatical and lexical signs, is certainly not a new one. There have been, however, to my knowledge surprisingly few attempts at finding out what distinguishes these two groups, i.e. what is responsible for the grammaticality of grams and for the lexicality of the lexemes. In order to find a satisfactory answer to that question, I am going to entertain the idea that this crucial distinction can be made based on their (non-)obligatoriness. Even though the primary motivation behind indeed is to explain the difference between lexicon and grammar, this approach goes a step further.

In order to show that, I will, firstly, discuss the cline-based or parameter-based approaches, e.g. Lehmann (2015), to grammaticality used in grammaticalisation studies pointing out the rather unhelpful merger of formal and functional aspects. I argue that since the *formal* changes during grammaticalisation are – however frequent – not essential, the understanding of the *functional* changes have to be the primary objective.

Recognising that, I shall discuss Boye & Harder's (2012) theory that regards grammatical items as being by convention *discursively secondary* and *ancillary* as a step in the right direction. These properties can be, as they show, proven by addressability and/or focalisability tests. As the simple, prototypical example in (1) shows, using the testing methods mentioned, 'Max', 'good', and 'boy' constitute lexical, whereas 'is' and 'a' constitute grammatical signs since they cannot, unless a special, metalinguistic context is provided, be focalised, i.e. they are discursively secondary, nor can they be addressed, i.e. they are ancillary.

(1) Max is a good boy.

For the feasibility of this idea, it is, however, necessary to put forward a more fine-graded definition of obligatoriness than the one frequently found in the literature, i.e. obligatoriness understood pre-theoretically as the opposite of being facultative. I will therefore build upon Diewald's (2010)

distinction between 'language-internal' and 'communicative obligatoriness' as well as upon Killie's (2015) concept of 'socially determined obligatoriness'. To conclude, I will argue that the concept of obligatoriness can indeed be employed to explain – or at least to supplement – Boye & Harder's (2012) approach to the nature of grammaticality, by explaining ancillariness and discursively secondary status of grams.

References

- Boye, Kasper & Peter Harder. 2012. A usage-based theory of grammatical status and grammaticalization. *Language*, 88 (1). 1–44.
- Diewald, Gabriele. 2010. On some problem areas in grammaticalization studies. In Ekaterini Stathi, Elke Gehweiler & Ekkehard König (eds.) *Grammaticalization: Current views and issues*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 17–50.
- Killie, Kristin, 2015. Secondary grammaticalization and the English adverbial -ly suffix. *Language Sciences*, 47. 199–214.
- Lehmann, Christian. 2015. *Thoughts on Grammaticalization*. Berlin: Language Science Press.

Bettelou Los

University of Edinburgh

Non-canonical word orders and discourse in the history of English

It is easy to see why languages develop canonical, default word order patterns: such patterns are helpful in both the production and processing of utterances. It is also easy to see why non-canonical orders develop: non-canonical orders stand out against the backdrop of a canonical order in order to achieve a particular communicative goal of the speaker. This explains the general finding that main clauses generally innovate patterns, while subclauses continue to show the older order. Main clauses have to contend with competing motivations for the kind of material that can be positioned in clause-initial position, leading to non-canonical patterns for topicalization, contrastive or presentational focus, or links to the previous discourse, while subclauses have no such goals. These forces help to explain the verb-second phenomenon in Germanic (Bybee 2001: 4-5).

The operation of verb-second in Old English (OE) suggests that there were originally two separate types of finite verb movement: movement to C, opening up a clause-initial position for focus (this has become the canonical order for *wh*- and negative-initial main clauses in OE), and movement to a lower head to mark off a domain for given information (Haeberli 2002; van Kemenade & Westergaard 2012; Los 2012). The finite verbs in (1) and (2) below – in bold – in each case mark off a given domain.

(1) Be ðam **oncnawað** ealle men þæt ge sind mine folgeras. <ÆCHom II, 40 300.32>

By that perceive all men that you are my followers

(2) Be þam we **magon** tocnawan Cristes eadmodnysse

by that we may perceive Christ's humility <ÆLS (Memory of Saints) 113>

This type of movement can also be argued to have syntactized, and reached canonical status in OE, as it is very much the typical word order when the subject is a pronoun. There are many examples, however, of nominal subjects appearing in that preverbal position (Haeberli 2002). The finding that such nominal subjects tend to be both given and specific (eg. Biberauer and van Kemenade 2013)

might indicate that finite verb movement to the lower position is still discourse-sensitive in (some varieties of) OE. The very fact that certain texts seem to deviate from these orders in systematic ways, however, argues against this, and shows that (1) and (2) did indeed reach canonical status. A typical example in *Orosius* is the unexpected use of the (2) order with *nominal* subjects to mark episode boundaries, as in (3):

- (3) Æfter þæm Pompeius se consul **for** on Numentinas, Ispania þeode
After that Pompey the consul marched upon Numentines, Spain's people
<Or 5 2.115.22 (Dreschler 2015: 261)>

The writer Ælfric shows conscious manipulation of the canonical orders (1) and (2) by instances like (4) and (5):

- (4) On twam þingum hæfde God þæs mannes sawle gegodod (ÆCHom I, 1, 20.1)
In two things has God the man's soul enhanced

(4) marks the start of a new section, and the first constituent is new rather than, as expected, given information, while the subject position after the (given information) adverbial *ðurh ðornas*, normally expected to host subject pronouns or other given NPs, unexpectedly hosts a nominal subject *synna* that is neither given nor specific:

- (5) Soðlice ðurh ðornas synna beoð getacnode <ÆCHom II, 14, 213
Truly, by thorns sins are symbolized

This is Ælfric manipulating his hearers by positioning new information that is particularly important in a non-canonical position. Accomplished stylists like Ælfric, then, may recruit word order variation to achieve their own ends, and their work needs to be handled with care if it is used for diachronic investigations.

References

- Biberauer, Theresa & Ans van Kemenade. 2013. Subject positions and information-structural diversification in the history of English. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 10. 17-69.
Bybee, Joan (2001). Main clauses are innovative, subordinate clauses are conservative:

Consequences for the nature of constructions. *Complex Sentences in Grammar and Discourse: Essays in Honor of Sandra A. Thompson*, edited by Joan Bybee & Michael Noonan, 1–17. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Dreschler, G. 2015. *Passives and the loss of verb second: A study of syntactic and information-structural factors* (LOT Dissertations in Linguistics 402). Utrecht: LOT.

Haeberli, Eric (2002). Observations on the loss of verb second in the history of English. *Studies in Comparative Germanic Syntax: Proceedings from the 15th Workshop on Comparative Germanic Syntax*, edited by C. Jan-Wouter Zwart & Werner Abraham, 245–72. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Kemenade, Ans van (2012). Rethinking the loss of V2. *The Oxford Handbook of the History of English*, edited by Elizabeth Traugott and Terttu Nevalainen. Oxford University Press, 1154–1182.

Los, Bettelou (2012). The loss of verb second and the switch from bounded to unbounded systems. *Information Structure and Syntactic Change in the History of English*, edited by Anneli Meurmann-Solin, Maria José López-Couso & Bettelou Los. New York: OUP, 21–46.

Ferdinand von Mengden

University of Bamberg

Recontextualization in language change

In this paper, I would like to argue for an emergent view on language and language change as sketched by Hopper 1987. In contrast to structuralist tenets, which see language as a pre-established system that exists prior to usage ('langue', 'competence'), Emergent Grammar implies that the linguistic system "is always deferred, always in a process but never arriving, and therefore emergent" (Hopper 1987: 141).

While recent approaches to language change have taken the variability and the dynamic character of language into consideration, they have remained structuralist in spirit in that they still see language change as a transition between default stages ('while A becomes B, there is a transitory period in which A and B coexist'). Concepts like 'bridging contexts', 'switch contexts' (Heine 2002; Diewald 2002) and the idea of invited inferences (Traugott/Dasher 2002) suggest that, when a linguistic form changes its function or meaning, this requires contexts in which both, old and new function form part of the interpretation of an utterance. For example, English *since*, usually encodes causality on the basis of a temporal relation on the propositional level. This view has been a great advantage over earlier accounts on language change, in which change is simply seen as a difference between an earlier and a later "stage" in a language's history without making any statement on how form or meaning of expressions change.

This view, however, does not account for the fact (among other things) that those attestations of *since* which are unambiguously either exclusively temporal or exclusively causal, are extremely rare. In my talk, I would therefore like to go a step further. I will argue that the linguistic sign is inherently negotiable, ambiguous and subject to interpretation. Rather than striving for logical clarity, interlocutors generally handle ambiguities through clues provided by the respective context. Language change, then, does not require innovation but 'recontextualization' – that is, the use of an existing sign / construction in a different context (rather than the use of a new or altered sign). I will discuss well-documented cases of language change in the history of English and demonstrate that canonical types of changes (e.g. the grammaticalization / reanalysis in *I'm going to Poznań* → *I'm*

gonna like Poznań) do not require any innovative behaviour on part of a speaker, but reflect the use of one and the same construction being constantly recontextualized. A beneficial theoretical side effect of this claim is that the notion of 'recontextualization' is well compatible with other systems that have been described as 'emergent' in various fields outside linguistics.

Because, as Emergent Grammar implies, language does not exist outside usage, and since context is part of usage, context is essential for (rather than external to) the linguistic sign. Rather than speaking of an impact of context on language change, Emergent Grammar suggests a symbiotic relationship between the sign and the context of usage. Context, in other words, is a necessary ingredient of language which allows for communication with inherently vague, variable and ambiguous signs.

References

- Diewald, Gabriele. 2002. A model for relevant types of contexts in grammaticalization. In *New Reflections on Grammaticalization*. Edited by Ilse Wischer & Gabriele Diewald. Typological Studies in Language. 49. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 103-20.
- Heine, Bernd. 2002. On the role of context in grammaticalization. In *New Reflections on Grammaticalization*. Edited by Ilse Wischer & Gabriele Diewald. Typological Studies in Language 49. Amsterdam; Philadelphia, Pa.: Benjamins. 83-101.
- Hopper, Paul J. 1987. Emergent Grammar. In *Berkeley Linguistic Society. Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting, February 14-16, 1987: General Session and Parasession on Grammar and Cognition*. Edited by Jon Aske, Natasha Beery, Laura Michaelis, Hana Filip. 13. Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistic Society. 139-57.
- Traugott, Elizabeth C. & Robert B. Dasher. 2002. *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 96. Cambridge: CUP.

Dirk Noël

University of Hong Kong

Constructicons are bound to change:

Constructional change in a radically usage-based perspective

This paper explores some of the implications of a radically usage-based diachronic construction grammar approach for a theory of grammatical change. In the introductory chapter to the recent edited collection so entitled “diachronic construction grammar” is succinctly characterized as “the historical study of constructions” (Barðdal & Gildea 2015: 42). It has also been described as a field of work in linguistics that addresses linguistic change from the perspective of construction grammar (slightly adapted from Traugott & Trousdale 2013: 39). In other words, diachronic construction grammar is constructionist historical linguistics. Alternatively, switching round the object of study and the approach, one could characterize it as historical constructionist linguistics, i.e. as a field of linguistics which looks at the evolution of the constructional resources of a language, i.e. of “constructicons”. In “radically usage-based” diachronic construction grammar, however, languages are abstractions, to the extent that in terms of the locus of language these constructicons can only be assumed to exist at the idiolectal level, as part of the speaker/hearer’s communicative resources, and even there they are never fixed but always in flux. The radicalness of this approach to historical linguistics, therefore, resides in that it takes seriously the distinction between the individual’s “internal” linguistic system, “structures posited by the analyst as a claim about mental structure and operation” (Kemmer & Barlow 2000: x), and the “external” linguistic system, i.e. descriptions of the conventionalized linguistic system, “hypothesized structures derived by the analyst from observation of linguistic data, with no expectation that such structures are cognitively instantiated” (ibid.). Change operates on internal systems and indirectly results in changed external systems. In historical linguistics this distinction needs to be crucially made to arrive at plausible explications of how change comes about and the failure to do so, even in work that declares itself to be usage based, has hampered progress in this area, e.g. with regard to the question of whether change is gradual or abrupt (cf. Nørgård-Sørensen & Heltoft 2015: 268-9).

Omitting to distinguish between the results of change observed in usage data and the

changes proper that are likely to have occurred in the innovators' constructions may lead to mistaken statements of paths of change of the kind "form *x* with function 'y' changed into form *x'* with function 'z'". Traditionally, historical linguistics indeed tends to be predominantly semasiological and to favour polysemy above homonymy. The recognition that the loci of change are speaker/hearers' internal systems invites a more holistic approach which considers "the synchronic system of grammar that is part of the speaker's acquired knowledge" (Fischer 2008: 338), both from a semasiological and an onomasiological perspective (Van de Velde 2010), and which is amenable both to homonymy and to the likelihood of "multiple sources" for innovations (cf. Hendery 2013; De Smet et al. 2013). Making reference to some of the implications of a radically usage-based diachronic construction grammar and drawing on usage data from a diachronic corpus and several text archives, this paper will present the development of the "participant-external necessity"/epistemic *be bound to* construction illustrated in (1). Though it is tempting from a semasiological polysemy perspective to interpret the data to be supportive of the claim that it evolved from the deontic *be bound to* construction illustrated in (2) as a conventionalized implicature, a broadening of one's outlook to include other likely ingredients of the innovators' constructions suggests an altogether different (alternative or complementary) scenario.

- (1) If you are worried about anything, business or home affairs, it *is bound to* affect your game.
(CLMET3, D.L. Chambers, *Lawn tennis for ladies*, 1910)
- (2) Theoretically, indeed, the power to dissolve Parliament is entrusted to the sovereign only; and there are vestiges of doubt whether in ALL cases a sovereign *is bound to* dissolve Parliament when the Cabinet asks him to do so. (CLMET3, J.M. Falkner, *The lost Stradivarius*, 1895)

References

- Barðdal, Jóhanna & Spike Gildea. 2015. Diachronic Construction Grammar: Epistemological context, basic assumptions and historical implications. In Jóhanna Barðdal, Elena Smirnova, Lotte Sommerer, and Spike Gildea (eds), *Diachronic Construction Grammar*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 1-49.
- De Smet, Hendrik, Lobke Ghesquière & Freek Van de Velde (eds). 2013. *On multiple source constructions in language change*. Special issue of *Studies in Language* 37, 3.

- Fischer, Olga. 2008. On analogy as the motivation for grammaticalization. *Studies in Language* 32, 2: 336-382.
- Hendery, Rachel. 2013. Constructional etymology: The sources of relative clauses. In Robert Mailhammer (ed.), *Lexical and structural etymology: Beyond word histories*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 84-119.
- Kemmer, Suzanne & Michael Barlow. 2000. Introduction: A usage-based conception of language. In M. Barlow & S. Kemmer, eds, *Usage based models of language*. Stanford: CSLI Publications. vii-xxviii.
- Nørgård-Sørensen, Jens & Lars Heltoft. 2015. Grammaticalisation as paradigmatisation. In Andrew D. M. Smith, Graeme Trousdale & Richard Wälchli, eds, *New directions in grammaticalization research*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 261-292.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs & Graeme Trousdale. 2013. *Constructionalization and constructional changes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Van de Velde, Freek. 2010. Left-peripheral expansion of the English NP. *English Language and Linguistics* 15, 2: 387-415.

Elena Seoane,
University of Vigo

The entrenchment of new grammatical markers in World Englishes from a Usage-based Theory perspective

This paper explores the role of context in processes of ongoing grammatical change from the point of view of Usage Based Theory (UBT, see Bybee 2006, 2013), the basic tenet of which is that language use in real social and historical contexts models the mental grammar of speakers through cognitive processes such as the entrenchment of exemplars, categorization and schema formation (see also Fischer 2007: 324). UBT allows for the incorporation of both micro- and macro-level contextual factors, especially relevant in multilingual settings such as the one dealt with here.

In a very challenging paper, Miller (2000) dismantles the traditional account of the expression of perfect by claiming that in spoken English the present perfect (*have* + past participle) conveys very little - and often ambiguous - information and its interpretation comes, necessarily, from the context, especially from the adverbs *yet*, *just* and *(n)ever*. These act as new markers of perfect meaning and are on their way to becoming obligatory in newly entrenched constructions expressing resultative (1), recent past (2) and experiential (3) perfect meaning (2000: 334).

(1) *I haven't done it yet*

(2) *I have just seen it*

(3) *I have never heard it before*

Miller's vision of this ongoing grammatical change is based on intuition, and he calls for a deeper study of "naturally occurring examples" (2000: 339), one which I intend to undertake here.

Previous research has shown that perfect markers of this type are frequent in British English, whereas their frequency in Asian varieties of English is significantly lower (Seoane & Suárez-Gómez 2013). This could be taken as an indication that the entrenchment of particular adverbs as perfect markers is gradually taking place, and that differences in frequency between varieties are due to differences in context at the macro-level (extralinguistic context). The current paper intends

to explore this idea further by considering the expression of perfect meaning with and without *yet*, *just* and *(n)ever* in ten high frequency verbs in British English and in six African, Caribbean and Asian varieties of English, as represented in the *International Corpus of English* (ICE). As in previous work (e.g. Collins 2009 and van der Auwera et al. 2012) I will take differences between speech and writing as a proxy for ongoing change and compare the two modes in terms of the frequency of *yet*, *just* and *(n)ever* as perfect markers and their interaction with other linguistic (cotext) features, such as polarity and semantic type of verb. The results will be examined against the backdrop of the macro-level context, since the L2 varieties under scrutiny here have emerged in situations of language contact and are set in multilingual contexts. This has been shown to make language susceptible not only to more limited exposure to exemplar constructions, but also to mechanisms such as the principle of transparency and processes of simplification and increasing isomorphism, which could account in part for the entrenchment of the abovementioned adverbs as perfect markers. Also within the macro-level context, it would be interesting to explore sociolinguistic variables (gender, age, education), but only with the second generation of ICE corpora, such as ICE Nigeria, can results be easily contextualized at this level; hence, the importance of metadata and the limitations of most ICE corpora in this respect will also be discussed.

References

- Bybee, Joan. 2006. From usage to grammar: The mind's response to repetition. *Language* 82.4: 711-733.
- Bybee, Joan. 2013. Usage-based theory and exemplar representations of constructions. In Thomas Hoffman & Graeme Trousdale (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of construction grammar*, 49-69. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Collins, Peter. 2009. *Modals and quasi-modals in English*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Fischer, Olga. 2007. *Morphosyntactic change. Functional and formal perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Miller, Jim. 2000. The perfect in spoken and written English. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 98.2: 323-352.
- Seoane, Elena & Suárez-Gómez, Cristina. 2013. The expression of the perfect in East and South-East Asian Englishes. *English World-Wide* 34.1: 1-25.
- Van der Auwera, Johan, Dirk Noël & Astrid de Wit. 2012. The diverging need (to)'s of Asian

4th Conference of the International Society for the English Language
18-21 September 2016, Poznań, Poland

Englishes. In Marianne Hundt & Ulrike Gut (eds.), *Mapping unity and diversity worldwide*, 55-75.
Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Reijirou Shibasaki

Meiji University

Look, I'm just saying I'm undecided, is all: *The emergence of a sentence-final quotation marker in English*

This study aims to explore the usage of a sentence-final expression *is all* in the history of English and to argue that *is all* derives from an amalgamation of two independent but adjacent clauses, giving rise to a type of solecistic construction. This study is thus most relevant to the first theme on the micro-level of grammatical change in context: the immediate surrounding text of the communicative event in question, i.e. *co-text*.

According to the results of some corpus surveys, the *is all* construction starts to appear as in (1) in the early nineteenth century; the points in focus are underlined from here on. The construction begins to become more hypotactic over time. As in (2), for example, *that is all* is combined with the preceding clause by a comma, while in (3), such a non-restrictive use of *that* is replaced by *which*. These examples seem to represent the speaker's thought in the preceding sentence or clause.

- (1) ... if both continue to feel, as during the first impulse of youthful affection, then -- both shall be married together. And that is all. (1823 COHA: Randolph: John Neal, *A Novel, Volume 1*, FIC)
- (2) Now fate is not even an ant. Fate is a word, that is all. It is not an agent, not a thing. What is fate?
(1829 COHA: Memoir of Mrs. Ann H. Judson, *Late Missionary to Burmah*, FIC)
- (3) This one, a trumpet, comes out of the Naught, which is all.
(1833 COHA: Victor Hugo, *By order of the king*, FIC)

After the turn of the twentieth century, the *is all* construction expands its functional range from thought-representation to quasi-quotation maker as in (4). Notice that at this stage, either demonstrative or non-restrictive use of *that* or *which* is unexpressed. Quotative substances often appear without inverted commas (“ ”) presumably because the speaker represents his/her own thoughts (cf. ‘free direct discourse’ in Leech and Short 2007² [1981]). The degree of direct quotativity becomes stronger at more recent stages. In (5), both direct interrogative and imperative

sentences are quoted and accompanied by the *is all* construction, while in (6), the speaker uses a verb of saying together with the *is all* construction. These functional and grammatical expansions are in tandem with the increase in frequency especially in the twentieth century onward.

- (4) “Well, here’s your clean-up, old prospector. Don’t swallow any, is all. Let’s weigh it out, Cash, and see how much it is, just for a josh.” (1918 COHA: Bower, B. M., *Cabin Fever*, FIC)
- (5) “... What do they have to do for Band? Just show up, is all.” The brothers glared at each other. (1990 COCA: FIC, *Bk: Fire*)
- (6) “Look, I’m just saying I’m undecided, is all.” (2015 COCA: SPOK, *NPR*)

Theoretically, the *is all* construction can be considered as a case of constructionalization (Cxnz) in the sense of Traugott and Trousdale (2013); they propose that Cxnz is “the development of form_{new}-meaning_{new} pairs, i.e. constructions,” while constructional changes (CC) are “changes to features of constructions, such as semantics (e.g. *wif* ‘woman’ > ‘married woman’) or morphophonology (e.g. *had* > ‘*d*).” As shown above, the *is all* construction undergoes both formal and semantic changes in a highly specifiable discourse context (i.e. *co-text*): sequentiality in discourse affects a rise of new constructions (cf. Haselow 2016), while developing unique semantic-pragmatic meanings. Both formal and semantic-pragmatic changes serve as pieces of evidence to support that the sentence-final *is all* is constructionalized, i.e. Cxnz. Relatively less work has been done on the diachronic aspects of such constructions as the *is all* construction, which in fact has gone unnoticed except some brief comments on it (Ando 2005; Fujii 2007). Therefore, this particular construction is worth in-depth exploration theoretically as well as descriptively.

References

- Ando, S. 2005. *Lectures on Modern English Grammar* (written in Japanese). Tokyo: Nan’undo.
- Fujii, K. 2007. *American English: Phraseology and Pronunciation* (written in Japanese). Tokyo: Kaitakusha.
- Haselow, A. 2016. “A processual view on grammar: macrogrammar and the final field in spoken syntax.” *Language Sciences* 54, 77–101.
- Leech, G. N. and M. Short. 2007² [1981]. *Style in Fiction*. London: Longman.
- Traugott, E. C. and G. Trousdale. 2014. *Constructionalization and Constructional Change*. Oxford: OUP.

WORKSHOP 2

New horizons in ellipsis

Conveners:

Gui-Sun Moon

Hansung University

Myung-Kwan Park

Dongguk University

Our workshop on ellipsis, titled “New Horizons in Ellipsis in English: Its Syntax, Semantics and Language Processing” aims to provide a venue for researchers to share their works on a wide range of ellipsis phenomena (such as VP ellipsis, sluicing, fragment answers, sprouting, etc.) from not only a syntactic and semantic perspective but also viewpoints maintained by researchers working in other linguistic subfields like pragmatics and language processing. Because of the logistical issue, however, we are likely to limit the discussion in the workshop to center around two major topics—repair by ellipsis and voice mismatch. The ultimate goal of this workshop is to enhance our understanding of the nature of ellipsis, raising the awareness of a recent move that favors an integrated approach to ellipsis both in the sentence level and beyond it.

In the last two decades, the majority of studies in ellipsis have centered on discovering structural conditions for licensing ellipsis in the syntax proper (e.g., Lobeck 1995, Saito and Murasugi 1990). Beginning in the early 2000s, however, the syntax-centered view on ellipsis has been challenged in several ways. First, pointing out that there is more than a structure that matters in ellipsis, different versions of semantic licensing condition for ellipsis have been put forth (e.g., Merchant 2001, Fox and Lasnik 2003, Barros 2014, Weir 2014). Second, recent works have reported a large amount of novel empirical data which point toward a claim that the structural

identity condition is not rigorous enough to capture much of those data: for example, such cases as variability in voice mismatch in VP ellipsis and sprouting are not easy to handle in terms of the syntactic isomorphism (e.g., Merchant 2004, Chung, McCloskey and Ladusaw 2011, Thoms 2013); and some studies in island repair even argue that the ellipsis site may have a different source from a structurally identical antecedent (Craenenbroeck 2013, Barros 2014, Barros, Lipták and Thoms 2014; contra Lasnik 1999 and Merchant 2001).

Furthermore, by observing that the licensing and recovery of an elided part in sluicing and fragments is argued to be correlated with the type of its correlate, whether overt or implicit, in the antecedent, it has been suggested that in order to provide a proper analysis of those data, not only syntax and semantics but also pragmatics and information structure should be taken into consideration (e.g., Merchant 2008, Craenenbroeck 2013, Thoms 2013, Barros et al. 2014, Griffiths and Lipták 2014)).

Finally, psycholinguistic studies have started flourishing with an aim to examine whether there exists a structure in the ellipsis site; among such works is Xing, Grove and Merchant (2014) where a reading time experiment was executed, showing that there is a priming effect detected in the structure right after the VP ellipsis site, the result in favor of the view that the ellipsis site may have a syntactic structure.

Against this backdrop, our workshop plans on soliciting proposals about various ellipsis phenomena such as VP ellipsis, sluicing, sprouting, and fragments, etc., addressing the following (but not limited to) issues:

- (1) In what level should isomorphism be satisfied for ellipsis licensing—in syntax, semantics pragmatics and/or beyond any of them?
- (2) How does the type of a correlate in the antecedent affect the variability in island repair, as well as the licensing and recovery of VP ellipsis and fragment answers?
- (3) What implications does the variability of voice mismatch bring about on the syntax and semantics of ellipsis?
- (4) What do reading time or eye tracking experiments of voice mismatch and island repair imply on the existence of a structure in the ellipsis site?
- (5) Other

References

Barros, Matthew, Patrick Elliott and Gary Thoms. 2014. There is no island repair. Ms.,

Edinburgh/UCL/Rutgers.

- Bock, J. Kathryn. 1986. Syntactic persistence in language production. *Cognitive Psychology*, 18.3, 355-387.
- Bock, Kathryn, and Zenzi M. Griffin. 2000. The persistence of structural priming: Transient activation or implicit learning? *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 129.2, 177-192.
- Chung, Sandra. 2005. Sluicing and the lexicon: the point of no return. In R. Cover and Yuni Kim (eds.), *Proceedings of the Thirty-First Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society*, 73-91. Berkeley, CA: Department of Linguistics, UC Berkeley.
- Chung, Sandra, William Ladusaw and James McCloskey. 1995. Sluicing and logical form. *Natural Language and Semantics* 3, 239-282.
- Chung, Sandra, William Ladusaw and James McCloskey. 2011. Sluicing(:) between structure and inference. Ms., UCSC.
- Culicover, Peter and Ray Jackendoff. 2005. *Simpler Syntax*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Drubig, Hans Bernhard. 1994. Island constraints and the syntactic nature of focus and association with focus. Ms., Tübingen.
- Fox, Danny and Howard Lasnik. 2003. Successive-cyclic movement and island repair: the difference between sluicing and VP-ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34, 143-154.
- Gries, Stefan. 2005. Syntactic priming: A corpus-based approach. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*, 34.4, 365-399.
- Griffith, James and Anikó Lipták. 2014. Contrast and island sensitivity in clausal ellipsis. *Syntax* 17.3, 189-234.
- Ginzburg, Jonathan and Ivan Sag. 2000. *Interrogative Investigation: The Form, Meaning and Use of English Interrogatives*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Kehler, Andrew. 2002. *Coherence, Reference, and the Theory of Grammar*. CSLI, Stanford.
- Kertz, Laura. 2014. Verb phrase ellipsis: The view from information structure. *Language* 89.3, 390-428.
- Krifka, Manfred. 2006. Association with Focus Phrases. In V. Molnar and S. Winkler (eds.), *The architecture of Focus*. Berlin, NY: Mouton de Gruyter. 106-136.
- Lasnik, Howard. 2001. When can you save a structure by destroying it? In M. Kim, U. Strauss, *Proceedings of NELS 31*, 301-320, Amherst, MA: GLSA Publications.

- Ledoux, Kerry, Matthew J. Traxler, and Tamara Y. Swaab. 2007. Syntactic priming in comprehension: Evidence from Event-Related Potentials. *Psychological Science* 18.2, 135-143.
- Merchant, Jason. 2001. *The Syntax of Silence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Merchant, Jason. 2004. Fragments and ellipsis. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 27, 661-738.
- Merchant, Jason. 2007. Three kinds of ellipsis. Ms., University of Chicago.
- Merchant, Jason. 2008. An asymmetry in voice mismatches between VP-ellipsis and pseudogapping. *Linguistic Inquiry* 39, 169-179.
- Merchant, Jason. 2008. Variable island repair under ellipsis. In K. Johnson (ed.), *Topics in Ellipsis*, 132-153. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Noppeney, Uta, and Cathy J. Price. 2004. An fMRI study of syntactic adaptation. *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, 16.4, 702-713.
- Pickering, Martin J., and Victor S. Ferreira. 2008. Structural priming: a critical review. *Psychological Bulletin*, 134.3, 427-459.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In L. Haegeman (ed.), *Elements of Grammar*, 281-337. Kluwer: Dordrecht.
- Rizzi, Luigi, ed. 2004. *The cartography of syntactic structures*. Vol. 2, *The Structure of CP and IP*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ross, J. Robert. 1967. Constraints on variables in syntax. Ph.D. dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Ross, J. Robert. 1969. Guess who? In R. Binnick, A. Davison, G. Green, and J. Morgan (eds.), *Papers from the Fifth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 252-286. Chicago, IL: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Saito, Mamoru, and Keiko Murasugi. 1990. N' deletion in Japanese: A preliminary study. *Japanese/Korean Linguistics* 1, 285-301.
- Tancredi, C. 1992. Deletion, Deaccenting, and Presupposition. Ph.D. dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Thoms, Garry. 2013. Lexical mismatches in ellipsis and the identity condition. In S. Keine and S. Sloggett (eds.), *Proceedings of NELS 42*, 559-572. Amherst, MA: GLSA Publications.
- Xing, Grove, and Merchant. 2014. Ms., University of Chicago.
- Yoshida, Masaya, Jiyeon Lee, and Michael Walsh Dickey. 2013. The island (in) sensitivity of sluicing and sprouting. In Sprouse J. and Hornstein, N. (eds), *Experimental Syntax and Island Effects*. NY: Cambridge University Press.

Jun Abe

Tohoku Gakuin University

The in-situ approach to sluicing and fragment answers

It has been standardly claimed since Merchant (2001) that island violations can be repaired by simply deleting the categories that induce such violations, as witnessed by sluicing, an ellipsis construction that deletes TP with a remnant wh-phrase. I argue that such “repair by ellipsis” is simply a myth. Alternatively, I argue for what I call the in-situ approach to sluicing, originally proposed by Kimura (2007, 2010), according to which the remnant wh-phrase in sluicing stays in situ. This approach immediately explains the island-insensitivity of sluicing, since no overt wh-movement is involved in the derivation of this construction. Hence, it challenges the approach in terms of island repair by ellipsis in that it nullifies the necessity of a repair mechanism. I also argue against the standard approach for fragment answers, like Merchant’s (2004), in which the remnant phrase undergoes focus movement to a peripheral position before deletion takes place. Alternatively, I argue for the in-situ approach to fragment answers, according to which the remnant phrase simply stays in its original position. Finally, I argue that the identification conditions operative for licensing deletion in sluicing and fragment answers are semantic in nature, hence compatible with the in-situ approach that necessarily incorporates deletion of non-constituents.

Sunjoo Choi

Euiyon Cho

Ui-Jong Shin

Myungkwan Park

Dongguk University

Not Voice but Case identity matters in VP ellipsis and Pseudogapping of English

1. This paper develops a Case/case-theoretic account for what Merchant (2008) calls voice mismatch in ellipsis constructions of English. Merchant (ibid.) reports that VP ellipsis as an elision of smaller size VP allows voice mismatch, but Pseudogapping and Sluicing as an elision of bigger size vP/TP do not. However, Tanaka (2011) argues against Merchant's dichotomy in voice mismatch between VP ellipsis and Pseudogapping, reporting that voice mismatch in both types of ellipsis is permissible or not while interacting with what Kehler (2000) calls discourse coherence relations between ellipsis and antecedent clauses. Departing from Kehler's (2000) insight, we suggest that vP undergoes ellipsis in a resemblance relation, but VP does so in a cause/effect relation. Given the asymmetry in the size of ellipsis in tandem with discours relations, we argue that since Accusative as well as Nominative Case is checked outside VP, the VP to be elided can meet the identity condition on ellipsis with its antecedent VP as the object element in the former and the subject one in the latter or vice versus have not been Case-checked yet, thus being identical in terms of Case-feature at the point of derivation building a VP.

2. Kehler (2000) argues that when there is a voice mismatch in ellipsis, sentences where there is a cause/effect relation between antecedent and ellipsis sites are licit as in (1a), while sentences where there is a resemblance relation are illicit as in (1b).

(1) a. In March, four fireworks manufacturers asked that the decision be reversed, and on Monday, the ICC did ~~<reverse the decision>~~. (Dalrymple et al. 1991)

b. *This problem was looked into by John, and Bob did ~~<look into the problem>~~, too.

(Kehler 2000: 551)

Kehler (2000: 543-46) attributes this contrast to the fact that cause/effect relations require only semantic identity, which tolerates voice mismatch, while resemblance relations require syntactic identity in addition to semantic identity.

We depart from Kehler (*ibid.*), suggesting that a cause/effect relation as well as a resemblance relation requires syntactic identity in ellipsis, but that they are distinguished in terms of the category that undergoes ellipsis. In particular, when a resemblance relation holds, the bigger category ν P is a target of ellipsis. By contrast, when a cause-effect relation holds, the smaller category VP can be elided, as below:

- (2) a. ν P ellipsis in a resemblance relation: $[_{TP} <_{\nu P} [_{VP} \quad] >] \dots [_{TP} [_{\nu P} \text{---} [_{VP} \text{---}]]]$
 b. VP ellipsis in a cause-effect relation: $[_{TP} [_{\nu P} <_{VP} \quad] >] \dots [_{TP} [_{\nu P} [_{VP} \text{---}]]]$

The difference between the two types of relations in terms of the category of ellipsis is justified on the basis of the following reasoning. First, a parallel resemblance relation relates two clauses/sentences; the ellipsis clause and its antecedent clause. The proposition of the former clause holds true, in a parallel fashion as that of the latter does. Now the wisdom we have about the syntax of a clause is that a small clause ν P, as a proxy of a full clause CP/TP, may have a parallel relation with another small clause ν P. This is exactly what happens in the case of ν P ellipsis when a resemblance relation holds. The ellipsis of a ν P is the only option to respect the full clause-to-small clause correspondence in the case of a resemblance relation between the ellipsis and the corresponding antecedent clauses.

When a cause/effect relation holds, it apparently relates two clauses. However, the two clauses involved are non-parallel. Thus, no full clause-to-small clause correspondence is called for. Since the two clauses involved are non-parallel, one clause may relate not to another clause but to a constituent inside it. In other words, it is possible that one clause may, for example, modify the constituent inside another clause. This is the reason that VP ellipsis instead of ν P ellipsis is permissible when a cause/effect relation holds, even though two clauses are apparently related.

3. Given the asymmetry between resemblance and cause/effect relations in terms of the size of ellipsis, we are now in a position to account for their contrast in voice mismatch when a verbal domain (VP or ν P) undergoes ellipsis. The ideas we rely on are summarized below:

(3) Identity condition on VP or ν P ellipsis:

a. Case/case mismatch (between the copy of the survivor/remnant and its correlate) is not allowed for ellipsis (as part of syntactic isomorphism in ellipsis).

b. Nominative and Accusative Case are checked outside VP.

====> No Case mismatch arises in VP ellipsis in a cause/effect relation. However, if inherent case is checked inside VP, case match violation is bound to arise even in VP ellipsis when one argument element and its correlate are realized with different cases or prepositions.

c. ν P undergoes 'VP ellipsis' in a resemblance relation.

====> Case match violation is bound to arise.

The key ingredient we rely on in this analysis is Case/case (mis)match in ellipsis. Simply stated, Case/case mismatch is not allowed between a survivor/remnant and its correlate. This means that in the following structure one argument element A inside the ellipsis constituent and its correlate A' inside the antecedent constituent are required to be identical in terms of Case/case feature.

(4) ... [antecedent constituent A'] ... [ellipsis constituent A]

4. Now a question is what happens when A and A' are base-generated inside the ellipsis and antecedent constituents, but they participate in Case-checking relation outside them. We suppose that this situation holds exactly in such examples as (5) and (6):

(5) This problem was to have been looked into, but obviously nobody did ~~look into this problem~~. VPE

(6) ?My problem will be looked into by Tom, but he won't ~~look into~~-yours. PG

Either Nominative or Accusative Case is checked outside VP (cf. Chomsky (1995)). Thus, since in (5) and (6) the ellipsis clause has a cause/effect relation with its antecedent clause and what is elided is VP (as stated in (3c)), the apparent Case mismatch between the object element in the ellipsis clause and its correlate subject element in the antecedent clause is not harmful at all. This is because at the point of derivation where VP is elided, the former and the latter have not yet have its Case feature valued, thus being not distinct in form. In other words, the ellipsis clause and the antecedent clause of (5) and (6) are apparently not identical in voice, but the elements base-generated in the

object positions of their Vps are not distinct in Case feature, so that the VP in the ellipsis clause undergoes ellipsis safely, meeting the identity condition on ellipsis. We now turn to the examples of Pseudogapping and VP ellipsis in a resemblance relation as in (7) and (8):

(7) *Roses were brought by some, and others did ~~bring~~ lilies. PG

(8) *Roses were brought by some boys, and some girls did ~~bring roses~~, too. VPE

Both Pseudogapping and VP ellipsis in a resemblance relation involve an elision of ν P rather than VP. Since ν P is a domain where Accusative Case is checked, the object in the ellipsis clause is bound to relate to its correlate object in the antecedent clause. The unacceptability of (7) and (8) follows from the fact that in the examples, the object element in the ellipsis clause which is Case-checked in Spec of ν P relates to its correlate in the antecedent clause, which is the subject element that cannot be Case-checked in Spec of ν P. Therefore, there is bound to arise a Case mismatch in both Pseudogapping and VP ellipsis in a resemblance relation that holds for (7) and (8). This amounts to saying that when voice mismatch arises for a resemblance relation, the elision of a ν P results in a Case mismatch either between the object element in the ellipsis clause and its correlate subject element in the antecedent clause, or vice versa. Now we turn to the examples where a VP-internal element is assigned not structural Case but inherent case.

(9) a. *She embroiders peace signs on jackets more often than she does <~~embroider jackets~~
with swastikas.

b. ?She embroiders peace signs on jackets more often than she does <~~embroider peace signs~~
on> shirt sleeves.

Note that unlike structural Accusative Case that is checked outside VP but inside ν P, inherent case is presumably determined by a verbal head inside VP and realized with an appropriate preposition. For example, in (9a) neither *jackets* nor *with swastikas* inside the VP of the ellipsis clause matches with *on jackets* and *peace signs* inside that of the antecedent clause in terms of case/Case feature, thereby inviting a violation of the syntactic isomorphism on ellipsis.

Marcel den Dikken

Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Three challenges for constituent ellipsis and their solutions

In this paper I address three challenges for a theory of ellipsis that takes both the ellipsis site and its identifier to be a syntactic constituent: (a) the grammaticality of "what nobody bought was ___ any wine"; (b) the grammaticality of sentences such as "John gave books to them on each other's birthdays, and Mary did ___ at Christmas"; and (c) the grammaticality of Webber (1978) style sentences like "Irv and Martha wanted to dance together but her mother said she couldn't ___". I show that there is compelling reason to believe that, initial appearances favouring string ellipsis notwithstanding, (a) must be a case of constituent ellipsis (TP-ellipsis, more precisely). With reference to (b) and (c), I argue that the hypothesis that the ellipsis site can be a 'bare' projection of the verb in the antecedent-VP or a projection of "do it" anaphoric to the antecedent-VP derives all the facts and allows the theory of ellipsis to make reference only to syntactic constituents, eschewing recourse to licensing via pragmatic accommodation.

James Griffiths

University of Konstanz

Re-characterising MaxElide

Background. Merchant (2008:141) stipulates *MaxElide* (1) to explain the prohibition on VP ellipsis in (2). Recently, Messick & Thoms (MT, 2016) have invoked derivational economy as the explanans for *MaxElide*. They argue that the bracketed clause in (2) has two possible underlying derivations, which exhibit acyclic (3a) and cyclic (3b) A'-extraction, respectively. The computational system favours (3a), as a preference for parsimony favours derivations created from the fewest applications of (RE)MERGE. Because acyclic A'-extraction is only permitted when sluicing occurs (Fox & Lasnik 2003), only the sluiced variant of (2) is acceptable, which therefore precludes VP ellipsis.

Problem. The observation that verbal ellipses similar to *he did* in (2) are illicit in utterances in which sluicing is independently prohibited (see 4-5) casts doubt on MT's –and consequently, Merchant's –explanation for why VP ellipsis in (2) is disallowed (cf. Hardt 2006). One might argue that economy still favours 'sluicing derivations' of (4) and (5), despite the fact that sluicing is banned. This idea cannot be maintained, as it incorrectly predicts that economy constraints will preclude VP ellipsis in (6), in which sluicing is also banned due to the presence of contrastive focus on *Bill*. Consequently, it appears that one cannot appeal to the availability of sluicing to explain the unacceptability of VP ellipsis in (2), (4) and (5), *contra* MT and Merchant.

Correct generalisation. Instead, *focus* is instrumental in licensing VP ellipsis in these environments. When coupled with the assumption that NP restrictors of *wh*-determiners reconstruct into their base-positions (compare 2 and 7), the observation that purported *MaxElide* effects are only observed when A'-extraction occurs from within VP (8) gives rise to the generalisation in (9). However, this is not the sole constraint on licensing ellipsis in a *vP* that contains the A'-trace t_{β} . In addition, parallelism must pertain between a constituent within the elliptical clause that contains the next highest instance of t_{β} (call it 'YP') and a salient antecedent XP of the same size (cf. MT 2016). This is evidenced by (i) the absence of scopal parallelism (Fox 2000) in cases where QR is precluded by a scopal island in the antecedent clause (10) and (ii) the absence of isomorphism in cases where auxiliary verbs occupy non-parallel syntactic positions within XP and YP (11).

Showing how they apply to a general schema such as (12) serves to emphasise that these two conditions

may have distinct domains of application. The focus condition in (9) applies to the constituent enclosed in chevrons, while the parallelism / isomorphism condition that rules out (10) and (11) applies to the constituent enclosed in guillemets.

Formalisation and extension. In addition to explicating in greater detail the shortcomings of *MaxElide*-inspired analyses such as MT (2016), I will present some possible explanations for why the two licensing conditions described above have the forms that they do, and why they have different domains of application. I also explore the extent to which the two conditions can be unified, paying particular attention to Rooth's (1992) theory of focus licensing.

- (1) *MaxElide*: Let XP be an elided constituent containing an A'-trace. Let YP be a possible target for deletion. YP must not properly contain XP ($XP \not\subset YP$).
- (2) John kissed a student, but I don't know [CP WHICH student (* he did)].
- (3) John kissed a student, but I don't know...
 - a. [CP [WHICH student]_i [TP he [T' did [_{vP} [_{VP} kiss t_i]]]]
 - b. [CP [WHICH student]_i [TP he [T' did [_{vP} t_i [_{VP} kiss t_i]]]]
- (4) * BEN knows which student she invited, but CHARLIE doesn't know who (she did)
- (5) * I heard that John kissed a student, but I don't know the student who (he did)
- (6) I know which student JOHN kissed, but I don't know which student BILL did.
- (7) I know which TEACHER John kissed, but I don't know which STUDENT (he did).
- (8) I know that a teacher failed John, but I don't know WHICH teacher (did).
- (9) *Focus condition*: For $vP \alpha$ that contains the A'-trace t_{β} , VP ellipsis is licensed in α iff the complement of β contains at least one F-marked element. (modified from Schuyler 2001)
- (10) * [XP John will take [_{SCOPE-ISLAND} photos of a student]], but I don't know [YP what_i Bill will [_{vP} t_i [take photos of t_i]].
- (11) * I know [XP who John will kiss]. The question is: [YP who will BILL kiss]?
- (12) ... [CP wh-phrase₁ <[... «[CP t₁ ... [_{vPE} ... t₁ ...]]]>]

References

- Hardt, D. 2006. Re-binding the derivation of parallelism domains. *Proceedings of BLS32*: 143–155.
- Fox, D. 2000. *Economy and semantic interpretation*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Fox, D. & Lasnik, H. 2003. Successive cyclic movement and island repair: The difference between sluicing and VP ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34:143-154.
- Fox, D. & Takahashi, S. 2005. MaxElide and the re-binding problem. *Proceedings of SALT15*, 223-

240.

Merchant, J. 2008. Variable island repair under ellipsis. In:K.Johnson (ed.), *Topics in ellipsis*, 132-153. CUP.

Messick, T. & Thoms, G. 2016.Ellipsis, economy and the (non)uniformity of traces. *Linguistic Inquiry*47(2).

Schuyler, T.2001. *Wh-Movement out of the site of VP ellipsis*. MAtesis, University of California,Santa Cruz.

Rooth, M. 1992. Ellipsis redundancy and reduction redundancy. *Stuttgart Ellipsis Workshop* (Arbeitspapiere 29).

Güneş Güliz

Anikó Lipták

Leiden University Centre for Linguistics

The role of prosody sensitive particles in licensing ellipsis

The puzzle. Aggressively non-D-linked *wh*-phrases, such as *wh-the-hell* (WTH), can be remnants in swiping, in which a stranded element (SE) occurs to the right of the *wh*-remnant (2), but not in sluicing (1).

- (1) a. * Bill was talking to someone, but I don't know who the hell.
b. Bill was talking to someone, but I don't know who the hell he was talking to.
(2) Bill was caught, but I don't know what the hell {WITH / DOING}.

Showing that earlier proposals are inadequate, we propose a prosodic account of the distribution of WTH in elliptical contexts and beyond.

Previous attempts.

(i) For Den Dikken Giannakidou (2002) WTH, as Polarity Items (PI), cannot assert existence, and cannot be linked to correlates with existential force (e.g. *someone*). However, our speakers accept WTH with discourse-familiar existential antecedents (3), while disallowing sluicing in this context.

- (3) Dana is reading something, and I wonder *what the hell* *(she is reading.)

The ban on WTH in sluicing cannot be attributed to a failure of PI licensing either, as the licenser (e.g. matrix negation) is present both in (1a) and in (1b).

(ii) Information structurally, the claim that SE in swiping must be *new* and thus carry a [Foc] feature is not adequate, since (4), in which SE is given/non-F-marked, is acceptable.

- (4) John is talking to someone, but I don't know who (the hell) TO.

(iii) Because information-structural analyses of WTH are untenable (see ii), any prosodic analyses that appeal to information structure to explain why SE in swipes bear nuclear sentential stress (NS) (e.g. Sprouse 2006) are infeasible.

However, WTH is evidently prosody sensitive. For instance, WTH cannot carry NS, (5) (SMALLCAPS denote NS).

(5) * John is talking to someone, but I don't know WHONS the hell he is talking to.

In elliptical contexts, while WTH is not licensed (1a), in which NS falls on WTH, it is licensed when NS is somewhere else (e.g. on the preposition or gerund in 2).

Our account. Based on the acoustic analysis of the production experiment and the results of the judgement tasks, we conclude that: **syntactically** *the hell* is a head modifier in the *wh*-phrase (Merchant 2002); **prosodically** (i) WTH cannot bear NS (Sprouse 2006), and (ii) WTH cannot host intonational phrase boundary tones (T%). We suggest that WTH is licensed only in the prosodic context that is schematized in (6):

(6) *Prosodic licensing condition of WTH: ...([NS]) ...[wh-the-hell] ...([NS]) ...]T%*

We claim that the syntactically 'deepest' item of the pronounced material receives NS in elliptical contexts (extending Cinque 1993). Therefore, SE receives NS in swipes. This algorithm is syntactic and blind to information structure, thus it correctly predicts that SE in swipes always bear NS. This avoids the shortcomings of the information structural accounts, for which, being the only *new* and F-marked element, *wh*-items must bear accent and be parsed with the given material that follows it (Gussenhoven 1984). This prosodic pattern is unattested (compare 4 7).

(7) * John is talking to someone, but I don't know [WHO the hell to]_{NS}T%

Also, (6) correctly predicts that WTH cannot be licensed by just any item that follows it in sluices. In (8), for instance, WTH illicitly bears NS because *exactly* is not structurally deeper than WTH.

(8) * I don't know [WHO the hell]_{NS} [exactly]]T%

Without recourse to ellipsis, (6) captures WTH beyond ellipsis. Specifically, (6) correctly predicts that *deaccented* WTH is licensed (compare 9a b). Also, (6) could be responsible for the unavailability of in-situ WTH in English, as in-situ *wh*-items always bear NS (Truckenbrodt 2013) (9c).

- (9) a. BILL_{NS} knows who arrived, but I_{NS} *don't know who the hell arrived*]_{T%}
b. ?? I know that SOMEONE_{NS} saw Bill, but I don't know WHO_{NS} the hell *saw him*]_{T%}
c. * Who ate WHAT_{NS} the hell (in that restaurant)]_{T%}

Conclusion. The distribution of prosody-sensitive particles, such as WTH, in ellipsis is an epiphenomenon of the organization of accented and deaccented/elided material. As such, this study provides evidence that, phonologically speaking, ellipsis can be viewed as ‘radical’ deaccentuation (Tancredi 1992).

Selected references

- Den Dikken, M., A. Giannakidou. 2002. From hell to polarity: aggressively non-D-linked *wh*-phrases as polarity items. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33:31-61.
- Hartman, J., R. R. Ai. 2009. A Focus Account of Swiping. In K. K. Grohmann P. Panagiotidis (eds.), *Selected Papers from the 2006 Cyprus Syntaxfest*. 92-122.
- Sprouse, J. 2006. The Accent Projection Principle: Why the hell not? In A. Eilam, T. Scheffler J. Tauberer (eds), *Proceedings of the 29th Penn Linguistics Colloquium, PWPL* 12.1:349-359.

Gui-Sun Moon

Hansung University Seoul

Semantic licensing of corrective fragments in English

The main issue related to elliptical accounts of fragments lies in exploring what licenses fragments and why certain clauses cannot serve as antecedents for elliptical fragments. In the discourse (1) where (1B') is not a suitable response to (1A), the fragment answer of (1B) plays a role of correcting the correlate in the antecedent clause which is contrastively focused. This type of fragments is called corrective fragments.

(1) A: John ate a PIZZA for dinner.

B: No, a HAMBURGER. (Griffiths and Lipták 2014)

B': *No, BILL.

However, differently from (1) an elliptical correction cannot be taken as a felicitous response if its correlate is not contrastively focused as shown in (2) where the corrective fragment of (2B) is infelicitous.

(2) A: John ate a pizza for dinner.

B: *No, a HAMBURGER

B': No, he ate a HAMBURGER for dinner.

B'': No, BILL did / No, BILL ate a pizza for dinner.

In this case a fully pronounced correction as in (2B') rather than an elliptical correction like (2B) should be uttered as a felicitous response. Another interesting contrast is that any constituent of the antecedent clause can be corrected if a VP-ellipsis or a full clause correction is used as a response to (2A) as shown in (2B'') where it doesn't matter whether Bill is accented or not.

The paper firstly aims to account for the contrast between (1B) and (2B), that is to say, why not a corrective fragment but a non-elliptical version of correction including a VP-ellipsis answer

counts as a felicitous response with no restriction on the corrective constituents in the case of (2A) where no element has contrastive focus. I claim that corrective fragments are only felicitous if their correlate is contrastively focused following Griffiths and Liptak's Felicity condition on contrastive fragments.

From the semantic point of view I argue that corrective fragments contrary to the non-elliptical counterpart can inherit the propositions presupposed by the antecedent clause, however, the longer version of answers such as VP-ellipsis answers and putative full sentence answers do not have such property, and further claim that fragment corrections cannot correct entailments, presuppositions or implications due to the fact that elided clauses must be 'e-GIVEN,' and thus that the presupposition inheritance can be successfully explained by the e-GIVENNESS condition.

References

- Griffith, James and Anikó Lipták. 2014. Contrast and island sensitivity in clausal ellipsis. *Syntax* 17.3, 189-234.
- Krifka, Manfred. 2006. Association with focus phrases. In Valeria Molnar & Susanne Winkler (eds.), *The architecture of focus*, 105–36. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter
- Merchant, Jason. 2001. *The Syntax of Silence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Merchant, Jason. 2004. Fragments and ellipsis. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 27, 661-738.
- Moon, G-S. 1994. Topic Constructions in Korean. *Explorations in Generative Grammar*, pp.435-453. Seoul, Korea: Hankook.
- Moon, G-S. 2008. Intervention Effects and the Korean Morpheme '-man'. *Studies in Generative Grammar* 18.3, pp.349-373.
- Roberts, Craige. 2012/1996. Information structure in discourse: towards an integrated formal theory of pragmatics. *Semantics & Pragmatics* 5. pp.1-69.
- Rooth, Mats. 1985. *Association with focus*. University of Massachusetts Amherst dissertation.
- Rooth, Mats. 1992a. Ellipsis redundancy and reduction redundancy. In Steve Berman & Arild Hestvik (eds.), *Proceedings of the Stuttgart Ellipsis Workshop*, Stuttgart.
- Schwarzschild, Roger. 1999. GIVENness, AvoidF and other constraints on the placement of accent. *Natural Language Semantics* 7, pp.141-77.
- Selkirk, E. 1995. Sentence prosody: intonation, stress, and phrasing. In *The Handbook of Phonological Theory*, ed. J. A. Goldsmith, pp. 550-569. Cambridge, MA, and Oxford, UK: Blackwell

- Stainton, Robert J. 1998. Quantifier phrases, meaningfulness “in isolation”, and ellipsis. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 21, pp.311-40.
- Stainton, Robert J. 2005. In defense of non-sentential assertion. In Zolt’an Gendler Szabo(ed.), *Semantics versus pragmatics*, pp.383-457. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stainton, Robert J. 2006a. Neither fragments nor ellipsis. In Ljiljana Progovac, Kate Paesania, Eugenia Casielles & Ellen Barton (eds.), *The syntax of nonsententials*, pp.93-116. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Stainton, Robert J. 2006b. *Words and thoughts: subsentences, ellipsis, and the philosophy of language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Weir, Andrew. 2014. *Fragments and Clausal Ellipsis*. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Hae-Kyung Wee

Dankook University

An event semantics approach to fragments as TP ellipsis

It is widely known that the wh-phrase can move out of the relative clause in sluicing constructions whereas VP ellipsis does not allow it as seen in (1a and b). The most common account regarding island insensitivity of sluices is the so-called island repair approach, taken by Fox and Lasnik (2003) and Merchant (2001, 2004, 2008), etc., that deletion can repair island violation. Based on the grammatical contrast between (1a and 1b), one might instantly assume that TP ellipsis can repair island violation whereas VP ellipsis does not. This simple generalization, however, cannot be easily entertained, considering the ungrammaticality of a fragmentary expression, which is another instance of TP ellipsis, occurring with an island in (2b).

- (1) a. They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't remember which
(~~Balkan language~~) they want to hire someone [~~who speaks~~]
b. *They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't remember which
they do.
- (2) A: Does John want to hire someone who fixes cars with a HAMMER
B: *No, a MONKEY-WRENCH1 [~~TP John wants to hire someone who fixes cars with t1~~].

While fragments are generally considered as island sensitive unlike sluicing (Merchant 2004, for instance), Griffith & Liptak (2014) claim for two different types of fragments, namely, contrastive fragments and elaborative fragments and that the former is island sensitive whereas the latter repairs island contrary to Merchant. They provide a very neat and parsimonious account on the two different types of fragments based on the notions of i) contrastive relation holding between the correlate and the fragment and ii) Scope parallelism between the antecedent clause and the target clause with a fragment.

Based on this dichotomy Griffith & Liptak, this study attempts to provide a supplementary semantic and discourse oriented analysis for fragmentary expressions by extending a semantic

account on sluicing and VP ellipsis proposed in Wee (2015), which explains contrasting grammaticality of sluicing and VP ellipsis based on Davidsonian event semantics by arguing for a fundamental semantic difference between them: The elided event of sluicing is anaphorically bound to the antecedent event, whereas the VPE ellipsis introduces a same *type* of event, but not an anaphoric event. This is based on the assumption that the modal verb occurring in the head of IP (or TP/AspP) introduces a novel event or various possible *modes* of event expressed as different moods, polarity or modalities, etc. This could explain why sluicing usually occurs with an indefinite antecedent, whereas VPE cannot as well. When an indefinite antecedent is followed by a sluice, the remnant wh-phrase is seeking for specification or elaboration of the same referent of the same event, whereas VP ellipsis, which refers to the same *type* but not the same *token*, is illicit for specification of an indefinite antecedent. If this proposal is on the right track, fragmentary expressions should be explainable in the same way as sluicing, considering that fragments are also instances of TP ellipsis. That is, the elided event of a fragmentary expression should denote the same event as the antecedent event. It will be shown that this is really the case by scrutinizing the discourse context where the antecedent occurs.

References

- Lasnik, Howard. 2001. When can you save a structure by destroying it? In Proceedings of the NorthEast Linguistic Society 31, eds. Minjoo Kim and Uri Strauss, 301–320. Georgetown University: GLSA.
- Merchant, Jason. 2001. The syntax of silence: sluicing, islands, and the theory of ellipsis. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Merchant, Jason. 2004. Fragments and ellipsis, *Linguistics and Philosophy* 27: 661-738.
- Merchant, Jason. 2008. Variable island repair under ellipsis. In *Topics in Ellipsis*, ed. by Kyle Johnson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wee, HaeKyung. 2015. An Event Semantic Approach to Sluicing and VPE. *Korean Journal of Linguistics*, 40-2: 191-212.

WORKSHOP 3

Diachronic change in New Englishes

Conveners:

Ariane Borlongan

University of Tokyo

Thorsten Brato

University of Regensburg

Robert Fuchs

Hong Kong Baptist University

The last two decades have seen a dramatic upsurge in corpus-based research on New Englishes, largely thanks to the International Corpus of English project (ICE, Greenbaum 1991). The two primary aims of this research program were, arguably, to (1) uncover patterns of unity and diversity among these varieties, i.e. how they differ from each other, and (2) explain differences between varieties by identifying continuities with and departures from the structure of their ancestor varieties (usually British English), frequently referring to influence from first languages (L1 influence) and general language learning mechanisms (e.g. Sharma 2005). However, when trying to explain differences between varieties, researchers often (necessarily) had to rely on drastic generalisations; Notable among these is that present-day varieties are compared to uncover historical developments. For example, the historical input to contemporary Indian English was not contemporary British English, as tacitly assumed by Fuchs (2012) and much other research, but 18th century (standard and non-standard) British English. Such generalisations were necessary because empirical evidence on postcolonial varieties in general, and esp. so-called Outer Circle varieties of English (Kachru 1985), was largely lacking. With diverse innovative sources of evidence now emerging, we are

increasingly in a position to question the assumptions that earlier research had to make, and to refine our understanding of the pathways of linguistic continuity and change that have shaped present-day postcolonial varieties of English. One source of evidence comes from extensions of the Brown and ICE families of corpora to earlier time-points in the development of postcolonial varieties of English, such as Singapore, Hong Kong (Biewer et al. 2014), Philippine (Borlongan 2015, Collins et al. 2014,b) and Ghanaian English (Brato 2014, 2015) as well as work by Rossouw and van Rooy (2012) on South African English (see also the contributions in Collins 2015). Another source of evidence comes from applications of the apparent-time method to present-day corpus data, permitting researchers to take a glimpse at ongoing language change (Fuchs and Gut 2015, Hansen 2015). While most of these approaches are still relatively shallow in their time depth, they are already opening up exciting new perspectives on diachronic change in postcolonial varieties of English. This workshop aims to bring together researchers working in this area, and particularly encourages contributions that

- Investigate diachronic change in New Englishes
- Attempt to disentangle the complex relationship between influence from the substrate/L1, the heterogeneous superstrate (consisting of standard and non-standard varieties), and general language learning mechanisms in the historical development of New Englishes
- Test developmental models of postcolonial varieties of English (e.g. Schneider 2007, Trudgill 2004)
- Test the assumptions of such models, such as the founder effect, i.e. the assumed disproportionate influence of the earliest sizeable speaker communities

Ariane Borlongan

University of Tokyo

Robert Fuchs

Hong Kong Baptist University

***Recent diachronic change in the use of the Present Perfect and Past Tense in
Philippine and Indian English***

The historical spread of English around the world has given rise to dozens of new dialects, sometimes referred to as New Englishes. Considerable efforts have been made to uncover and explain differences between these varieties by identifying continuities with and departures from the structure of their ancestor varieties (usually British English), often referring to influence from first languages (L1 influence) and general language learning mechanisms (e.g. Sharma 2005).

However, researchers commonly had to rely on drastic generalisations; Notable among these is that present-day varieties are compared to uncover historical developments. With diverse innovative sources of evidence emerging, we can now question the assumptions that earlier research had to make, and can refine our understanding of the pathways of linguistic continuity and change that have shaped present-day postcolonial varieties of English. One source of evidence comes from extensions of the Brown and ICE families of corpora to earlier time-points in the development of postcolonial varieties of English, such as Singapore, Hong Kong (Biewer et al. 2014), Philippine (Borlongan and Dita 2015, Collins et al. 2014a, 2014b), Ghanaian (Brato 2014, 2015) and South African English (Rossouw and van Rooy 2012).

We contribute to this line of research by focussing on recent diachronic change in the use of the Present Perfect (PP) and the Past Tense (PT) in Indian and Philippine English (IndE; PhiE). IndE and PhiE are an interesting test case because IndE was historically influenced by BrE, and has preserved a very high PP frequency, while PhiE was influenced by AmE, and has a low PP frequency. We currently lack information on recent change in the use of the PP and PT in New Englishes, and the present study attempts to fill this gap through a comparison of two Brown-style corpora of PhiE and IndE from the 1970s, and two ICE corpora from the 1990s (following the

approach of Borlongan and Dita 2015, Collins et al. 2014a, 2014b). We track recent diachronic change with several measures:

- (1) the relative frequency of the PP per million words
- (2) the frequency of the PP as a percentage of all references to the past (PP percent)
- (3) the PP in combination with time adverbials of indicating current relevance (see Fuchs 2016).

Results indicate that the extent and direction of diachronic change is genre-dependent, echoing previous findings on recent diachronic change in British and American English (see Mair 2015 for an overview). The greatest decrease is found in PhiE press writing, where the frequency of the PP drops from 17.6 to 11.4 % ($p = 0.0001$) whereas in IndE there is only a slight decrease on a much higher level than in PhiE (22.2 to 20.7 %, n.s.).

This and the results for other registers reveal diachronic trends in IndE and PhiE that suggest an increasing endonormativity in these varieties (Borlongan 2011, Collins 2015) at least with respect to the use of the PP and PT: IndE does not follow BrE in the decrease of the PP, while PhiE outpaces AmE in some registers.

References

- Biewer, Carolin, Tobias Bernaisch, Mike Berger, Benedikt Heller. 2014. Compiling the Diachronic Corpus of Hong Kong English (DC-HKE): motivation, progress and challenges. Poster presentation at *ICAME 35*, Nottingham.
- Borlongan, Ariane. 2011. *Relocating Philippine English in Schneider's dynamic model*. Paper presented at the 17th Annual Conference of the International Association for World Englishes, Melbourne, Australia.
- Borlongan, A. M., Dita, S. N. 2015. Taking a look at expanded predicates in Philippine English across time. *Asian Englishes* 17(3), 1-8.
- Brato, Thorsten. 2014. Compiling a historical written corpus of Ghanaian English: Methodological and theoretical considerations. Paper presented at the *20th Conference of the International Association for World Englishes*, New Delhi.
- Brato, Thorsten. 2015. Lexical innovation in the early nativization phase in Ghanaian English: a corpus-based analysis. Paper presented at the *21st Conference of the International Association for World Englishes*, Istanbul.

- Collins, Peter. 2015. Recent diachronic change in the progressive in Philippine English. In Peter Collins (ed.). *Grammatical Change in English World-Wide*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 119-146.
- Collins, P., Borlongan, A. M., Lim, J., Yao, X. 2014a. The subjunctive mood in Philippine English: A diachronic analysis. In S. E. Pfenninger, A.-C. Olga Timofeeva, A. H. Gardner, M. Hundt, D. Schreier (Eds.), *Contact, variation, and change in the history of English* (pp. 259–280). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Collins, P., Borlongan, A. M., Yao, X. 2014b. Modality in Philippine English: A diachronic study. *Journal of English Linguistics* 42, 68–88.
- Fuchs, Robert. 2016. The frequency of the Present Perfect in varieties of English around the world. In Werner, Valentin, Suárez-Gómez, Cristina and Seoane, Elena (eds.), *Re-assessing the Present Perfect in English: Corpus Studies and Beyond*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Mair, Christian. 2015. Cross-variety diachronic drifts and ephemeral regional contrasts. In Peter Collins (ed.). *Grammatical Change in English World-Wide*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 119-146.
- Rossouw, Ronel Bertus van Rooy. 2012. Diachronic changes in modality in South African English. *English World-Wide* 33, 1–26.
- Sharma, Devyani. 2005. Language transfer and discourse universals in Indian English article use. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 27(4), 535-566.

Thorsten Brato

University of Regensburg

A real-time corpus-based study of the progressive in Ghanaian English

Recent studies have shown a general increase in the usage of the progressive aspect in L1 Englishes over the last century (e.g. Leech et al. 2009; Kranich 2010). Beyond that, synchronic overviews of New Englishes report a high frequency of progressives and innovative usages not found in L1 varieties, such as the extension to stative verbs (e.g. Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi 2004; Collins 2008). Both trends are also found in recent contributions taking a diachronic or apparent-time perspective on Philippine (Collins 2015), Nigerian (Fuchs & Gut 2015) and Black South African English (van Rooy & Piotrowska 2015).

In the context of English in Ghana, innovative variants of the progressive have been commented on at least as far back as Sey (1973), who argues that they are mainly restricted to the less-educated population and to spoken registers. Huber (2012) also confirms these findings, rating non-canonical usages of the progressive as a common, but not pervasive feature. Most recently, Schneider (2015) reports that, in comparison to British English, Ghanaian English may overuse the progressive in spoken registers, while in writing Ghanaians are more conservative.

This paper picks up on these earlier findings and provides a real-time analysis of the use of the progressive aspect in written Ghanaian English based on data from two corpora representing the early (1966-1975) and late (mid-2000s) stages of the nativization phase of Ghanaian English in Schneider's (2007) model of postcolonial Englishes respectively. The 600,000-word Historical Corpus of English in Ghana (HiCE Ghana) is a collection of printed Ghanaian English modelled on the International Corpus of English (ICE) design, with an additional category 'Letters to the editor' and minor modifications in the other categories. The second corpus (310,000 words) is made up of the printed sections of the Ghanaian component of ICE, complemented by 'Letters to the editor' to allow for a more direct comparison.

Based on approximately 2100 progressive constructions in HiCE and ICE Ghana this paper reports on a number of quantitative and qualitative analyses, e.g. the distribution by genre, verb phrase type and the extension to stative and habitual contexts. Preliminary analyses indicate that

Ghanaian English may behave rather differently from the other New Englishes mentioned above. There is no general increase in the use of progressive constructions between the early and late stages, but there is considerable variation by genre. Also, in both Ghanaian English corpora progressives are used more than 2.5 times more frequently in academic writing than in Nigerian English and more than four times more frequently than in the Philippines. In news reports, on the other hand, Ghanaian English is comparatively conservative and even shows a decrease in progressives over time. Despite having approximately doubled in frequency, the extension of the progressive to stative verbs is only a marginal feature.

References

- Collins, Peter C. 2008. "The Progressive Aspect in World Englishes: A Corpus-based Study". *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 28, 225–249.
- Collins, Peter C. 2015. "Recent diachronic change in the progressive in Philippine English". In Peter C. Collins (ed.), *Grammatical change in English world-wide*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 271–296.
- Fuchs, Robert Ulrike Gut. 2015. "An apparent time study of the progressive in Nigerian English". In Peter C. Collins (ed.), *Grammatical change in English world-wide*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 373–387.
- Huber, Magnus. 2012. "Ghanaian English". In Bernd Kortmann & Kerstin Lunkenheimer (eds.), *The Mouton World Atlas of Variation in English*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 382–393.
- Kortmann, Bernd & Benedikt Szmrecsanyi. 2004. "Global synopsis: morphological and syntactic variation in English". In Edgar W. Schneider, Kate Burridge, Bernd Kortmann, Rajend Mesthrie Clive Upton (eds.), *A Handbook of Varieties of English: A Multimedia Reference Tool*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1142–1202.
- Kranich, Svenja. 2010. *The progressive in modern English*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Leech, Geoffrey N. Marianne Hundt, Christian Mair & Nicholas Smith. 2009. *Change in contemporary English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schneider, Agnes. 2015. *Aspect and Modality in Ghanaian English: A Corpus-based Study of the Progressive and the Modal WILL*. Freiburg: Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, PhD Thesis.
- Schneider, Edgar W. 2007. *Postcolonial English: Varieties around the world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sey, Kofi A. 1973. *Ghanaian English: An Exploratory Survey*. London: Macmillan.

van Rooy, Bertus Caroline Piotrowska. 2015. "The development of an extended time period meaning of the progressive in Black South African English". In Peter C. Collins (ed.), *Grammatical change in English world-wide*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 465–483.

Stefan Dollinger

University of British Columbia

***A, B or C (American, British, or Canadian)? Testing influences on the lexis of
Canadian English in real-time, 1555-2016***

The present contribution tests claims on the status of Canadian English as an American-based variety (e.g. Avis 1973: 42, Chambers 1998a: 261) by tracing influences from American English and British English varieties in real-time. Using the *Bank of Canadian English*, the only historical database of Canadian English offering data from the 16th to the 21st century (Dollinger, Brinton and Fee 2006-2016), this paper aims to offer an assessment of some 1000 lexical terms based on the comparative framework employed in the revision of the *Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles*, DCHP-2 (Dollinger & Fee forthc. [2016]). DCHP-2's variationist approach is most advanced in the regional dimension, which allows an effective assessment of which meanings are and which are not Canadian.

While comparative studies of Canadian and American English have a long history (e.g. Avis 1954, Chambers 1994, Boberg 2000, Dollinger 2012), they have been limited to synchronic approaches (e.g. Boberg 2005, Chambers 1998b) and have generally not informed statements on historical dialect contact, with the notable exception of Newfoundland and the 100-variable Survey of Canadian English (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972). The debate has mostly been limited to Bloomfield (1948) and Scargill (1957), the former arguing for today's majority opinion of American influence, while Scargill (1957) reminds us not to rule out British influence. More recently, Dollinger (2008: 279), weighed in with diachronic morphosyntactic evidence from A, B and C varieties and concluded that influence can be ranked as, in decreasing order of importance, parallel developments in all three varieties, followed by US influence, independent Canadian developments and, lastly, British input.

The present paper aims to add to these results the findings of a large lexical data set. Preliminary results show that British influence will carry greater weight in the area of Canadianisms, i.e. lexical items or meanings that are, in the key part of Avis' definition "distinctively characteristic of Canadian usage" (1967: xiii). Expanding from Avis' original

definition, DCHP-2 assigns one (or more) of six types of Canadianisms to each meaning, in addition to a category of non-Canadianisms (Dollinger 2015a: 3-6, Dollinger Brinton 2008: 52-53). The typology includes categories for Preservations from the US or the UK, and Innovations in CanE, which will be the basis for assessment of the data.

The material is indirectly expected to shed some light on the vexed issue of the role of "identity" and other social factors in the koinéization process. The data in Dollinger (2008) fits Trudgill's (2004) model, with but one adaptation, while Schneider's (2007) global assessment of the Canadian situation shows inconsistencies (Dollinger 2015b: 205-08). Of interest is Bloomfield's (1948) scenario of American influence, which is an early instantiation of the founder principle, re-introduced into linguistics from biology in Mufwene (1996). The addition of a large, systematically assessed section of the vocabulary offers an additional layer to a question that has usually been studied on the morphosyntactic level (e.g. Collins 2015, Reuter 2015, Dollinger 2015c).

References

- Avis, Walter S. 1973. The English language in Canada In *Current trends in linguistics. Vol. 10/1*, Thomas Sebeok (ed.), 40D74. The Hague: Mouton.
- Avis, Walter S. 1967. Introduction. In: Dollinger, Stefan, Laurel Brinton and Margery Fee (eds.) 2013. *DCHP-1 Online*. <http://dchp.ca/DCHPD1/pages/frontmatter> (26 Oct. 2015).
- Avis, Walter S. 1954. Speech differences along the Ontario-United States border. I: Vocabulary. *Journal of the Canadian Linguistic Association* 1(1, Oct.): 13-18.
- Bloomfield, Morton W. 1948. Canadian English and its relation to eighteenth century American speech. *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 47: 59-66
- Boberg, Charles. 2005. The North American Regional Vocabulary Survey: new variables and methods in the study of North American English. *American Speech* 80(1): 22-60.
- Boberg, Charles. 2000. Geolinguistic diffusion and the U.S.-Canada border. *Language Variation and Change* 12: 1-24.
- Chambers, J. K. 1998a. English: Canadian varieties. In *Language in Canada*, John Edwards (ed.), 52-272. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chambers, J. K. 1998b. Social embedding of changes in progress. *Journal of English Linguistics* 6(1): 5-36.
- Collins, Peter (ed.) 2015. *Grammatical Change in English World-Wide*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Dollinger, Stefan. 2015a. How to write a historical dictionary: a sketch of *The Dictionary of*

- Canadianisms on Historical Principles*, Second Edition. *Ozwords* 24(2): 1-3 6 (October 2015). http://andc.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/DICT_OZWORDS_OCT2015.pdf (25 Nov 2015). Canberra: Australian National Dictionary Centre.
- Dollinger, Stefan. 2015b. *The Written Questionnaire in Social Dialectology: History, Theory, Practice*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins (IMPACT Series, 40).
- Dollinger, Stefan. 2015c. Canadian English: a conservative variety? *Zeitschrift für Kanada8Studien* [*Journal of Canadian Studies*, Germany] 35: 25-44.
- Dollinger, Stefan. 2012. The western Canada-U.S. border as a linguistic boundary: the roles of L1 and L2 speakers. *World Englishes* 31(4): 519-533.
- Dollinger, Stefan. 2008. *New-dialect Formation in Canada: Evidence from the English Modal Auxiliaries*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Dollinger, Stefan (chief editor) and Margery Fee (associate editor). Forthcoming [2016]. *DCHP-2: The Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles, Second Edition*. With the assistance of Alexandra Gaylie, Baillie Ford and Gaby Lim. Online dictionary. Vancouver Gothenburg: University of British Columbia University of Gothenburg. www.dchp.ca/dchp2
- Dollinger, Stefan and Laurel Brinton. 2008. Canadian English lexis: historical and variationist perspectives. *Anglistik: International Journal of English Studies*. 19(2): 43-64.
- Mufwene, Salikoko S. 1996. The founder principle in creole genesis. *Diachronica* 13: 83-134.
- Reuter, David M. J. 2015. Newspaper, politics, and Canadian English: a corpus-based analysis of selected linguistic variables in early nineteenth-century Ontario newspapers. Ph.D. thesis. University of Kiel.
- Scargill, Matthew H. 1957. Sources of Canadian English. *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 56: 611-614
- Scargill, Matthew H. and Henry J. Warkentyne. 1972. The survey of Canadian English: a report. *The English Quarterly. A publication of the Canadian Council of Teachers of English* 5(3, Fall): 47-104.
- Schneider, Edgar W. 2007. *Postcolonial English: Varieties Around the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Trudgill, Peter. 2004. *New-Dialect Formation: The Inevitability of Colonial Englishes*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Jason Grafmiller

University of Leuven

***Mapping out particle placement around the globe:
A corpus study of indigenization patterns***

We investigate particle placement (*Robin picked the book up* vs. *Robin picked up the book*) (e.g. Gries 2003) in nine varieties from the International Corpus of English (ICE): British, New Zealand, Canadian, Irish, Indian, Singaporean, Hong Kong, Philippines, and Jamaican English. Our main interest lies in the extent to which language users' (probabilistic) grammatical knowledge differs across speech communities. In particular, we seek to shed light on questions regarding the extent to which different English varieties share a core grammar and the degree to which individual probabilistic constraints are cross-lectally malleable.

Our data comprise 12k observations of transitive particle verbs, which were semi-automatically extracted from the ICE corpora. We carefully circumscribe the variable context, annotating for numerous factors conditioning the choice of particle placement, i.e. the 'split' (V-Obj-P) vs. 'joined' (V-P-Obj) order. Such factors include the semantics of the verbs (and particles), as well as the concreteness, frequency, definiteness, givenness, and length (in characters) of verbs' direct objects. Both automatic (via Python scripts) and manual coding techniques are employed to maximize efficiency and accuracy. We use multivariate techniques such as Bayesian mixed-effects regression (e.g. Kruschke 2014) to investigate variable effects in the factors that constrain particle placement. The effects of such factors, e.g. the tendency for longer constituents to follow shorter ones, can be seen as stochastic generalizations about language usage, which—according to experimental evidence (Bresnan and Ford 2010)—language users implicitly know about. Thus, we aim to illuminate the variability in the linguistic knowledge that language users with differing English backgrounds implicitly command.

Our model fits the data quite well: $C = .95$. We find that particle verbs are overall less frequent in outer circle (ESL) varieties, e.g. Hong Kong or Indian English, than in inner circle varieties, e.g. Canadian English, and that the split order is used significantly less in outer circle varieties. The influence of individual factors on particle placement however is largely consistent in

direction (e.g. the split order tends to be used more with definite objects) across all nine English varieties, but cross-varietal differences in the strength of their influence emerge in small corners of the data. Such differences are more likely to emerge between ESL varieties than among inner circle varieties, but there are few consistent patterns with respect to which factors differ in specific varieties.

We suggest these results may be explained by the integration of psycholinguistic models of production and acquisition with World Englishes theory, e.g. Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model of nativization. This model predicts that innovations typically occur at the syntax-lexicon interface, where new patterns emerge as differences in the habitual associations of constructions with specific lexical items. Where new associations occur frequently enough, speakers may abstract regularities over these uses, leading to changes in the probabilistic constraints governing use of specific variants. These constraints are, in turn, learned during processes of language acquisition and become part of speakers' grammatical knowledge (e.g. Ellis 2002; MacDonald 2013). Structural nativization processes are further impacted by general biases in second language acquisition, which lead to the overuse of easier, more transparent, syntactic variants— here the joined V-P order (e.g. Gilquin 2014). This in turn can lead to changes in the strength of specific constraints' cues, as one variant is used by ESL speakers in contexts where L1 speakers would use another. We argue these findings support a probabilistic model of linguistic knowledge which is shaped both by general, higher-level cognitive factors as well as by surface level, community-specific usage norms.

References

- Bresnan, Joan & Marilyn Ford. 2010. Predicting syntax: Processing dative constructions in American and Australian varieties of English. *Language* 86(1). 168–213. doi:10.1353/lan.0.0189. <p>Volume 86, Number 1, March 2010</p>.
- Ellis, Nick C. 2002. Frequency effects in language processing. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 24(2). 143–188. doi:10.1017/S0272263102002024.
- Gilquin, Gaëtanelle. 2014. The use of phrasal verbs by French-speaking EFL learners. A constructional and collostructional corpus-based approach. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* 11(1). 51–88. doi:10.1515/cllt-2014-0005.
- Gries, Stefan Th. 2003. *Multifactorial Analysis in Corpus Linguistics: A Study of Particle Placement*. New York: Continuum Press.
- Kruschke, John K. 2014. *Doing Bayesian data analysis: a tutorial with R, JAGS, and stan*. San

Diego, CA: Academic Press 2nd edn.

MacDonald, Maryellen C. 2013. How language production shapes language form and comprehension. *Frontiers in Psychology* 4. 1–16.

Schneider, Edgar. 2007. *Postcolonial English: Varieties Around the World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Beke Hansen

University of Kiel

***The semantics of must in ESL varieties – historical state of the superstrate,
substrate(s) or SLA?***

The modal verb *must* has two meanings (cf. Coates 1983: 31), i.e. a root (also 'deontic') meaning expressing obligation (1), and an epistemic meaning expressing certainty about the truth of a proposition (2):

- (1) you must contact the warden (ICE-IND: S1B-075) (2) You must have heard something about it (ICE-IND: S1A-096)

My study on the semantics of *must* in the ICE corpora representing the English varieties of Great Britain, the USA, Hong Kong, India and Singapore shows considerable variation in the distribution of the meanings of *must* across these varieties: ESL varieties as a group show a higher use of deontic *must* than ENL varieties (cf. also Nelson 2003; Biewer 2009, 2011, 2015; Bao 2010, 2015). However, the deontic bias of *must* is not equally strong in the ESL varieties analysed; Indian English shows a higher use of epistemic *must* than both Hong Kong English and Singapore English. The question is what factors are responsible for these differences. As Singapore English and Hong Kong English entered Schneider's (2007) second phase of 'exonormative stabilisation' over 100 years later than Indian English, I investigated variability in the historical input variety of British English as a possible conditioning factor in variation on the basis of ARCHER 3 (cf. 'the founder effect', Mufwene 1996: 84, 2001; Mesthrie 2006: 277; van Rooy 2010). However, variability in the historical input does not correlate with the present-day distribution of the meanings of *must*. Instead, differences in the encoding of the two modalities in the substrate languages have to be taken into account as another possible factor in variation. There are considerable typological differences in the encoding of deontic and epistemic meanings in the languages of the world (cf. WALS, van der Auwera & Ammann 2013). While English encodes deontic and epistemic readings in one form, other languages use two (or more) forms to express these modalities. I analysed whether these

differences in the encoding of deontic and epistemic meanings in Cantonese, Mandarin and the various substrate languages of India (Marathi, Kannada, Hindi, etc.) correlate with differences in the distribution of these meanings. In order to identify the relevant substrate languages of the speakers in ICE-IND, I revised and analysed the ICE-IND metadata. My findings show that substrate influence is indeed an important factor contributing to the differences in the distribution of the meanings of *must*. Finally, the deontic bias of *must* in (some) ESL varieties is also strengthened by general language learning mechanisms ('avoidance of plurifunctionality', Biewer 2011: 16) and culture-specific politeness strategies. The findings of my study stress the importance of a combined approach to the study of New Englishes in order to disentangle the relationship between historical superstrate, substrate(s), SLA and culture-specific politeness strategies.

References

- Bao, Zhiming. 2010. "Must in Singapore English." *Lingua* 120: 1727-1737.
- Bao, Zhiming. 2015. *The making of vernacular Singapore English: System, transfer, and filter*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Biewer, Carolin. 2009. "Modals and semi-modals of obligation and necessity in South Pacific Englishes." *Anglistik* 20(2): 41-55.
- Biewer, Carolin. 2011. "Modal auxiliaries in second language varieties of English: A learner's perspective." In: Joybrato Mukherjee & Marianne Hundt (eds.). *Exploring second-language 2 varieties of English and learner Englishes: Bridging a paradigm gap*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 7-33.
- Biewer, Carolin. 2015. *South Pacific Englishes: A sociolinguistic and morphosyntactic profile of Fiji English, Samoan English and Cook Island English*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Coates, Jennifer. 1983. *The semantics of the modal auxiliaries*. London: Croom Helm.
- Mesthrie, Rajend. 2006. "Contact Linguistics and World Englishes." In: Braj B. Kachru, Yamuna Kachru & Cecil L. Nelson (eds.). *The handbook of world Englishes*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell: 273-288.
- Mufwene, Salikoko S. 1996. "The founder principle in creole genesis." *Diachronica* 13(1): 83-134.
- Mufwene, Salikoko S. 2001. *The ecology of language evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nelson, Gerald. 2003. "Modals of obligation and necessity in varieties of English." In: Pam Peters (ed.). *From local to global English: Proceedings of Style Council 2001/2*. Sydney: Dictionary

Research Centre, Macquarie University: 25-32.

Schneider, Edgar W. 2007. *Postcolonial English: Varieties around the world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

van der Auwera, Johan & Andreas Ammann. 2013. "Overlap between situational and epistemic modal marking." In: Matthew S. Dryer & Martin Haspelmath (eds.). *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (<http://wals.info/chapter/76>, accessed 02.03.2016).

van Rooy, Bertus. 2010. "Presidential address delivered at the City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, on December 4, 2008, at the 14th annual meeting of the International Association for World Englishes: Social and linguistic perspectives on variability in world Englishes." *World Englishes* 29(1): 3-20.

Sebastian Hoffmann

Andrea Sand

University of Trier

A diachronic study of prepositional verbs in Singapore English

This study will use a diachronic corpus of Singaporean newspaper data to investigate a range of nativised prepositional verbs of the type shown in (1) to (3):

- (1) While this idea is in line with the move to encourage Singaporeans to know their roots, it should not be construed as an opportunity to **demand for** rights in other areas. (*The Straits Times*, “Comment/Analysis1”, 14.6.1991)
- (2) Both of them **stressed on** the importance of accuracy and truthfulness in journalism. (*The Straits Times*, “In”, 24.1.2011)
- (3) Pettigrew thought that his friends there had **requested for** the song but it turned out to be sheer coincidence. (*The Straits Times*, “Life”, 29.3.2011)

In all three cases, writers of an inner-circle variety such as British or American English would use the corresponding single-word verbs without the preposition instead.

Uses such as those in (1) – (3) have been described for institutionalised second-language varieties world-wide; see for example Sedlatschek (2009: 149ff) for Indian English, Bamgbose (1982) for Nigerian English, Tan (2013) for Malaysian English and Zipp & Bernaisch (2012) for a range of varieties in the International Corpus of English (ICE). A number of reasons for their use and establishment have been proposed, including analogy with semantically related verbs such as *appeal for* or *fight for*, influence from the parallel structure of noun + preposition constructions such as *demand (n.) for* and first language interference. Also, given the semantic complexity of many single-word verbs, the redundant nature of their prepositional verb counterparts provides maximum transparency and they “maximise salience by emphasising the transitive relationship between the verb and the object“ (Tan 2013: 112).

To the best of our knowledge, there are no studies that investigate the nativization of prepositional verbs in real time. We will address this gap with the help of a large corpus of Singaporean newspaper data comprising the years 1951 to 2011 in 10-year intervals. A second aim of our paper is to describe some of the practical and methodological difficulties faced in the compilation of a diachronic corpus that is suitable for this type of lexico-grammatical research. For example, as a result of errors introduced by a faulty optical character resolution process, the years 1951 to 1981 only exist in a less-than-optimal format, which of course reduces comparability with the later material. We will assess different approaches towards dealing with this type of data and use these insights to evaluate the viability of our findings.

References

- Bamgbose, A. (1982). "Standard Nigerian English: Issues of identification." In B. B. Kachru (ed.), *The Other Tongue: English across Cultures*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 148-161.
- Sedlatschek, A. (2009). *Contemporary Indian English: Variation and Change*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Tan, S. I. (2013). "Nativised Prepositional Verbs in Malaysian English from the Perspective of Language Contact." *3L: The Southeast Asian Journal of English Language Studies*, 3: 103-114.
- Winford, D. (2003). *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*. Massachusetts: Blackwell.
- Zipp, L. & T. Bernaisch (2012). "Particle Verbs across First and Second Language Varieties of English." In M. Hundt & U. Gut (eds.) *Mapping Unity and Diversity World-wide: Corpusbased Studies of New Englishes*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 167-196.

Haidee Kruger

Macquarie University / North-West University

Bertus van Rooy

North West University

Diachronic construction grammar for New Englishes

Diachronic construction grammar is a relatively recent development within construction grammar (Hilpert 2008, 2012; Noël 2007; Traugott & Trousdale 2013). It builds on advances in construction grammar to understand problems in diachronic linguistics, but has not yet been applied extensively to study the diachronic development of New Varieties of English (but see Ziegeler 2015). Specifically, the features of New Varieties that set them apart from native varieties have not yet been incorporated into accounts of constructional change and constructionalisation.

New varieties differ from native varieties in the psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic dimensions. Psycholinguistically, speakers already have native command of another language, which may act as a trigger for constructional neanalysis through cross-linguistic influence. New Englishes speakers also produce language under a greater degree of processing strain, which facilitates more analyticity in the language (Szmrecsanyi & Kortmann 2009). Sociolinguistically, speakers acquire the second language in school contexts and often use it in a smaller number of registers, which both encourage more normative and/or formal choices (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008:162). The extent of contact between speakers of English and other languages also differs across contexts. These different forces, which we conceptualise as heightened constraints on language production and use (Kruger & Van Rooy 2016), may impose conflicting pressures on the users of New Englishes. This may result in different innovations entering the linguistic feature pools, but may also favour the entrenchment of different conventions than in native varieties.

This paper examines different varieties of South African English (SAfE), focussing on verb complementation, specifically word order variation in declarative and interrogative complement clauses and the competition between finite and non-finite complement clauses. SAfE represents a challenging cluster of varieties, including a native variety in close contact with other languages, the

STL strand in the Dynamic Model of Schneider (2007), and a number of different IDG strands. Based on an analysis of previous research on native varieties of English and the substrate languages in South Africa, we formulate a number of predictions about possible changes that take the constraints into account. These predictions are then evaluated through corpus analyses of available corpora.

As control variety, we use British English, which is represented by selected registers in ICEGB and British data from 1800 in ARCHER. The native variety of SAfE is represented by selected registers of ICE-SA and a historical corpus of written registers of native SAE. Two New Englishes are analysed: Afrikaans English (AfrSAfE) and Black South African English (BSAfE). The currently available corpora contain synchronic data on both, and diachronic data on BSAfE. Alongside these, we also use comparable corpora for contemporary Afrikaans and twentieth-century Afrikaans.

Through the analysis of syntactic variation and collostructional patterns, we aim to uncover which of the predicted constraints play a role in constructional change and constructionalisation in the native variety of SAfE as well as the two IDG varieties, and also how these constraints interact. By doing so, we hope to contribute theoretical insights into diachronic change in New Englishes from the perspective of construction grammar.

References

- Hilpert, Martin. 2008. Germanic future constructions: A usage-based approach to language change. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Hilpert, Martin. 2012. Diachronic collostructional analysis meets the Noun Phrase: Studying *many a Noun* in COHA. In Nevalainen, Terttu & Traugott, Elizabeth Closs, eds. *The Oxford handbook of the history of English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 233-244.
- Kruger, Haidee & Van Rooy, Bertus. 2016. Constrained language: A multidimensional analysis of translated English and non-native indigenised varieties of English. *English World-Wide*, 37(1): 26-57.
- Mesthrie, Rajend & Bhatt, Rakesh M. 2008. *World Englishes: The study of new linguistic varieties*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Noël, Dirk. 2007. Diachronic construction grammar and grammaticalization theory. *Functions of Language*, 14: 177-202.
- Schneider, Edgar W. 2007. *Postcolonial English: Varieties around the world*. Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press.

Szmrecsanyi, Benedikt & Kortmann, Bernd. 2009. Vernacular universals and angloversals in a typological perspective. In Filppula, Markku, Klemola, Juhani & Paulasto, Heli, eds. *Vernacular universals and language contact: Evidence from varieties of English and beyond*. New York: Routledge. p. 33-53.

Traugott, Elizabeth Closs & Trousdale, Graeme. 2013. *Constructionalization and constructional changes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ziegeler, Debra. 2015. *Converging grammars: Constructions in Singapore English*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Susanne Mohr

University of Bonn

***Lecturers are still doing researches – an evaluation of the present-day acceptability
of Tanzanian English corpus data***

The non-standard plural use of mass nouns such as *furnitures* and irregular plurals such as *childrens* has been reported by a number of studies on the New Englishes in Asia and Africa (Baskaran 2008, Schmied 2012, Sharma 2012). Concerning the African continent, they have even been claimed to be one of four typically African morphosyntactic features (Huber 2012). Recently, this feature was investigated in corpus data from East and West Africa (Mohr 2016), showing that it is not as frequent as suggested in some of the varieties under scrutiny. However, this preliminary analysis only considered a limited number of 22 nouns.

This paper investigates all non-standard pluralized nouns in the Tanzanian part of *ICE-East Africa* (Schmied et al. 1999). For this, the tags in the corpus data were used after checking their reliability in a sample of 13,000 words manually. Excluding single instances and those that occurred in only one text which might qualify as idiosyncracies, a list of 15 terms, e.g. *equipments*, *offsprings*, was created.

Given that the corpus data was more than 20 years old at the time of analysis in 2016 and recent studies indicate the importance of diachronic analyses of New Englishes (e.g. Roussow & Van Rooy 2012, Brato 2015), an acceptability study including the 15 items was conducted in Tanzania. Informants were recruited among the student body and teaching staff of the Open University of Tanzania and the University of Dar es Salaam. A questionnaire, consisting of a basic demographic information part and an acceptability task in which sentences from the corpus (mean length = 25 wds) had to be rated on a 4 point Likert scale, was distributed. It was completed by 35 people; 32 of these responses (18 men, 14 women; mean age 35, SD = 11.4) could be used.

The results reveal that all of the non-standard plural forms are still acceptable in present-day Tanzanian English: ratings ranged from 1.7 (*reliefs*) to 2.2 (e.g. *equipments*, *assistances*) equalling a “probably acceptable” rating on the provided scale. When comparing the data from the group of lecturers to that of students only *researches* showed an almost significantly ($p = 0.6$) higher

acceptability in lecturers. Concerning the difference between participants with an English learning experience of less than 10 years and more than 10 years, it was generally noticeable that those with a shorter learning time rated the sentences as less acceptable. In an unpaired t-test, *equipments* ($p = 0.007$) and *instructions* ($p = 0.04$) were statistically significant.¹

Overall, the results imply that the data from ICE-EA is still acceptable regarding the feature of non-standard plural nouns in present-day Tanzanian English. The feature seems to be more accepted by proficient Tanzanian English speakers, while short-term learners of English still notice its non-standardness. This emphasizes the fact that it seems to be very much engrained in Tanzanian English as a linguistic feature of this variety.

¹ While *instruction* can be pluralized in some contexts, the syntax in the sentence included in the questionnaire did not allow pluralization.

References

- Baskaran, L. 2008. Malaysian English: Morphology and Syntax. In R. Mesthrie (ed.) *Varieties of English. Vol. 4. Africa, South and Southeast Asia*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 610–623.
- Brato, T. 2015. Lexical innovation in the early nativization phase in Ghanaian English: a corpus-based analysis. *Paper presented at the 21st Conference of the International Association for World Englishes, Istanbul*.
- Huber, M. 2012. Regional profile: Africa. In B. Kortmann & K. Lunkenheimer (eds.), *The Mouton World Atlas of Variation in English: Grammar*. Berlin/New York, 806-823.
- Mohr, S. 2016. From Accra to Nairobi – The use of pluralized mass nouns in East and West African postcolonial Englishes. In D. Schmidt-Brücken, S. Schuster & M. Wienberg (eds.) *Aspects of (Post)Colonial Linguistics*. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter Mouton, 157-188.
- Rossouw, R. & B. Van Rooy. 2012. Diachronic changes in modality in South African English. *English World-Wide* 33, 1-26.
- Schmied, J.; D. Hudson-Ettle & Ba. Krohne. 1999. *The International Corpus of English – East Africa*. Bayreuth/Chemnitz.
- Schmied, J. 2012. Standards of English in East Africa. In R. Hickey (ed.) *Standards of English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 229-255.
- Sharma, D. 2012. Shared features in New Englishes. In R. Hickey (ed.) *Areal Features of the*

4th Conference of the International Society for the English Language
18-21 September 2016, Poznań, Poland

Anglophone World. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 211-232.

WORKSHOP 4

Pop-culture in linguistics

Convener:

Valentin Werner

University of Bamberg

The investigation of aspects pertaining to pop culture has essentially, and some would argue, naturally, been the subject of cultural studies (see, e.g., Takacs 2015; Danesi 2015; www.mapaca.net). However, as a text-based domain, in principle it also lends itself to analysis and use in other language-related disciplines. As regards its pervasiveness, the language of pop culture (PL) is a type of language which is hard to avoid (Trotta 2010) or, differently stated, which is ubiquitous and continues to grow in importance (Pettijohn & Sacco 2009; Moore 2012). Due to its sociocultural history as well as globalization-related developments English has become the prime pop language in today's multilingual world.

In spite of its extraordinary social relevance, it is highly surprising that PL represents a hitherto understudied area in English linguistics. This is shown by the facts (i) that pop registers (such as lyrics, the language of fictional TV series, the language of comics and cartoons, the language of social media, the language of gaming, etc.) barely feature among the text categories included in any of the general reference corpora of English, (ii) that the number of empirical studies explicitly devoted to PL is growing (see, e.g., Kreyer & Mukherjee 2007; Bednarek 2010; Walshe 2012; Werner 2012, *forthc.*; ensslin 2012; Bértoli-Dutra 2014; Kreyer 2015) but still comparatively scarce, and (iii) that the linguistic perspective is at times combined with some kind of aesthetic evaluation, mocking its own subject (see, e.g., Theroux 2013).

In addition, while it would be exaggerated to claim that PL does not have a place in applied

linguistics at all, it is fair to say that its didactic potential, despite earlier attempts heralding its power (Loew 1979; Melpignano 1980; Murphey 1990), has largely been underexploited for (second) language instruction (Trotta 2013), as exercises involving PL are regularly relegated to “fun” activities (that is, generally speaking, those not regarding the introduction and exercise of “hard” grammatical structures) situated at the end of lessons and units (Summer 2011). However, this may also be due a lack of adequate description of PL (see above) in the first place.

In essence, what unites both the descriptive and applied linguistic dimension is that the treatment of PL is hardly recognized as a serious, and therefore academically overly worthwhile, endeavor (see also Queen 2015). To address this situation, it is the main aim of this workshop to showcase the various facets of PL “in action” and thus to bring the study of PL closer to the mainstream of linguistic analysis. As a secondary aim, it aims to reveal the latent didactic potential of PL manifestations to further the instruction of English to speakers of other languages.

While the workshop is open to any topics related to PL in English, it particularly welcomes contributions on the following issues or combinations thereof:

- *General considerations*: Is it warranted to speak of a single variety of pop culture English? Or do we rather observe considerable internal variation?
- *PL features and style*: Which structural (morphosyntactic, lexical, etc.) features are characteristic of PL? Is there something such as a specific “grammar of pop”? Is PL really “conversational”, as has often been claimed (e.g. by Murphey 1990 or Moore 2012)? Does PL represent authentic or stylized language (see, e.g., Quaglio 2009)?
- *Register and mode*: How and where can PL be situated in terms of a register analysis (Biber 1988) or along the spoken-written continuum (Koch & Österreicher 1985)? Or is PL (as one form of one-to-many communication) rather a completely different category? How can PL be related to notions such as “digital discourse” (Pegrum 2014; cf. Zappavigna 2012; Seargeant & Tagg 2014; Tagg 2015; Werner forthc.)?
- *Contrastive perspective*: Can we speak of a universal PL across languages (potentially determined by English influence) or are we rather looking at language-specific PLs?
- *Methodological challenges*: Which issues have to be considered when treating manifestations of PL with existing linguistic tools (e.g. as regards automatic part-of-speech-tagging when no sentence boundaries are present or when structures are elliptical)? Which text types count as genuine parts of PL?
- *Applied perspective*: How can we exploit the ubiquity of PL in a linguistically and

didactically informed way? How do pop content and theories of language learning relate to each other?

References

- Bednarek, Monika 2010. *The language of fictional television: Drama and identity*. London: Continuum.
- Bértoli-Dutra, Patrícia. 2014. Multi-dimensional analysis of pop songs. In Tony Berber Sardinha & Marcia Veirano Pinto (eds.) *Multi-dimensional analysis, 25 years on: A tribute to Douglas Biber*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 149–175.
- Biber, Douglas. 1988. *Variation across speech and writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ensslin, Astrid. 2012. *The language of gaming*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Koch, Peter & Wulf Oesterreicher. 1985. 'Sprache der Nähe – Sprache der Distanz: Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit im Spannungsfeld von Sprachtheorie und Sprachgeschichte'. *Romanistisches Jahrbuch* 36, 15–43.
- Danesi, Marcel. 2015. *Popular culture: Introductory perspectives*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Kreyer, Rolf. 2015. Funky fresh dressed to impress: A corpus-linguistic view on gender roles in pop songs. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 20(2), 174–204.
- Kreyer Rolf & Joybrato Mukherjee. 2007. The style of pop song lyrics: A corpus-linguistic pilot study. *Anglia* 125(1), 31–58.
- Loew, Helene Z. 1979. Tuning in: Popular culture in the language classroom. *Foreign Language Annals* 12(4), 271–274.
- Melpignano, Richard J. 1980. A different use for French Songs in the classroom. *Foreign Language Annals* 13(6), 455–458.
- Moore, Allan F. 2012. *Song means: Analysing and interpreting recorded popular song*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Murphey, Tim. 1990. *Song and music in language learning: An analysis of pop song lyrics and the use of song and music in teaching English to speakers of other languages*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang.
- Pegrum, Mark. 2014. *Mobile learning: Languages, literacies and cultures*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pettijohn, Terry F. & Donald F. Sacco. 2009. The language of lyrics: An analysis of popular

- billboard songs across conditions of social and economic threat. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 28(3), 297–311.
- Quaglio, Paulo. 2009. *Television dialogue: The sitcom Friends vs. natural conversation*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Queen, Robin. 2015. *Vox popular: The surprising life of language in the media*. Chichester: John Wiley.
- Seargeant & Caroline Tagg (eds.). 2014. *The language of social media: Identity and community on the internet*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Summer, Theresa. 2011. *An evaluation of methodological options for grammar instruction in EFL textbooks: Are methods dead?* Heidelberg: Winter.
- Takacs, Stacey. 2015. *Interrogating popular culture: Key questions*. London: Routledge.
- Theroux, Alexander. 2013. *The grammar of rock: Art and artlessness in 20th century pop lyrics*. Seattle: Fantagraphics.
- Trotta, Joe. 2010. Whose rules rule? Grammar controversies, popular culture and the fear of English from below. *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 9(3), 41–65.
- Trotta, Joe. 2013. What Meatloaf won't do for love: A catalog of mystery, imagination and linguistic rebellion in popular music. In Gunnar Bergh, Rhonwen Bowen, Mats Mobärg & Sölve Ohlander (eds.), *Language, football and all that jazz: A festschrift for Sölve Ohlander*. Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 543–573
- Walshe, Shane. 2012. 'Ah, laddie, did ye really think I'd let a foine broth of a boy such as yerself get splattered...?' Representations of Irish English speech in the Marvel universe. In Frank Bramlett (ed.) *Linguistics and the study of comics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 264–290.
- Werner, Valentin. 2012. Love is all around: A corpus-based study of pop music lyrics. *Corpora* 7(1), 19–50.
- Werner, Valentin. Forthcoming. Real-time online text commentaries: A cross-cultural perspective. In Christoph Schubert & Christina Sanchez-Stockhammer (eds.) *Variational text linguistics: Revisiting register in English*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Zappavigna, Michele. 2012. *Discourse of Twitter and social media: How we use language to create affiliation on the web*. London: Bloomsbury.

Patricia P. Bertoli

University of the State of Rio de Janeiro

A multidimensional analysis of song lyrics

Although the interest in studying pop lyrics has increased in the past 20 years in a variety of areas, such as musicology (Brackett, 2000; Middleton, 1990; Starr; Waterman, 2007), and sociology (Frith, 1993; Moore, 2003), lyrics have not yet received the rightful attention from linguists. By addressing song lyrics from two specific perspectives namely, corpus linguistics – which aggregates few studies of Bertoli-Dutra, 2014 and Werner (2012, 2015) – and the development of activities for teaching and learning English as a Foreign Language, this talk will show how language and popular culture meet and how they can be used for teaching and learning a foreign language. The first part of the talk presents an analysis of linguistic features that locates lyrics in relation to other registers in terms of dimensions. I followed Biber's approach (1988) for linguistic variation in written and spoken registers in the English Language – a Multi-Feature, Multi-Dimensional analysis – using a corpus of over 6,000 song lyrics originally recorded in English. The lyrics were considered as text files and automatically tagged for part-of-speech (POS) and semantic features using the Tree-Tagger developed by Berber-Sardinha (Berber Sardinha, 2004), and the principal component analysis shows two sets of three factors: one for lexico-grammar and one for semantics. The lexicogrammar factors were interpreted as Persuasion, Interaction and Narrative concerns, while the semantics factors were interpreted as Personal Action, Emotion and Society and Musical Reference. As such, results suggest that pop song lyrics express a number of key communicative functions also present in other registers. The second part of the talk illustrates how the dimensions findings can be integrated into the design of language learning material, by means of two content activities that were designed for and used in pre-service English teachers classes, regardless of the usual listening and pronunciation practice and the motivational aspects of songs.

References

Berber Sardinha, A. P. 2004. *Linguística de Corpus*. Barueri, SP: Manole.

Bertoli-Dutra, P. 2014. "Multi-dimensional analysis of pop songs." In T. B. Sardinha and M. V.

- Pinto (eds.) *Multi-Dimensional Analysis, 25 Years on: A Tribute to Douglas Biber*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 149-176.
- Biber, D. 1988. *Variation across Speech and Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brackett, D. 2000. *Interpreting Popular Music*. University of California Press.
- Frith, S. 1993. Music and identity. In: HALL, Stuart; Du GAY, Paul (Eds). *Questions of Cultural Identity*, London, UK: Sage publications. 108-127
- Middleton, R. 1990. *Studying popular music*. Open University Press.
- Moore, Allan F. 2003. *Analysing Popular Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Starr, L.; C. Waterman. 2007. *American Popular Music. From minstrelsy to MP3*. 2nd. ed. New York: OUP.
- Werner, V. 2012. "Love is all around: a corpus-based study of pop music lyrics." *Corpora* 7 (1): 19-50.
- Werner, V.; M. Lehl. 2015. Pop lyrics and language pedagogy: a corpus-linguistic approach. In: F. Formato and A. Hardie (eds.) *Corpus Linguistics 2015 Abstract Book*. Lancaster: UCREL. 341-343.

Frank Bramlett

University of Nebraska at Omaha

Web comics as pop culture: How discourse features are used to construct alt-text messages and hidden comics

Comics and graphic novels sit in the space somewhere between pop culture and niche subculture, meaning that in most places around the world, people can recognize comics but comics are not widely read. As a practical example, most people know who Superman is but most people have never read a Superman comic book (popularity of the Superman films notwithstanding). Web comics further vex this problem: there are more than likely thousands of English-language web comics freely available on the internet but, like their printed counterparts, they are mostly read by small populations of readers. The intersection of pop culture and linguistics as instantiated in comics studies, then, warrants further theoretical and empirical exploration (e.g., Bramlett 2010; Bramlett 2012; Walshe 2012).

The study of comics demands special attention from linguists because of the relatively unique usage of language found in them. In all comics, all language is written. Some language is meant to be understood by the reader as spoken, and some as written. Unlike fiction or journalism, however, the ‘spoken language’ is rendered in such a way that it demonstrates close adherence to everyday conversation. For example, the speech of one character is generally indicated to belong to that character because of proximity in the panel and/or the spatial designation that is often referred to as speech balloons (Eisner 1985). The linguistic analysis of comics, then, is in some ways similar to the analysis of pop songs because they ‘[sit] uneasily on the boundary between speech and writing’ (Mukherjee & Kreyer, 2007). The analysis of language in comics is challenging from a methodological perspective (Meesters 2012; Walshe 2012), and linguists interested in pop culture must expand the linguistic methodological toolkit to meet these demands.

The present study of language in pop culture examines web comics and various approaches that comics artists take in the way they use ‘alt-text’ and ‘hidden comics’, those ‘extra’ bits of language and image that go with the comic but are only available to the reader who searches for it. Often, these extra or hidden elements can be accessed when the cursor hovers over the image and

the extra information ‘pops up’ on the screen. The analysis uses selected principles of conversation analysis and discourse analysis to shed light on how text is extended from the comic into the alt-text/hidden comic. Data comes from a variety of web comics, and preliminary analysis points to at least three functions for added text. First, alt-text/hidden comics extend a speaker’s participation in a conversation by extending a previous turn or functioning as a new, separate turn altogether (Liddicoat 2007). Second, alt-text/hidden comics provide more narrative information, functioning as, for example, an ‘evaluation’ or ‘coda’ to the narrative (Methrie et al, 2009). Third, they may serve as authorial or editorial comments, adding elements like humor or irony to deepen or broaden the perspective of the comic (Johnstone 2007).

References

- Bramlett, F. (2010). The confluence of heroism, sissyness, and camp in *The Rawhide Kid: Slap Leather*. *ImageText: Interdisciplinary Comics Studies*, 5 (1). Retrieved from http://www.english.ufl.edu/imagetext/archives/v5_1/bramlett/
- Bramlett, F. (Ed.). (2012). *Linguistics and the study of comics*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Eisner, W. (1985). *Comics sequential art*. Tamarac, FL: Poorhouse Press.
- Johnstone, B. (2007). *Discourse analysis*, 2nd ed. New York: Blackwell.
- Liddicoat, A. (2011). *An introduction to conversation analysis*. New York: Bloomsbury.
- Meesters, G. (2012). To and fro Dutch Dutch: Diachronic language variation in Flemish comics. In F. Bramlett (Ed.), *Linguistics and the study of comics* (pp. 163-182). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mesthrie, R., Swann, J., Deumert, A., Leap, W. (2009). *Introducing sociolinguistics*, 2nd ed. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Walshe, S. (2012). ‘Ah, laddie, did ye really think I’d let a foine broth of a boy such as yerself get splattered...?’ Representations of Irish English speech in the Marvel universe. In F. Bramlett, (Ed.), *Linguistics and the study of comics* (pp. 264-290). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Web comics analyzed for the study

Rosenberg, J. *Scenes from a Multiverse*. <http://amultiverse.com/>

Weiner, J. *Saturday Morning Breakfast Cereal*. <http://www.smbc-comics.com/>

4th Conference of the International Society for the English Language
18-21 September 2016, Poznań, Poland

Wes Tony. *Amazing Super Powers*. <http://www.amazingsuperpowers.com/>

Christoph Schubert

University of Vechta

***Constructing the Villain:
Linguistic characterisation in US-American television series***

The past ten years have seen an increasing number of structurally complex and highly acclaimed US-American television series featuring villains as protagonists (Mittell 2015). Accordingly, the intention of this paper is to investigate linguistic characterisation strategies that antithetically construct abominable criminals as likeable figures appealing to a wide audience. The dataset underlying the study includes the first thirteen episodes of each of the three TV series *Breaking Bad* (Vince Gilligan 2008–2013), *House of Cards* (Beau Willimon 2013–) and *Dexter* (James Manos, Jr. 2006–2013). Since the protagonists Walter White, Frank Underwood and Dexter Morgan lead double lives as secret lawbreakers, their individual language use is heavily influenced by the central issues of power abuse, manipulation and camouflage (Schubert 2015). Focusing on fictional television dialogue (Bednarek 2010), the present analysis relies on a corpus of transcripts retrieved from DVDs and relevant online databases. Owing to the multimodal quality of televisual discourse (Piazza, Bednarek and Rossi 2011), this talk will also consider visual characterisation through cinematography, as achieved by shots, cuts, lighting and colour. In a qualitative and exemplary analysis, key scenes will be selected in order to illustrate typical characterisation techniques.

Taking into account the interplay between the internal and external communication systems in the series, the present paper is located at the interface of stylistic and cognitive-linguistic approaches. From the perspective of register theory, this study investigates the villains' strategies of accommodating to different social situations and practices (e.g. official, public, private or clandestine) and examines their stylistically deviant *modus operandi* in conversational interactions (cf. Piazza 2011). In the framework of cognitive linguistics, the focus will be on the subversion of cultural models of crime (e.g. frames and scripts) as well as on conceptual blending and metaphors. These observations will be integrated in Culpeper's (2001) cognitive characterisation model, which combines bottom-up effects of implicit and explicit discursive cues (self- and other-presentation) with top-down inference processes based on the recipients' prior world knowledge. On this basis, it

will be shown that the villains' captivating discursive strategies rely on a range of techniques such as dark humour and irony, sociolinguistic versatility and adaptability as well as viewer involvement in the form of voice-over comments and direct audience addresses.

References

- Bednarek, Monika. 2010. *The Language of Fictional Television: Drama and Identity*. London: Continuum.
- Culpeper, Jonathan. 2001. *Language and Characterisation: People in Plays and other Texts*. London: Longman.
- Mittell, Jason. 2015. *Complex TV: The Poetics of Contemporary Television Storytelling*. New York: New York University Press.
- Piazza, Roberta. 2011. Pragmatic Deviance in Realist Horror Films: A Look at Films by Argento and Fincher. In: Roberta Piazza, Monika Bednarek and Fabio Rossi (eds.). *Telecinematic Discourse: Approaches to the Language of Films and Television Series*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 85-104.
- Piazza, Roberta, Monika Bednarek and Fabio Rossi (eds.). 2011. *Telecinematic Discourse: Approaches to the Language of Films and Television Series*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Schubert, Christoph. 2015. Dexter in Disguise: A Stylistic Approach to Verbal Camouflage in a Serial Killer Series. In: Birgit Däwes, Alexandra Ganser and Nicole Poppenhagen (eds.). *Transgressive Television: Politics and Crime in 21st-Century American TV Series*. Heidelberg: Winter, 329–350.

Theresa Summer

University of Würzburg

An analysis of pop songs for teaching English as a Foreign Language

Pop songs in the English language can be heard worldwide: on the radio, in supermarkets, shopping centres, clubs, and restaurants. Most importantly, through the use of modern media such as the smartphone, they can be listened to by people today in practically any place at any time. Pop songs thereby play a great role in the lives of our younger generation who are not only influenced by certain musical genres, but also by the English language as it is used by artists in popular music, and how they interpret its content.

Over twenty years ago, Murphey analysed the discourse of pop songs based on a corpus of 50 songs from 1987 (Music & Media's Hot 100 Chart). In his corpus analysis he identified a lack of referents (e.g. moments and places), that 25% of the corpus is composed of merely 10 different words (4 pronouns, 4 function words, gonna, and love), and that the songs fall within the category of situational discourse (conversation) (Murphey 1992: 771-773). In effect, and as Murphey rightly observed, the language of pop songs is unique. What is more, the listener plays a key role because it is him or her who adds meaning to the language and interprets a song. As Moore highlights (2012: 1), "as a listener, you participate fundamentally in the meanings that song have."

The goal of this presentation is to illustrate key findings of a linguistic and content-based analysis of pop songs from the 21st century, i.e. top hits from 2015. Using different analytic tools such as wordle, for instance, the corpus of song lyrics is briefly analysed with regard to the frequency and predominance of certain words. In addition to that, recurring themes are examined in a content analysis. Referring to the younger generation of the 1960s and 70s, Crystal (2003: 103) observed that "English [...] in many countries became a symbol of freedom, rebellion and modernism." The question is to what extent current pop songs also symbolise change and modernism or rather deal with everyday issues such as relationships and love. On the basis of the corpus analysis as well as the findings made in previous studies by different scholars, the implications for teaching English as a foreign language are discussed. The pedagogic potentials of pop music for developing foreign language competences will be addressed.

References

- Crystal, David. 2003. *English as a Global Language*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Moore, Allan F. 2012. *Song Means: Analysing and Interpreting Recorded Popular Song*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Murphey, Tim. 1990. *Song and Music in Language Teaching. An Analysis of Pop Song Lyrics and the Use of Song and Music in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Murphey, Tim. 1992. The Discourse of Pop Songs. *TESOL Quarterly* 26 (4), 770-774.

Joe Trotta

University of Gothenburg

Linguistics and popular culture, is that, like, a thing now?

For many English Language scholars, the idea of using data gleaned from Popular Culture sources (e.g. TV/Film scripts, music lyrics, advertising, among many others) is neither new nor controversial. Indeed, the huge upsurge in corpus linguistic methods in recent decades, with its mix of data across many text-types and genres, practically guarantees that some samplings from Popular Culture genres (often comprising diverse domains from advertising ephemera to talk-show transcripts to genre literature like science fiction, westerns and romance novels). Researchers then, working within their preferred theoretical models with the concomitant machinery, assumptions and agendas of those models, apply the favored analytical tools to the material in question and thus produce analyses, discussion and academic sense-making in line with said approach. Naturally, modern linguistic research does not take place in a bubble, but typically the new knowledge garnered is intended to contribute to scholarship against the backdrop of some linguistic subdiscipline, say, discourse analysis or sociolinguistics or grammar/syntax or perhaps some eclectic combination of these.

What is less obvious in this context, and perhaps even controversial, is the issue of whether the study of language in Popular Culture in and of itself requires a more bespoke theoretical approach, or at least some modifications of existing approaches. Language in Popular Culture is different in many ways than the data one might typically use for linguistic research; scripted language may reflect ordinary spoken language, but it is not the same thing; song texts will allow and illustrate structures considered ungrammatical or infelicitous in ordinary speech, but which are quite normal in context; the marriage of text and image, so common in advertising, internet websites, comics and graphic novels, adds other semiotic elements which are not easily amenable in current linguistic models. And, if one's research objectives are to better understand the mutual feedback between (Popular) Culture and ordinary, day-to-day language use, there is little in the analytical toolbox with which to work.

In this presentation I focus on the issue sketched out above. To this end, the talk covers some

of the main results from selected case studies in relation to a broad range of topics such as: the politics of 'standard' English; the performance of identity; discourse as social practice; the influence of English on a global level; media representations of non-standard dialects; the negotiation of identity in selected subcultures; and the ways in which the popular media help to create and/or promote certain ways of thinking about social variables such as ethnicity, gender, and social class. Contextualized in this way, I make the case that, in many studies of Popular Culture artifacts used for other purposes, in this case linguistic research, a more specialized theoretical perspective needs to be considered.

Marcia Veirano Pinto

Catholic University of São Paulo

Variation in movies and television programs: Corpus sampling and size

The objective of this talk is to address two important issues regarding the design of corpora of popular culture sources for corpus-based media studies. The first one refers to sampling, more specifically, to choosing whether to collect scripts, transcripts or subtitles for a corpus. In the workshop, I will talk about the advantages and disadvantages of using each of these sources, and will report on a research project that actually compared the results of a Multidimensional Analysis of transcripts (produced by me) and subtitles (drawn from DVDs) of the same movies. Dimension scores were obtained for each corpus on each of the dimensions, and ANOVAs compared the dimension scores of the 31 transcriptions and subtitles. The results showed small differences on particular dimensions, with respect to the complementary co-occurrence of grammatical features. In the talk, I will illustrate the impact of each source on the dimensions as well as the care needed in terms of preparation for text tagging. The second issue refers to corpus size, another major concern in Corpus Linguistics in general and in corpus-based media studies in particular. In this talk, I will describe a method for calculating the number of texts needed to represent a particular variety. Although this method was introduced more than 20 years ago (Biber, 1993), it was only recently taken up (Berber Sardinha, 2014; Berber Sardinha and Veirano Pinto, forthcoming). Both these methodological concerns will be illustrated with corpora from both published and ongoing research in corpus-based media studies.

References

- Berber Sardinha, T. 2014. '25 years later: Comparing Internet and pre-Internet registers' in T. Berber Sardinha and M. Veirano Pinto (eds.) *Multi-Dimensional Analysis, 25 years on: A Tribute to Douglas Biber*, pp. 81-105. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.
- Berber Sardinha, T. and Veirano Pinto, M. (forthcoming). 'American television and off-screen registers: A corpus-based comparison'. *Corpora 12.1*, pp. xx
- Biber, D. 1993. 'Representativeness in corpus design', *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 8 (4), pp.

243-257.

Valentin Werner

University of Bamberg

The language of rap: Linguistic realness and stylization

This paper presents a corpus-linguistic take on hip-hop discourse (as represented in rap; see also Beers Fägersten 2008; Alim 2015; Kreyer 2016), one of the most influential cultural mass movements to date. To this end, a custom-built corpus of lyrics by US-American rap artists (LYRAP) was compiled, representing performed hip-hop discourse from a 25-year period. This material is used to test the association of hip-hop discourse with African American English in terms of morphosyntax, and to determine the amount of stylization (Bell 1984) present in the lyrics. In addition, a comparative perspective with pop lyrics (as represented in the LYPOP corpus; Werner 2012) is established, and highly characteristic lexical and discourse features of hip-hop discourse are identified. The analyses suggest that “linguistic realness” (Edwards & Ash 2004:175) is created on multiple structural levels, but that different artists stylize their lyrics to various extents to achieve this realness, and that a complete congruence of African American English with hip-hop discourse cannot be traced.

References

- Alim, H. S. (2015). Hip Hop Nation Language: Localization and globalization. In J. Bloomquist, L. J. Green, & S. L. Lanehart (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of African American Language* (pp.850-862). Oxford: OUP.
- Beers Fägersten, K. (2008). A corpus approach to discursive constructions of a hip-hop identity. In A. Ädel & R. Reppen (Eds.), *Corpora and Discourse: The Challenges of Different Settings* (pp. 211-240). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Bell, A. (1984). Language style as audience design. *Language in Society*, 13, 145-204.
- Edwards, W. F., & Ash, L. (2004). AAVE features in the lyrics of Tupac Shakur: The notion of “realness”. *Word*, 55(2), 165-178.
- Kreyer, R. (2016). “Now niggas talk a lotta Bad Boy shit”: The register hip-hop from a corpuslinguistic perspective. In C. Schubert & C. Sanchez-Stockhammer (Eds.), *Variational Text Linguistics: Revisiting Register in English* (pp. 87-109). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Werner, V. (2012). Love is all around: A corpus-based study of pop lyrics. *Corpora*, 7(1), 19-50.

Michael Westphal

University of Münster

The global spread of Jamaican Creole in reggae subculture

The language of popular culture has long been discounted in linguistics but more recently there is an increasing interest in this unconventional type of data. Most prominently Pennycook's (2007) investigation of transnational linguistic flows in Hip Hop has shown the major potential of linguistic data from popular culture for the investigation of the global spread and the interaction of languages, varieties and styles. A serious investigation of the language of pop culture in the framework of globalization is especially worthwhile for the linguistics of English: English as the dominant language in a multilingual world (Mair 2013: 255) does not only spread within a global capitalist market system and through formal language teaching but English vernacular voices make themselves heard beyond national borders in diverse domains of popular culture.

This study analyzes the transnational spread of Jamaican Creole (i.e. originally the local vernacular of Jamaica) in global reggae subculture. This analysis mixes the sociolinguistics of globalization, which takes into account the transnational mobility of speakers and linguistic resources, with the sociolinguistics of performance, which focuses on the staged, programmed and often exaggerated application of linguistic resources in performances. In order to show how globally available linguistic resources of Jamaican Creole are used in reggae subculture, I analyze an outdoor reggae event in Muenster Germany, which took place on the 1st of Mai 2015 with an ethnographic approach. This ethnographic study takes into account the location of the event, the audience and the actual performance by drawing on sound recordings, videos, field notes, photos and interviews.

The analysis shows that Jamaican Creole is transported as part of a whole package of cultural practices connected to reggae and Jamaica. Many aspects of the performance are strongly marked for Jamaican Creole and mastery of it by the performers is important for the projection of an authentic reggae persona. However, Jamaican Creole is mostly mixed with Standard English and German. Large parts of the audience are not able to understand Jamaican Creole and due to this language barrier English and German are used for important organizational functions. Jamaican

Creole mainly serves symbolic functions to add a certain Jamaicanness or 'reggae-flavor' to the event. However, there is also an acculturated audience who has better knowledge of Jamaican Creole and not only perceives it as a symbol for reggae but is also able to understand the lyrics.

This investigation sheds first light on the global spread of Jamaican Creole in the context of reggae music. In contrast to Standard English and other prestige varieties which are spread "from-above" through the education system or the global market economy, Jamaican Creole as one example for non-standard varieties is spread in subcultures "from below" (Preisler 1999). This spread from below works very differently than the hegemonic spread of Standard English as non-standard varieties like Jamaican Creole are altered in form and function along the process of local appropriation. The analysis of the language of pop culture is thus essential for the understanding of the diverse global flows of English.

References

- Mair, C. (2013). The World System of Englishes: Accounting for the transnational importance of mobile and mediated vernaculars. *English World-Wide*, 34(3), 253–278.
- Pennycook, A. (2007). *Global Englishes and transcultural flows*. London: Routledge.
- Preisler, B. (1999). Functions and forms of English in a European EFL country. In T. Bex & R. J. Watts (Eds.), *The widening debate* (pp. 237–267). London: Routledge.

THEMED SESSION

Getting more out of the corpus data: expanding the empirical change for semantic change

chair:

Tine Breban

University of Manchester

Since the 1980s access to historical materials has greatly improved by the arrival of historical corpora for English and empirical research into language change has soared. Over the years, more, better, and bigger corpora have been compiled. New methods for processing and analysing data from corpora have been developed. The emphasis has been on applying quantitative and statistical methods, as well as on exploring the role of the surrounding context in language change (e.g. Diewald 2002, Traugott 2012). One thing that does not appear to have changed very much since the early corpora is what we are looking for to detect language change. This is particularly a problem for changes that have been defined primarily in terms of a change in function or meaning, such as grammaticalization or subjectification. Corpora do not directly give access to meaning. It is common practice to support a hypothesized change in function and meaning with evidence of differences in form or distribution, as the latter changes can be observed empirically. Researchers have to rely on concomitant changes that can be observed in corpus data. The issue that this workshop seeks to redress is the limited types of changes in form and distribution that are usually discussed as evidence.

Let's take grammaticalization, which is one of the most well-studied types of semantic change in the 'corpus age', as an example. The foundational works on grammaticalization appeared in the 1980s-1990s, before large scale diachronic corpora were widely used. The most widely

applied proposal is Lehmann's (1995 [1982]) parameters which have become used as recognition criteria for grammaticalization in data studies. However, as is well-known, this proposal has its limitations (see e.g. Breban et al. 2012): without going into detail on issues with specific changes, the general problems are that the changes identified occur at a late stage in the grammaticalization process (Hopper 1991) and are particularly suited for languages that express grammar in a synthetic way. Empirically identifying cases of grammaticalization at an early stage for an analytic language such as English is more difficult and is often not done with the necessary care (see e.g. Norde 2012).

The main advantage of using corpora in this respect has been to look at these changes in larger sets of data. The possibility to look at authentic contexts has prompted a better understanding of the semantic-pragmatic mechanisms of change. The changes in form that we look for have not changed. More advanced quantitative corpus studies tend not to deal with progressive grammaticalization in individual items, but with competition between forms such as Nesselhauf (2006) and Tagliamonte et al. (2014) on grammaticalization posterchild *be going to* as future auxiliary, in competition with other auxiliaries. However, it is not just ease of identification that is the heart of the matter: working with a set of criteria that doesn't cover the range of items falling under the semantic definition of grammaticalization means that we are only able to confidently identify a subset of instances of grammaticalization, and that generalization and theory formation on the mechanisms of semantic change is based on this subset. The situation for other types of semantic change is even more precarious, see e.g. Brems et al. (2014) on intersubjectification. For subjectification, De Smet and Verstraete (2006) identified a range of operationalization criteria; however, these are alternation tests for individual examples, and as such involve manipulation and interpretation of data.

Aim

What is the way to tackle this issue and to develop a more extended toolkit of empirical changes to help the identification of semantic change? Recent empirical studies of semantic change in the English noun phrase show us the way to go. The noun phrase is mostly organized in an analytical way (only number and possession being marked morphologically) and hence an area in which it is difficult to provide empirical evidence for semantic change, using for example Lehmann's criteria for grammaticalization. However, a range of studies (Adamson 2000, Breban 2010) have shown

that change in function (including grammaticalization and subjectification) goes together with a change in an item's position in relation to other items in the noun phrase. Change in the collocational range of nouns that an item co-occurs with is another way to detect starting and ongoing semantic change (Paradis 2000, Vandewinkel and Davidse 2008, Ghesquière 2014). Vartiainen (2013) opens a new window on subjectification by showing that subjectified adjectives co-occur more with indefinite determination. These are changes at micro-level, less obvious to see in corpus data than e.g. fusion or reduction of word forms. However, they are often the only observable reflections of semantic change, and are being applied as tools to identify and provide evidence for function change in current work on the noun phrase. Questions that feed into the search for distributional evidence is often how to operationalize processes that have been associated with semantic change in theoretical papers, such as the operationalization of collocational expansion (Himmelmann 2004) by Vandewinkel and Davidse (2008) and by Hilpert (2008) for the development of future auxiliaries in the verb phrase. Hilpert (2008) and Van Bergen (2013) on the grammaticalization of *uton* as an adhortative shows how a similar micro-analytical approach can be used in the verb phrase. At sentence level, Walkden (2013) might provide inspiration: he shows how the position of the verb provides evidence that a functional misinterpretation of Old English *hwæt* has pervaded earlier philological work as well as dictionary definitions.

The aim of this workshop is in the first place to bring together research following a similar micro-analytical approach to semantic change, especially in other areas of English grammar than the noun phrase. The goal is to build up a toolkit of form/distribution and meaning/function change associations that can be applied in the empirical study of semantic change. The workshop also invites papers that show how a detailed analysis of form and distributional changes can improve our understanding of the workings and mechanisms of semantic change, as for example evidenced in the work of De Smet (2012) on diffusional change, or can be applied in quantitative studies (e.g. Hilpert 2008). Finally, it invites papers that discuss how a wider range of form/distribution changes can be used to further develop a Construction Grammar model of semantic change, in which function and form are separate but linked poles that define constructions and the changes they undergo (Hilpert 2013, Traugott and Trousdale 2013).

Themes

This workshop invites papers that report on

- Case studies identifying form and distributional changes that accompany semantic change in all areas of English
- Case studies showing how to operationalize theoretical notions such as collocational expansion (Himmelmann 2004), decategorialization (Hopper 1991), etc.
- Case studies applying quantitative analysis to micro-analytical changes in form/distribution
- the implications of form/distributional changes for our understanding of the mechanisms of semantic change, and/or a Construction Grammar model of change

Bibliography

- Adamson, Sylvia. 2000. A lovely little example: word order options and category shift in the premodifying string. In Olga Fischer, Annette Rosenbach and Dieter Stein (eds.), *Pathways of change: Grammaticalization in English*, 39–66. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bergen, Linda van. 2013. Let's talk about *uton*. In Andreas H. Jucker, Daniela Landert, Annina Seiler and Nicole N Studer-Joho (eds.), *Meaning in the History of English: Words and Texts in Context*, 1–27. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Breban, Tine. 2008. The grammaticalization and subjectification of English adjectives expressing difference into plurality/distributivity markers and quantifiers. *Folia Linguistica* 42: 259–306.
- Breban, Tine, Jeroen Vanbiesen, Kristin Davidse, Lieselotte Brems and Tanja Mortelmans. 2012. Introduction: New reflections on sources, outcomes, defining features and motivations of grammaticalization. In Davidse, Kristin, Tine Breban, Lieselotte Brems and Tanja Mortelmans (eds.), *Grammaticalization and Language Change: New Reflections*, 1–35. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Brems, Lieselotte, Lobke Ghesquière and Freek Van de Velde. 2014. Intersubjectivity and intersubjectification in Grammar and Discourse: Theoretical and descriptive advances. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins
- De Smet, Hendrik and Jean-Christophe Verstraete. 2006. Coming to terms with subjectivity. *Cognitive Linguistics* 17: 365–392.
- De Smet, Hendrik. 2012. *Spreading Patterns: Diffusional Change in the English System of Complementation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Diewald, Gabriele. 2002. A model for relevant types of contexts in grammaticalization. In Ilse Wischer and Gabriele Diewald (eds.), *New Reflections on Grammaticalization*, 103– 120. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Ghesquière, Lobke. 2014. *The Directionality of (Inter)subjectification in the English Noun Phrase: Pathways of Change*. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Hilpert, Martin. 2008. *Germanic Future Constructions: A Usage-Based Approach to Language Change*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Hilpert, Martin. 2013. *Constructional Change in English: Developments in Allomorphy, Word Formation, and Syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Himmelmann, Nikolaus. 2004. Lexicalization and grammaticization: Opposite or orthogonal? In Walter Bisang, Nikolaus Himmelmann and Björn Wiemer (eds.), *What makes grammaticalization? A look from its fringes and its components*, 21–42. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hopper, Paul J. 1991. On some principles of grammaticization. In Elizabeth C. Traugott and Bernd Heine (eds.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization. Volume I: Focus on Theoretical and Methodological Issues*, 17–35. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Lehmann, Christian. 1995 [1982]. *Thoughts on Grammaticalization*. München: LINCOM Europe. [First published as *Thoughts on Grammaticalization: A Programmatic Sketch*. (Arbeiten des Kölner Universalien-Projektes.) University of Cologne, Institut für Sprachwissenschaft.]
- Nesselhauf, Nadja. 2006. “The decline of *be to* and the rise of *be going to* in Late Modern English: connection or coincidence?” In Christoph Houswitschka, Gabriele Knappe and Anja Müller (eds.), *Anglistentag 2005 Bamberg. Proceedings*, 515–529. Trier: WVT.
- Norde, Muriel. 2012. Lehmann’s parameters revisited. In Kristin Davidse, Tine Breban, Lieselotte Brems and Tanja Mortelmans (eds.), *Grammaticalization and Language Change: New Reflections*, 73–110. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Paradis, Carita. 2000. Reinforcing adjectives. A cognitive semantic perspective on grammaticalization. In Ricardo Bermúdez-Otero, David Denison, Richard M. Hogg and C. B. McCully (eds.), *Generative theory and corpus studies*, 233–258. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Tagliamonte, Sali A., Mercedes Durham and Jennifer Smith. 2014. Grammaticalization at an early stage: Future *be going to* in conservative British dialects. *English Language and Linguistics* 18: 75–108.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2012. The status of onset contexts in analysis of micro-changes. In Merja Kytö (ed.), *English Corpus Linguistics: Crossing Paths*, 221–255. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Traugott, Elizabeth C. and Graeme Trousdale. 2013. *Constructionalization and Constructional*

Changes. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Vandewinkel, Sigi and Kristin Davidse. 2008. The interlocking paths of development towards emphaziser adjective pure. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 9: 255–287.
- Vartiainen, Turo. 2013. Subjectivity, indefiniteness and semantic change. *English Language and Linguistics* 17: 157–179.
- Walkden, George. 2013. The status of hwæt in Old English. *English Language and Linguistics* 17: 465–488.

Kristin Davidse

Lobke Ghesquiere

Ngum Meyuhnsi Njende

University of Mons

From determining quantity to modifying quantity and quality: The paths of change of whole and good

In studies of the emergence of intensifying meanings, the path from descriptive modification to degree modification has long been the main one investigated (e.g. Allerton 1978, Peters 1994, Lorenz 2002, Nevalainen & Rissanen 2002, Anonymized & Author 2 2008, Beltrama 2013). A few recent studies (a.o. Author 1 2009, Author 2 2009, Author 1 & Anonymized 2011) have pointed out the importance of the hitherto neglected path from identification to intensification identified by Bolinger (1972), which we take to include the equally neglected sub-trajectory from quantity modification to (qualitative) degree modification. In the case of quantity modification, the extent of a notion of size or quantity conveyed by the head nouns and/or modifiers in a noun phrase is modified (e.g. *Such lies!* ‘so many lies’). With qualitative degree modification, evaluative notions, as expressed by evaluative or emotive head nouns and/or adjectives are intensified (e.g. *Such lies!* ‘lies so outrageous’) (cf. Rett 2008 on gradable vs. amount readings of *what*).

In this paper, we will reconstruct in detail the diachronic paths followed by *whole* and *good*, which, preliminary study suggests, followed some of these largely overlooked (sub)trajectories from quantity identification to quantity modification to quality modification. A central factor in these changes is formed, we argue, by the conceptual analogies between the degree modification of bounded vs. unbounded qualities (Paradis 2000, 2001, Kennedy & McNally 2005) and the quantity modification of relative vs. absolute quantity (Milsark 1976, Langacker 1991), which are also important in their own right for semantic theory.

For *whole*, Author 1 & 2 (2011) outlined the following trajectory¹: quantifying secondary determiner uses of *whole*, e.g. *se zehalne hlaf* ‘the whole loaf’ (c.900), led to the ‘intensification’ of, in this order, relative quantity, e.g. *al his hole meyne* ‘his whole main’ (1375), gradable concepts,

hoole his herte ‘his whole commitment’ (1425), and absolute quantity, e.g. *whole trains of years* (1843). In this paper, we will reconstruct this path in finer detail. The source construction *the whole* + noun engages in relative quantification, as it compares the mass or set it actually predicates with a reference mass and indicates full coincidence (Langacker 1991). The redundancy of *whole* in this expression entails an emphatic meaning component, which may have been activated by the intensifying cluster *all ... whole* (Author 1 2014). We further characterize the emphasizing of coincidence with the reference mass as ‘maximizing’ and the upscaling of scalar absolute quantity as ‘boosting’, extending Quirk et al.’s (1985) classes of degree modification to quantity modification (Author 3, Author 2 & Author 1 2015) The syntactic and collocational extension of *whole* to cardinal numbers in both indefinite, e.g. *Two dawes hole* (1380), and definite NPs, e.g. *þe þreo hole* (c1385) will also be factored into the reconstruction.

Preliminary study suggests similar trajectories for *good*, which in the immediate source constructions of the intensified uses conveys scalar, absolute quantity rather than maximal, relative quantity. The general meaning of *good* attested since c.800, “the existence in a high, or at least satisfactory, degree of characteristic qualities” (OED, s.v. *good*, A. adj), quickly led to boosting uses with nouns implying size dimensions, paraphrasable as “considerable, rather, great” (OED, *good*, A. adj 19a), e.g. *god dæl* ‘a good deal’ (a 1000), *gode hwile* ‘a good while’ (a 1000). This boosting meaning gradually extended to more qualitative notions, e.g. *with wel god pas* ‘at a good pace’ (1300). From c1300 on, *good* started intensifying adjectives such as *pretty/long/strong/sharp/large*, with *pretty good* developing as a lexicalized cluster All cited examples in this abstract are from the Oxford English Dictionary. conveying quality intensification in its own right (Gonzalez-Diaz 2015). Finally, *good* also extended to cardinal numbers, e.g. *a good two miles* (1577). The data looked at for this paper are taken from a selection of historical corpora, including the PPCME and PPCEME corpora and the CLMET3.0 corpus. Synchronic data will be extracted from the WordbanksOnline corpus.

The data samples will be analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively, taking into account frequencies, syntactic features, semanticpragmatic changes and changes in collocational co-occurrence patterns. The forms’ semantic and structural diversifications and developments will be described and interpreted in the light of grammaticalization and (inter)subjectification theories.

References

Allerton, D.J. 1987. English intensifiers and their idiosyncrasies. In R. Steele & T. Treadgold (eds.).

Language Topics: Essays in honour of Michael Halliday. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 15–31.

- Beltrama, A. 2013. From tall-issimo to game-issimo: Intensification in diachrony. Paper presented at Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, 3-6 January 2013, Boston, Massachusetts.
- Bolinger, D. 1972. *Degree words*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Kennedy, C. & L. McNally. 2005. Scale structure, degree modification, and the semantics of gradable predicates. *Language* 81 (2). 345–381.
- Gonzalez-Diaz, V. 2015. Adjective units in the English NP string: a diachronic case-study. Paper presented at FunC meeting, 13 March 2015, University of Leuven.
- Langacker, R.W. 1991. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar: Volume II: Descriptive Application*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Lorenz, G. 2002. Really worthwhile or not really significant? In I. Wischer & G. Diewald (eds.), *New Reflections on Grammaticalization*, 143–161. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Milsark, G. 1976. *Existential sentences in English*. Bloomington: Indiana University. Linguistics Club.
- Nevalainen, T & M. Rissanen. 2002. *Fairly pretty or pretty fair?: On the development and grammaticalization of English downtoners*. *Language Sciences* 24: 359–380.
- Paradis, C. 2000. Reinforcing adjectives: A cognitive semantic perspective on grammaticalization. In R. Bermudez-Otero et al. (eds.), *Generative theory and corpus studies: a dialogue from 10 ICEHL*, 233–258. Berlin: Mouton.
- Peters, H. 1994. Degree adverbs in Early Modern English. In D. Kastovsky (ed.), *Studies in Early Modern English*, 269–288. Berlin: Mouton.
- Quirk, R.; S. Greenbaum, G. Leech & J. Svartvik. 1985. *A Grammar of Contemporary English*. London: Longman.
- Rett. 2008. A degree account of exclamatives. In M. Gibson & T. Friedman (eds.). *Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistics Theory XVIII*. Ithaca, NY: CLC Publications.

Berit Johannsen

Christian-Albrechts-University in Kiel

Verb types in Old English [have + past participle] constructions as evidence of semantic change

The hypothesis that the English *have*-perfect evolved from a resultative construction similar to Present-Day English *She has her opponent cornered* is widely accepted (e.g. Traugott 1972; Traugott 1992; Denison 1993; de Acosta 2013). The proposed development is a semantic change from resultative to perfect meaning. Previous studies have explained this change through conventionalisation of conversational implicatures with certain types of verbs, such as mental state, reporting and perception verbs (Carey 1994; Carey 1995) or knowledge acquisition, perception, mental activity, communication and achievement verbs (Detges 2000). The said verbs have been reported as frequent in [*have* + past participle] constructions in Old English.

Apart from the difficulties in distinguishing resultative from perfect meaning (and from other meanings of *have* + past participle combinations) and the related question of whether this change is observable in Old English data or must be dated to pre-attested times, the studies conducted so far offer room for methodological improvement. They have relied on very small databases, sometimes amounting to one text only, and the verb frequencies have not been related to the overall frequency of the verb in the text or corpus.

This case study aims to provide more detailed evidence for the above mentioned semantic change and its explanation. The focus of the present paper will therefore be on the methodological issue of identifying verbs attracted to [*have* + past participle] constructions in Old English. It is based on the largest part-of-speech-tagged corpus of Old English available at the moment, the *York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (Taylor et al. 2003). The relevant verbs in the corpus have manually been lemmatized in order to enable a collexeme analysis (Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003), which helps detecting verbs attracted to [*have* + past participle] constructions and therefore testing the hypothesis that the above mentioned types of verbs are more frequent in these constructions than others in Old English. In a final step, the different meanings of the [*have* + past participle] constructions, among them the resultative and the perfect, will be addressed. Chronology

within Old English will not be taken into account, since the imbalanced textual record, where dating of texts is often imprecise, does not open up to methods such as diachronic collocation analysis (Hilpert 2006).

References

- Acosta, Diego de. 2013. The Old English have-perfect and its congeners. *Journal of English Linguistics* 41(1). 33–64. doi:10.1177/0075424212441706.
- Carey, Kathleen. 1994. The grammaticalization of the perfect in Old English: An account based on pragmatics and metaphor. In William Pagliuca (ed.), *Perspectives on grammaticalization*, 103–117. (Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science 109). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Carey, Kathleen. 1995. Subjectification and the development of the English perfect. In Dieter Stein & Susan Wright (eds.), *Subjectivity and subjectivisation: Linguistic perspectives*, 83–102. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Denison, David. 1993. *English historical syntax: Verbal constructions*. London: Longman.
- Detges, Ulrich. 2000. Time and truth: The grammaticalization of resultatives and perfects within a theory of subjectification. *Studies in Language* 24(2). 345–377.
- Hilpert, Martin. 2006. Distinctive collexeme analysis and diachrony. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* 2(2). 243–256. doi:10.1515/CLLT.2006.012.
- Stefanowitsch, Anatol & Stefan Th. Gries. 2003. Collocations: Investigating the interaction of words and constructions. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 8(2). 209–243. doi:10.1075/ijcl.8.2.03ste.
- Taylor, Ann, Anthony Warner, Susan Pintzuk & Frank Beths (eds.). 2003. *The York-TorontoHelsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose*. First edition. University of York: Department of Linguistics. <http://ota.ahds.ac.uk/desc/2462>.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1972. *A history of English syntax: A transformational approach to the history of English sentence structure*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1992. Syntax. In Richard M. Hogg (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, vol. 1: The Beginnings to 1066. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Turo Vartiainen

University of Helsinki

Word class coercion and semantic change

My talk focuses on constructional coercion (in terms of category mismatch) and semantic change. I will discuss two specific cases: (i) the “ADJ *enough*” construction, where a noun is coerced into the adjective slot, as in (1), and (ii) the “Intensifier + ADJ” construction, where a proper noun is used instead of an intensifier, as in (2).

- (1) If parents can get over the idea that they’re not being ‘**parent enough**’ or that their kids still ‘need’ them, then they can get on with their new lives. (COCA, 2003)
- (2) (2) The Malek group is rich, but not **Paul Allen rich**. (COCA, 2003)

In (1), the noun *parent* acquires a property reading from the parent construction, while in (2), *Paul Allen* is used as a totality modifier (Paradis 2008) to indicate an end-point on a scale of richness (‘extremely rich’). Both coercion types are productive, but cases like (1) are much more common in terms of token frequency in corpus data.

The term *coercion* in itself implies that a linguistic element is used in an unconventional way (see e.g. Michaelis 2003; Lauwers and Willems 2011), and I would argue that examples like (1) and (2) do seem innovative when compared to constructs where there is no mismatch between the word class of the sanctioning construction and the word that is actually used in the construct (cf. *good enough*; *extremely rich*). One consequence of this mismatch is the fact that these constructs often allow for multiple readings. For example, *parent enough* in example (1) can be interpreted in at least two ways, ‘responsible enough’ and ‘protective enough’. This vagueness discourages semantic change: if there is no conventionalized meaning to start with, it is not clear what the source meaning in semantic change could be. Another reason for why coerced constructions like those in (1) and (2) are unlikely to undergo semantic change relates to their frequency: although both constructions are very productive in terms of type frequency, the token frequencies of the micro-constructions which they sanction are typically very low.

However, “unlikely” does not mean “impossible”: there is evidence of recent semantic change affecting two of the most frequent (coerced) micro-constructions of both construction types, as shown in (3) and (4). Originally, both *man enough* and *Einstein-smart* were only used to describe human referents, but data from the late 20th and the early 21st centuries show that their usage has been extended to descriptions of inanimate referents.

(3) The Golf is certainly **man enough** to rub shoulders with some pretty demanding company.
(BNC, A6X 1689)

(4) (4) If you’re tired of riding, Stovepipe offers **an Einstein-smart option**. (Gary McKechnie, “Great American Motorcycle Tours”, p. 370)

I will discuss these constructions and their semantic change from the perspective of usage-based Diachronic Construction Grammar (e.g. Traugott & Trousdale 2013), paying particular attention to the preconditions of semantic (constructional) change as well as to the methodological problems associated with the empirical study of such low-frequency items and their change over time.

References

- Lauwers, Peter & Dominique Willems. 2011. Coercion: definition and challenges, current approaches, and new trends. *Linguistics* 49(6): 1219–1235.
- Michaelis, Laura A. 2003. Word meaning, sentence meaning, and syntactic meaning. In Hubert Cuyckens, René Dirven, John R. Taylor & Ronald W. Langacker (eds.), *Cognitive approaches to lexical semantics*, 163–209. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Paradis, Carita. 2008. Configurations, construals and change: expressions of DEGREE. *English Language and Linguistics* 12(2): 317–343.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs & Graeme Trousdale. 2013 *Constructionalization and constructional changes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

4th Conference of the International Society for the English Language
18-21 September 2016, Poznań, Poland

POSTERS

Michał Adamczyk

University of Łódź

Corpus linguistic analysis of the spread of th in late Middle English texts

On the basis of comments found in general introductions to Middle English, one may conclude that the *th* digraph first appeared in the twelfth century in the hand of the scribe of the Peterborough Chronicle (Lass 1992, p. 36; Fisiak 1968, p. 16), however, it was not used very often till ca. 1300. Hundred years later, around the year 1400, *th* was widely employed alongside *ȥ* (*ð* at this time was long obsolete; it fell into disuse around 1300) (Brunner 1963, p. 3), and by the end of the fifteenth century, it functioned as the main variant in most of the varieties of written late Middle English (Upward & Davidson 2011, p. 176). The general view on the introduction and later spread of *th*, although very useful when showing the broad picture, fails to capture the way in which the diffusion of the digraph operated. Research papers by McIntosh (1974), Benskin (1977, 1982), Stenroos (2004), Jensen (2012) and Adamczyk (2015), focusing on the northern *th-y* distinction, showed that, apart from diatopic differences in the distribution of *th* and *ȥ-y*, the influence of genre as well as specific lexical items can be noticed in the dialect material. It has to be noted, however, that the *th-y* distinction emerged in consequence of the operating diachronic process introducing *th* to the English spelling system. To the best knowledge of the author, the only existing hypothesis describing how *th* entered and finally dominated English writing can be attributed to Benskin (1977). The scholar suggested the division of the process into four consecutive phases, each one corresponding to a different phonetic context and the position within the word (Benskin 1977, 506-507). Benskin's hypothesis formed the background for the analysis of the spread of the *th* digraph described in the present paper. In order to test the hypothesis stated by Benskin, 410 texts included in the *Middle English Grammar Corpus* (Stenroos et al. 2011) were analysed. Texts were searched for *th*, *ȥ* and *y* representing /θ ~ d/ wordinitially, -medially and -finally. Particular instances were grouped under one of the four phases hypothesised by Benskin. The first part of the quantitative analysis was focused on capturing general patterns for the five major dialects of Middle English (Northern, West Midland, East Midland, Southern, Kentish). Results were then presented on descriptive, frequency maps showing values for particular texts at their locations in order to account for text specific practices.

References

- Adamczyk, M. (2015). Realisations of the Word-initial Variable (th) in Selected Late Middle English Northern Legal Documents. In M. Zając (Ed.), *Variability in English Across Time and Space*.
- Benskin, M. (1977). Local Archives and Middle English Dialects. *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 5, 500-514.
- Benskin, M. (1982). The Letters <t> and <y> in Later Middle English and Some Related Matters. *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 7, 13-30.
- Fisiak, J. (1968). *A Short Grammar of Middle English. Part One: Graphemics, Phonemics and Morphemics*. Warsaw: PWN.
- Jensen, V. (2012). The consonantal element (th) in some Late Middle English Yorkshire texts. In J. Tyrkkö, M. Kilpiö, T. Nevalainen & S. Rissanen (Eds.), *Studies in Variation, Contacts and Change in English*, 10. Retrieved from <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/series/volumes/10/jensen/>
- Lass, R. (1992). "Phonology and Morphology". In N. Blake (Ed.), *The Cambridge history of English language*. Vol. II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 23-154.
- McIntosh, A. (1974). "Towards an inventory of Middle English scribes". *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 75: 602–624. In Laing, M. (ed.) 1989. *Middle English Dialectology: Essays on Some Principles and Problems*, 46–63. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- Stenroos, M. (2004). Regional dialects and spelling conventions in late Middle English: searches for (th) in the LALME data. In M. Dossena & R. Lass (Eds.), *Methods and Data in English Historical Dialectology* (pp. 257-285). Bern: Peter Lang.
- Stenroos, M., Mäkinen, M., Horobin, S., & Smith, J. (2011). *The Middle English Grammar Corpus*. Version 2011.1, concordance version. Available from <http://www.uis.no/research/culture/the_middle_english_grammar_project/>
- Upward, C. & Davidson, G. (2011). *The History of English Spelling*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Sunjoo Choi

Euiyon Cho

Ui-Jong Shin

Myungkwan Park

Dongguk University

Heavy NP Shift and Right Dislocation as clause-internal fragment(ing)

1. Introduction: This paper seeks an alternative account for Heavy NP Shift (HNPS) and Right Dislocation (RD) in English, as in (1a-b).

- (1) a. Jack bought from Melvin – a book which taught him organic knitting. (Postal (1974))
b. They spoke to the janitor about that robbery yesterday, the cops. (Ross (1967))

Proposing that the 'heavy NP shifted' (HNPS-ed) or 'right-dislocated' (RD-ed) element has specifying coordination relation with the preceding ν P/TP, we argue that it moves out of the second ν P/TP to be deleted, in the same way of deriving the Fragment construction (cf. Merchant (2004)). Building on this analysis, we shed new lights on the parametric difference in constructing HNPS and RD.

2. Previous analyses: Concentrating on HNPS, traditionally it was analyzed in terms of rightward movement adjunction to VP. More recently, embracing the thesis that movement is always leftward, Den Dikken (1995) and Kayne (1998) take an approach of moving a heavy object NP leftward to [Spec,AgroP], followed by the raising of the remnant predicate/VP across it (à la Larson (1988)). However, the effectiveness of these leftward movement approaches to HNPS has been called into question (cf. Kansai (2008)).

3. Towards an analysis - 3.1 Specifying coordination: We suggest, following de Vries (2009), that in English, HNPS/RD involves one particular type of coordination, which is called specifying

coordination. The strong evidence in favor of this analysis is the use of an em dash (--) or comma that occurs before the HNPS-ed/RD-ed element. Its use is equated with the use of an em dash or comma in appositive relative clauses as in (2a-b), which has the role of coordination (Edmond (1979)).

- (2) a. John, who was ill last week
b. John -- who was ill last week

Given that the HNPS-ed/RD-ed element is connected to the preceding clause by the (null) specifying coordination, it is now a question exactly what category is involved for the second conjunct right after such a coordination. It is obvious that the category involved is bigger than the HNPS-ed element itself, given the fact that the HNPS-ed element displays Case/case/preposition connectivity as in (3) (Merchant (2001)).

- (3) Max talked about Bill -- [*_i(to) all of the other witnesses].

Thus it is right to postulate that (3) is derived from the following structure involving XP as the second conjunct, the HNPS-ed element being extracted out of the XP that undergoes ellipsis in the same mode of deriving the Fragment construction (or the Sprouting-type of Sluicing construction).

- (4) Max talked about Bill [_{XP} [*_i(to) all of the other witnesses]₁ [_{XP} ~~Max talked t_i about Bill~~]]

We provisionally suggest that the XP in (4) is a clausal category. We presently turn to identify exactly what is a clausal category for the second conjunct.

3.2. Deriving the Right Roof Constraint (RRC): We have suggested above that though the HNPS-ed element is apparently DP/PP, it is of the bigger category containing it, say either vP or TP, which amounts to saying that the null specifying coordinator in deriving HNPS is in nature propositional, thus combining two propositional categories. In this line of analysis, typical HNPS/RD is derived in the following way:

- (5) [_{vP/TP} . . .], [_{vP/TP} HNPS-ed/RDed element₁ [_{vP/TP} . . . t_i/pronoun₁ . . .]]

However, the illegitimate HNPS/RD as in (6a-b) violating the Right Roof Constraint is derived in the way represented in (7) (_____ is added for the sake of exposition):

- (6) a. *I have expected [that I would find ○ to Mary] since 1939 [the treasure said to have been buried on that island]↑. (Postal (1974))
 b. ?*That they spoke to the janitor about that robbery yesterday is evident to all, the cops.
- (7) a. [vP ... [CP ... ○ ...] ...], [vP HNPS-ed element↑ {vP ... [CP ... t↑ ...]}]
 b. [TP ... [CP ... pronoun↑ ...] ...], [TP RD-ed element↑ {TP ... [CP ... pronoun↑ ...]}]

The problematic element of (7a-b) is the second conjunct, which is a complex TP containing the embedded clause. The restriction on the size of the second conjunct in specifying coordination follows from the language-specific way of structure building. Recall that the null specifying coordinator in deriving HNPS inherently combines two propositional categories such as vP or TP. Since English is a left-branching language, the economical way of meeting the lexical requirement of the null specifying coordinator is that when the first and the second conjunct clauses simultaneously undergo structure building, the first category that meets a propositional requirement for each of the two clauses will be either vP or TP. In other words, (7a-b) violates the economy of structure building for the null specifying coordinator: A specification/elaboration on the first conjunct (small) clause is made in the second conjunct (small) clause when the first and the second each is a **minimal** propositional clause. Taken together, Ross's (1967) Right Roof Constraint that regulates both HNPS and RD follows from the economy requirement of structure building for the two (small) clauses combined by the null specifying coordinator.

3.4 Languages that do not meet the economy requirement of structure building in HNPS and RD: Unlike HNPS/RD in English-type languages, their counterparts in languages like Korean and Turkish do not exhibit the RRC effects, as follows:

- (8) Chelswu-ka [Phikaso-ka ___ kuliesta-ko] chwuchuhayssta], i kulim-ul. (Korean)
 Chelswu-Nom Picasso-Nom painted-Comp guessed this picture-Acc
 'Chelswu guessed Picasso painted, this picture.'

- (9) Ayşe [Ahmet'in o konuştuğu]-nu biliyor. öğrencilerle. (Turkish)
Ayşe-Nom Ahmet-Gen speak-Past-Acc know-pres-3sg students-with
'Ayşe knows that Ahmet spoke with the students.' (Kural 1997:501)

Recall that specifying coordination applies derivationally to the first propositional constituent, ν P/TP, depending on where the host (the null category or pronoun in the first conjunct) is located. Korean and Turkish, however, cannot employ this mode of specifying coordination because these languages involve right branching in sentence building whereby inflectional elements are linearized to the right of the ν P. The HNPS-ed or RD-ed element adjoining to ν P/TP would disrupt the verb morphology. The consequence is: in Korean and Turkish, the whole sentence is the only domain to which specifying coordination applies.

3.5 The ban on P-stranding HNPS and implicit arguments: One of the conspicuous aspects of HNPS is that it does not allow P-stranding, as in (10), where the second conjunct is represented in more details along the line of the proposed analysis.

- (10) *I can't [ν P talk [about o₁] to my father-in-law] [ν P [the terrible dreams I've been having]₁][ν P I talk-
[about t₁] to my father-in-law]. Riemsdijk (1978:142)

The unacceptability of (10) is attributed to the ban on the presence of an implicit argument as the object of a preposition in the first conjunct ν P. In other words, in English an implicit argument is allowed to be syntactically present only when it is governed by a verb or licensed by the little ν . Directly relating to (10) is the Double Object construction in (11a-b), where apparently the first argument cannot undergo NNPS, but the second argument can.

- (11) a. *John gave o a lot of money yesterday [*(to) the fund for the preservation of VOS languages].
b. John gave Bill o yesterday [more money that he had ever seen].

The coordination-based analysis of HNPS derives (11a) and (11b) in the following ways.

- (12) a. *John gave *(o) a lot of money o yesterday [ν P [*(to) the fund for the preservation of VOS languages]₁ [ν P John [give a lot of money t₁]]].
b. John gave Bill yesterday [ν P [more money that he had ever seen]₁ [ν P John [give Bill t₁]]].

The implicit argument in the first conjunct vP of (11a) is placed not before but after the realized argument *a lot of money*. Since this implicit argument is categorially PP, the survivor has to be PP whose head is *to* (cf. Merchant (2001)). On the other hand, in (11b) the DP survivor is correctly realized as a correlate of the implicit DP argument in the first conjunct vP .

Lenka Garshol
University of Agder

We agreed to disagree:

Agreement errors in learner English written by speakers of Norwegian

This paper presents the preliminary results of a PhD project with a focus on English as a second language in Norwegian context. One of the goals of the PhD project is to analyze and discuss the types of agreement errors occurring in English texts produced by young Norwegian learners. Accuracy errors of this type are quite common in this learner population despite the relatively high fluency and complexity of their texts. Similar error analyses have been performed on both Norwegian and Swedish data produced by university students (Johansson, 2008; Thagg Fisher, 1985). In addition there are some small scale studies and student projects performed on data from younger learners in Norway (10-15-year-olds) (Evensen, 2014; Olsen, 1999). However, none of these studies focuses on agreement errors in young learners' production.

The data used in this paper consist of written texts of Norwegian high school students. The texts are compiled into a corpus which is screened for subject-verb agreement errors. Learners of English as a second language often have problems with the marking of the 3rd person singular in the present tense (Cook, 2008). Young children acquiring English as their first language also acquire the 3rd person *-s* as one of the last derivational morphemes (Radford, 1990). However, both these learner groups omit the morpheme in the contexts where it is required before they learn the correct use, while the Norwegian learners consequently over-produce the 3rd person *-s* overgeneralizing this pattern into all persons in both singular and plural. Out of the 660 agreement errors detected there are 311 occasions of plural, 1st person, or 2nd person subjects combined with verbs with the 3rd person singular morpheme compared to only 230 occasions of the typical missing *-s*. This production may be explained by a cross-linguistic influence. The Norwegian learners may be influenced by the verbal pattern in their first language and use it as a null hypothesis in their L2 learning. Norwegian uses the suffix *-r* for all persons in the present tense, while the suffix-less verb form is only allowed in infinitive constructions.

References

- Cook, V. J. (2008). *Second language learning and language teaching* (4th ed.). London: Hodder Education.
- Evensen, M. W. (2014). *Searching for patterns in English as a second language: a Norwegian study of 10 and 15 year old learners*. (Master thesis), NTNU, Trondheim.
- Johansson, S. (2008). *Contrastive analysis and learner language: A corpus-based approach*. University of Oslo. Retrieved from http://www.hf.uio.no/ilos/forskning/grupper/Corpus_Linguistics_Group/papers/contrastive-analysis-and-learner-language_learner-language-part.pdf
- Olsen, S. (1999). Errors and compensatory strategies: a study of grammar and vocabulary in texts written by Norwegian learners of English. *System*, 27(2), 191-205.
- Radford, A. (1990). *Syntactic theory and the acquisition of English syntax : the nature of early child grammars of English*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Thagg Fisher, U. (1985). *The sweet sound of concord: a study of Swedish learners' concord problems in English*. CWK Gleerup, Lund.

Sun-Woong Kim

Kwangwoon University

Gui-Sun Moon

Hansung University

Jeong-Ah Shin

Dongguk University

A Non repair-by-ellipsis approach to fragments

This paper aims to account for the contrast between non-contrastive fragments and contrastive fragments in terms of syntactic island constraints. The prominent analysis so-called repair-by-ellipsis has been proposed by Merchant (2001), Fox & Lasnik (2003), Bošković (2011), among many others. It is generally accepted that sluicing differently from VP ellipsis may repair island effects and that contrastive fragments cannot repair islands, while non-contrastive fragments can potentially repair islands. The following examples illustrate the contrast between non-contrastive fragments (1-3) and contrastive fragments (4-6) in terms of island constraints.

- (1) A: I heard that Irv and a certain someone from your syntax class were dancing together last night.
B: Yeah, Bill. (Coordinate Structure Constraint)
- (2) A: I heard they hired someone who speaks a Balkan language fluently.
B: Yeah, Serbo-Croatian. (CNPC with relative clauses)
- (3) A: I heard that Abby is likely to get mad if Ben speaks to one of the guys from your syntax class.
B: Yeah, John (Adjunct island)
- (4) A: I heard that Irv and JOHN were dancing together last night.
B: *No, BILL.
- (5) A: I heard they hired someone who speaks BULGARIAN fluently.
B: *No, SERBO-CROATIAN.

(6) A: I hear that Abby is likely to get mad if BEN speaks to Mary.

B: *No, BILL.

Our discussion, being confined to fragments, begins with the problems raised by the repair approach and introduces the recent alternative analyses such as Barros et al's (2014) non-isomorphism approach and Weir's (2014) PF ellipsis approach, showing their weak points. I am going to claim that the contrast exhibited by the above fragment examples arises due to the different properties of their correlates. Note that the correlates of non-contrastive fragments are indefinite NPs including weak quantifiers without contrastive focus and that quantifier movement like QR (quantifier raising) is generally assumed that it is not sensitive to island constraints. Therefore, non-contrastive fragments can survive islands. However, in contrastive fragments the correlates are definite NPs including proper names which are prosodically accented. The movement of focused fragments to the sentence initial position, which is followed by TP deletion according to Merchant's analysis, counts as a kind of focus-movement (Horvath 2005, Kiss 2009) exhibiting syntactic island constraints. Likewise focus movement is sensitive to island constraints. Therefore, contrastive fragments cannot survive islands.

On the basis of the different properties of weak quantifiers and focused NPs in terms of island sensitivity, I am going to argue against the repair-by-ellipsis approach and further claim that the contrast between these contrastive and non-contrastive fragments with respect to island constraints can be ascribed to the different properties of their correlates rather than as a result of repair.

Selected References

- Barros, Matthew, Patrick Elliott and Gary Thoms. 2014. *There is no island repair*. Ms. É. Kiss, Katalin. 2009. Deriving the Properties of Structural Focus. Working Papers of the SFB 732, Vol. 3, University of Stuttgart, 2009.. Research Institute for Linguistics.
- Horvath, Julia. 2005. Separating "Focus Movement" from Focus. In: V.S.S. Karimi et al. (eds.), *Clever and Right: A Festschrift for Joe Emonds*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Merchant, Jason. 2001. *The Syntax of Silence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Merchant, Jason. 2004. Fragments and ellipsis. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 27, 661-738.
- Weir, Andrew. 2014. *Fragments and Clausal Ellipsis*. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Sun-Woong Kim

Kwangwoon University

A syntactic approach to the repairability of island violations

This paper is an attempt to explain the repairability of island violations by ellipsis regarding the generalization that while violations of an island condition can be repaired by ellipsis in sluicing, but not in fragment answers (Merchant 2004). This paper discusses the validity of the generalization pointing to counterexamples. Sometimes sluicing does not repair island violations; while other times fragments do repair island violations.

(1)

	Sluicing	Fragment
Repair by ellipsis	Yes or No	No or Yes

The question is what the real generalization would be and how to explain it. This paper looks for a solution to the confusing situation by dynamically defining phases along the track of den Dikken (2006, 2007), Bošković (2012, 2014, among others), and Kim (2014). It is also argued that the phase-based solution is better in that the solution is derived from deeper linguistic principles than other solutions that rely on semantic requirements (Barros et al. 2014 and Griffiths and Liptak 2014).

Merchant (2004) discusses some counterexamples to his own generalization and suggests a solution in terms of the size of ellipsis. Merchant's solution to the difference is PF based. He proposes that fragments target a different landing site from sluicing: while the latter lands in Spec-CP, the former is adjoined to CP under FP, which is an additional functional category above CP. This is roughly shown below for (2a) and (2b):

- (2) a. [_{CP} XP <_{TP} *t ... <_{VP} wants to hire someone who fixes cars with t>>] (Sluicing)
b. [_{FP} XP [_{CP} *t [_{CP} <_{TP} *t ... <_{VP} wants to hire someone who fixes cars with t>>]]] (Fragments)

In sluicing, when TP is deleted the starred *t is also deleted; while in fragments, since the trace of the remnant stays in CP adjoined position, which is not deleted when TP is deleted. This is why (2a) is licit, and (2b) is illicit. His solution, however, has brought about a lot of heated debate regarding

its validity. The debate is primarily focused on whether purely syntactic approaches to ellipsis are really on the right track. According to their criticism against Merchant (2008), it is not clear whether the illegitimacy comes from empirical data or from theoretical shortcomings (Griffiths and Liptak 2014, Barros et al. 2014., Thoms 2014, etc.). Some of most recent solutions regarding counterexamples are semantics-based. In face with the confusing paradigm of island repair, Griffiths and Liptak (2014) suggest that what really matters is not the size of ellipsis but contrastivity. They argue that a real generalization concerns contrastivity between the correlate and the remnant in the elided clause. In fact, Merchant (2004), Griffiths and Liptak (2014), and Barros et al. (2014), all pay a particular attention to contrastivity: whether the two are in contrast under the given context. To be more exact, they argue against strictly syntax-based solution to island repair runs afoul of the counterexamples, and argue instead that supra-syntactic approaches with respect to the discourse-semantics notions like contrastivity would be on the right track. Recent proposals by Griffiths and Liptak (2014), Barros et al. (2014), and Thoms (2014) claim that what regulates repairability is a scope parallelism requirement which requires the correlate in the antecedent clause and the elided material to be scopally parallel. The generalization they try to explain is the following:

- (3) Contrastive ellipsis remnants cannot escape islands. Non-contrastive ellipsis remnants can potentially escape islands (Barros 2014).

Differently from them, the solution of this paper is a strictly syntactic solution in terms of the dynamic definition of phases. This paper assumes that linguistic information, whatever it may be, must be reflected on the structure of the elided clause. This paper heavily relies on role of phases in constraining syntactic operations. One big assumption of the generative grammar is that grammatical operations are strictly constrained by locality, the notion of which is centered around phases as originally proposed by Chomsky (2008). He defines ν P, CP as (strong) phases. This original notion, however, has been criticized in that it is too rigid. Others argue instead that phases must be dynamic defined. To the best of the author's understanding, the most outstanding researches are den Dikken's (2006, 2007) phase extension proposal and Bošković's (2012, 2014) highest-phase-as-a-phase proposal. Both proposals suggest that the rigid definition of phase is conceptually unsupported and empirically inadequate. Den Dikken (2007) suggests that if an XP is internally a predication it is an inherent phase. This can be extended by raising the phase head up to a higher

functional head. Bošković (2012, 2014) takes a stronger stance by assuming that every maximal projection is potentially a phase. Among them, the highest phrase in the lexical domain counts as a phase.

Under the proposed view of this paper, the first question that invites investigation is why contrastive sluicing and fragment answers cannot repair island violations. To answer this question from a syntactic point of view, this paper assumes that contrastivity is syntactically represented as an additional XP above CP. Suppose a syntactic object α P moves out from inside TP to Spec-ContrastP, this movement would violate PIC if the syntactic object does not stop by Spec-CP on its way up. This violation is not repaired in that it is a violation of a derivational constraint like PIC. The movement via Spec-CP is not motivated since C has no [+Contrast] feature to get checked, which is carried by Contrast head. This is why island-violating contrastive sluicing and fragments are not repaired. If there is no Contrast P above CP, the α P would not cross a phase, CP, but land in Spec-CP, inducing no PIC violation. This is not a simple solution which manipulates the size of ellipsis but a solution based on a better and more concrete generalization in terms of contrastivity and the dynamic definition of phases. This solution would shed light on the analysis of LBC violations which partly resist reparability dichotomy.

References

- Barros, Matthew, Patrick Elliott, and Gary Thoms. 2014. There is no island repair. Ms. Rutgers/UCL/University of Edinburgh.
- Bošković, Željko. 2012. On NPs and clauses. Ms., University of Connecticut, Storrs.
- Bošković, Željko. 2014. Now I'm a phase, now I'm not a phase: On the variability of phases with extraction and ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 45: 27-89
- Chomsky, Noam. 2008. On phases. In *Foundational issues in linguistic theory: Essays in honor of Jean Roger Vergnaud*, ed. by Robert Freidin, Carlos P. Otero, and Maria Luisa Zubizarreta, 133-166. MIT Press: Cambridge, Mass.
- den Dikken, Marcel. 2007. Phase extension: Contours of a theory of the role of head movement in phrasal extraction. *Theoretical Linguistics* 33:1-41.
- Griffiths, James, and Anikó Lipták. 2014. Contrast and island sensitivity in clausal ellipsis. *Syntax* 17: 89–234,
- Kim, Sun-Woong. 2014. On the syntax of beheaded XPs. *Korean Journal of English language and linguistics* 14-2, 149-168.

- Merchant, Jason. 2001. *The syntax of silence: Sluicing, islands, and the theory of ellipsis*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Merchant, Jason. 2004. Fragments and ellipsis. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 27: 661-738.
- Thoms, Gary. 2014. Syntactic identity, parallelism and accommodated antecedents. Ms. University of Edinburgh.

Mikko Laitinen

University of Eastern Finland

Alexander Lakaw

Magnus Levin

Jonas Lundberg

Linnaeus University Växjö

On the globalization of English: Making use of complex Twitter data as a diagnostic tool in language choice

The use of Twitter microblog data as evidence in linguistic research has increased substantially in recent years (Huang et al. in press; Grieve 2015). Such data have enabled novel perspectives and answers to familiar questions, such as mapping of the dialect areas in the U.S. Much of this work has centered on native contexts, but much less attention has so far been paid to non-native contexts and lingua franca use of English. The research carried out has so far focused on individual linguistic features, such as looking into sociolinguistic variability of lexical characteristics in Tweets (Coats 2015).

The poster discusses an interdisciplinary project combining expertise of linguists and computer scientists to tackle the role of social media and big language data in the global expansion and diversification of English. This project looks into the prospects of using Twitter data as a diagnostic tool in evaluating the changing role of English in non-native contexts from a comparative perspective. We present a Twitter streaming initiative which we have started in the Nordic region, where the use of English is well documented and where it presents not only an interesting venue for investigating linguistic diversity but also a societal challenge (Laitinen & Levin 2016). This Twitter stream initiative makes use of the freely-available Twitter Stream API that captures a sizable proportion of the Tweet stream and enables an investigator to select various user-generated and service-provided attributes. The streaming project was initiated in spring 2016 and it collects Tweets from five Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden). It is projected to continue for a year, thus generating a database of millions of Tweets and their attributes.

These attributes can be made use of in answering a range of questions, such as language choice in Tweets as reflected in the proportion of Tweets tagged as English in the stream, its fluctuation per weekdays and weekends, day and night time, and geographic spread per metropolitan regions and other parts of the country. We present the first quantitative results focusing on language choice during the first few months of data streaming. The poster is of interest to those working with the global spread and diversification of English and its use as a linguistic resource in multilingual settings.

References

- Coats, Steven. 2015. Gender and lexical type frequencies in Finland Twitter English. Paper presented at d2e, *From data to evidence in English language research: Big data, rich data, uncharted data*. University of Helsinki, October 2015.
- Grieve, Jack. 2015. Dialect Variation. In Douglas Biber & Randi Reppen (eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of English Corpus Linguistics*, 362–380. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Laitinen, Mikko & Magnus Levin. 2016. On the globalization of English: Observations of subjective progressives in present-day Englishes. In Elena Seoane & Cristina Suárez-Gómez (eds.), *World Englishes: New Theoretical and Methodological Considerations*, 229–252. (*Varieties of English around the World*). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. doi 10.1075/veaw.g57.10lai.
- Yuan Huang, Diansheng Guo, Alice Kasakoff & Jack Grieve. In press. Understanding US regional linguistic variation with Twitter data analysis. *Computers, Environment and Urban Systems*. doi:10.1016/j.compenvurbsys.2015.12.003.

Alexander Lakaw
Linnaeus University

Diachronic shifts in agreement patterns of collective nouns in 19th-century British and American English

English collective nouns and their agreement patterns, as illustrated in (1)–(3) below, have received a great deal of attention in corpus linguistics.

- (1) The regular *police was* equivalent to at least 10,000 military... (Hansard, 1835)
- (2) ...the family *was* no longer what *it* had been... (CLMET, 1906)
- (3) ...and the *Government have* done all that is in *their* power to find out... (OBC, 1748)

Previous research has found evidence of variability within and across the different varieties of English (e.g. Levin 2001; Depraetere 2003; Hundt 2006, 2009) and identified further avenues for research. This presentation first revisits the diachronic observations of a set of previous studies by investigating large diachronic corpora and hence adds a new angle to the studies from the pre-digital corpus era (e.g. Liedtke 1910, Dekeyser 1975) and to studies on small datasets (e.g. Hundt 2006, 2009).

Furthermore, the conclusions drawn in several investigations relate the varying agreement within the different varieties of English to the lexical characteristics of the collective nouns themselves (e.g. Depraetere 2003: 124; Bock et al. 2006: 101; Levin 2006: 339). This finding motivates further research with a focus on intra-linguistic factors (e.g. semantics and linguistic constraints of collective nouns). Additionally, there is a need for further research on extra-linguistic factors that may influence agreement with collective nouns. Since this study deals with material from the prescriptive period of the 19th century, the effects of normative grammars on the agreement patterns in 19th-century AmE and BrE were investigated by applying Anderwald's (2014) approach of quantitative historical grammaticography, in which the prescriptions of normative grammars were compared to the actual evidence of language use drawn from the investigated corpora.

This investigation focusses on the agreement patterns of collective nouns from five semantic domains: (1) PUBLIC ORDER (e.g. *police*), (2) MILITARY (e.g. *army*), (3) FAMILY (e.g. *family*), (4) EMPLOYEE (e.g. *staff*) and (5) POLITICS (e.g. *government*). The data are drawn from three different BrE corpora representing various text types (i.e. the *Corpus of Late Modern English Texts*, the *Hansard Corpus*, and the *Old Bailey Corpus*). Combining these corpora gives us a more precise picture of the role of genre in agreement and enables more advanced quantitative methods beyond simple pooling. The findings are compared with a previous study on the agreement patterns of collective nouns in 19th-century AmE (Author, forthcoming).

Preliminary results suggest substantial differences between the diachronic agreement patterns of many collective nouns in BrE and AmE, with the plural being more frequent in the former variety. This variation may have been brought about by prescriptive grammars, since language-internal constraints promoted by 19th-century AmE prescriptivists affected agreement patterns in the AmE variety. Furthermore, the big corpus approach taken in this investigation gives new information on the role of genre and genre differences in agreement with collective nouns and permits a more precise timing of the divergence of the two varieties.

Finally, in the course of conducting this study, the need for a new large multi-genre diachronic corpus of BrE material becomes apparent, since the Hansard corpus proved to be a problematic tool concerning the study of grammatical change and variation. As already pointed out by Mollin (2007), the Hansard material does not contain verbatim records of what was being said in the British parliament sessions.

References

- Anderwald, L. (2014). "Measuring the success of prescriptivism: quantitative grammaticography, corpus linguistics and the progressive passive". *English Language and Linguistics* 18, 1–21.
- Author. (forthcoming). "Diachronic Shifts in Agreement Patterns of Collective Nouns in 19th-century American English". ICAME 36 conference proceedings.
- Bock, K., Butterfield, S., Cutler, A., Cutting, J. C., Eberhard, K. M., & Humphreys, K. R. (2006). "Number agreement in British and American English: Disagreeing to agree collectively". *Language* 82(1), 64–113.
- Dekeyser, X. (1975). *Number and Case Relations in 19th-Century British English. A Comparative Study of Grammar and Usage*. Antwerpen/Amsterdam: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel.
- Depraetere, I. (2003). "On verbal concord with collective nouns in British English". *English*

Language and Linguistics 7(1), 85–127.

- Hundt, M. (2006). “The committee has/have decided ...On concord patterns with collective nouns in inner and outer circle varieties of English”. *Journal of English Linguistics* 34(3), 206–232.
- Hundt, M. (2009). “Colonial lag, colonial innovation, or simply language change?” In: Gunter Rohdenburg & Julia Schlüter (eds.), *One Language, Two Grammars*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 13–37.
- Levin, M. (2001). *Agreement with Collective Nouns in English*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell.
- Levin, M. (2006). “Collective nouns and language change”. *English Language and Linguistics* 10(2): 321–43.
- Liedtke, E. (1910). *Die numerale Auffassung der Kollektiva im Laufe der englischen Sprachgeschichte*. Königsberg: Karg & Manneck.
- Mollin, S. (2007). “The Hansard Hazard. Gauging the accuracy of British parliamentary transcripts.” *Corpora* 2(2), pp. 187–210.

Sven Leuckert

Theresa Neumaier

University of Regensburg

Zero copula in spoken Asian ELF

At least since Labov's seminal study on AAVE (1969) copula deletion has been part of the discussion of World Englishes. The feature has been investigated both in the context of L1-influence (cf. Sharma & Rickford 2009; Sharma 2009) and as a potential vernacular universal (cf. Chambers 2004; Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi 2011), however, analyses have mainly concentrated on Caribbean pidgin and creole contexts and there are relatively few studies to date dealing with zero copulas in Asian Englishes. The paper at hand therefore aims at closing this research gap by evaluating the potential of copula usage in the speakers' L1s as an explanatory parameter for copula deletion in the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF). By focusing on the Asian ELF context the study therefore also contributes to the investigation of a field which has gained prominence not only because of the sheer number of its speakers but also because of its potential to mirror "intriguing contact situations" (Lim & Ansaldo 2016: 16).

The data investigated come from the Asian Corpus of English (ACE 2014), a 1-million-word corpus consisting of naturally occurring spoken interactions between Southeast Asian speakers of English. As ACE was compiled with respect to being representative when it comes to factors such as gender, regional diversity, types of events and L1-backgrounds (Kirkpatrick 2013: 19-20), it can be expected to give insights into common Asian ELF features, including copula deletion. The corpus was first cleaned up and POS-tagged using TagAnt (Anthony 2015), before an AntConc search (Anthony 2014) with a regular expression was conducted to identify syntactic constructions in which zero copula occurs. All tokens yielded from this analysis were then double-checked manually; those lacking a copula were closely investigated with regard to their syntactic environment as well as by means of a comparative typological analysis focusing on the L1s of the speakers involved.

The results strongly hint at substrate influence as an explanation for the occurrence of copula BE in Asian ELF. Speakers were able to switch between overt and zero copula, a finding

which clearly suggests that the feature can neither be described as a vernacular universal nor dismissed as a mere learner error. Rather, the analysis revealed a correlation between syntactic patterns in the L1s and copula usage in English: speakers with L1s where an open, verbal copula is non-obligatory, unusual, or serves specific purposes which differ from the English usage were less likely to retain the copula. Moreover, the interactional context had an influence on the frequency of zero copula structures – in more formal contexts copula deletion was less frequent. For the specific case of Asian ELF, all our findings therefore point to cases of “second order contact” (Mauranen 2012: 30), i.e. to multilingual speakers accessing and exploiting their full linguistic repertoire.

References

- ACE The Asian Corpus of English. (2014). <http://corpus.ied.ed.hk/ace/>.
- Anthony, L. (2015). TagAnt (Version 1.2.0) (Computer Software). Tokyo: Waseda University.
Available from <http://www.laurenceanthony.net/> (last access: 07-04-2016)
- Anthony, L. (2014). AntConc (Version 3.4.4) (Computer Software). Tokyo: Waseda University.
Available from <http://www.laurenceanthony.net/> (last access: 07-04-2016)
- Chambers, J.K. (2004). Dynamic typology and vernacular universals. In B. Kortmann (Ed.), *Dialectology meets typology: Dialect grammar from a cross-linguistic perspective* (pp. 127-145). Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- Kirkpatrick, A. (2013). The Asian Corpus of English: motivation and aims. *Learner Corpus Studies in Asia and the World* 1, 17-30.
- Kortmann, B. and Szmrecsanyi, B. (2011). Parameters of morphosyntactic variation in World Englishes: prospects and limitations of searching for universals. In P. Siemund (Ed.), *Linguistic Universals and Language Variation* (pp. 264-290). Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- Labov, W. (1969). Contradiction, deletion, and inherent variability of the English copula. *Language* 45, 715-762.
- Lim, L. and Ansaldo, U. (2016). *Languages in Contact*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Mauranen, A. (2012). *Exploring ELF. Academic English shaped by non-native speakers*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Sharma, D. (2009). Typological diversity in New Englishes. *English World-Wide* 30(2), 170-195.
- Sharma, D. and Rickford, J. R. (2009). AAVE/creole copula absence. A critique of the imperfect learning hypothesis. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 24(1), 53-90.

Jong-Un Park

Dongguk University

On the extractability out of VP anaphora in English and Korean

This paper aims to show that Mikkelsen et al.'s (2012) account of the extractability of a fairly limited category out of *do the same* anaphora, one of the variants of VP anaphora (such as *do it* and *do so*), in English can be extended to more cases not only in English but also in Korean, along with a couple of ingredients suggested by M-K Park (2015).

As extensively discussed by Mikkelsen et al. (2012: 179), *do the same* anaphora does not allow other categories than PP to escape VP, as in (1) through (4).

(1) Extraction of PP

You have jilted two previous fiancés and I expect you would *do the same* **to me**.

(2) Extraction of DP

* You have jilted two previous fiancés and I expect you would *do the same* **me**.

(3) Extraction of AP

*He built a small box to keep his CDs in and I did the same **large**.

(4) Extraction of CP

*The guide came over and told me that I had to stay behind the red line and then the guard did the same **that I had to stop taking photos**.

This restriction does not seem to be obeyed in other types of remnants in such elliptical structures as pseudogapping, sluicing, and fragment answers, as shown below (data in (6) through (11) drawn from Mikkelsen et al. (2012: 179)).

(6) I wouldn't say that to my mother, but I would **to you**. [PP]

(7) You might not believe me, but you will **Bob**. [DP]

(8) I know she's pretty tall, but I don't know **how tall**. [DegP]

(9) Q: Is he tired or just lazy?

A: **Tired**. [AP]

(10) Q: What did he say?

A: **That we should go ahead without him.** [CP]

(11) Robin will bet an entire fortune that the Mets will win the pennant, and Leslie will **that the Braves will win.** [CP]

The first and foremost issue for any theory of ellipsis is how to explain where the contrast between (1) and (2)-(4) comes from. Furthermore, based on the data below, Mikkelsen et al. argue that any successful analysis of VP anaphora should be able to derive the fact that PP remnants are sensitive to the type of preposition of its correlate, which does not hold true of PPs left outside *do the same*.

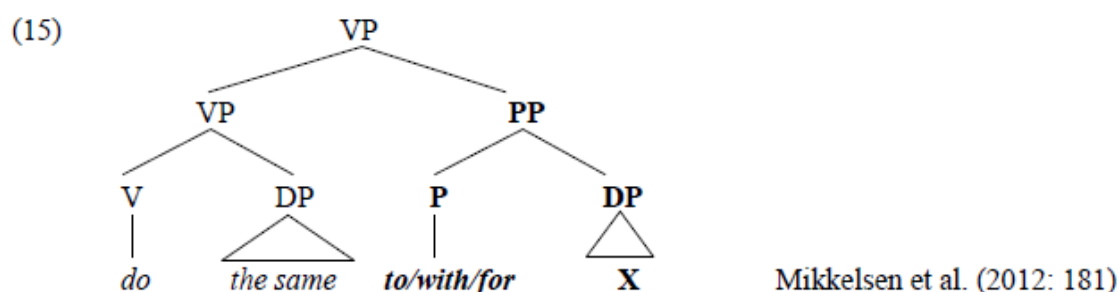
(12) I wouldn't rely **on** Harvey, but I would **on/*to/*with** Frank.

(13) She's looking **at** something, but I don't know **at/*to/*for** what.

(14) Q: What are you looking **at**?

A: **At/*To/*For** this little ant crawling over my cell phone. Mikkelsen et al. (2012: 180)

In order to capture these two issues, Mikkelsen et al. (2012) argue that PP extracted out of the *do the same* anaphora (which they call an 'orphan' PP) is base-generated as an adjunct to VP, as in (15).



Notice that it has been reported in the literature (e.g., M-K Park (2015)) that *do so* anaphora in English, which appears to pattern with *do the same* as a subclass of VP anaphora, sometimes allows for extraction if there is a mismatch between the ellipsis site and its correlate in voice or argument structure, as shown in (16) where % indicates possible individual variation.

- (16) a. As an imperial statute the British North America Act could be amended only by the British Parliament, which did so **on several occasions**.
b. %John told Steve to hang the horseshoe over the door, and it does so **now**.
c. %Mary claimed that I closed the door, but it actually did so **on its own**.

d. %I was told that this new peanut butter spreads very easily, and I am very excited to **do so**.

(originally drawn from Thompson (2012))

M-K Park (2015), who assumes with Houser (2010) and Thompson (2012) that *do so anaphora* is a VP complement selected *v*, is somehow successful in excluding an argumental DP as an orphan in the *do so* anaphora (just as in (2)), but he does not seem to make it clear how a limited set of categories can survive in the *do so* anaphora. On the other hand, if we extend Mikkelsen et al.'s proposal for the structure of *do the same* anaphor in (15) to (16), we can readily explain why PP or an adverbial DP can be extracted out of the anaphor: in brief, what survives as an orphan in (16) is an adjunct adjoined to VP (which is equivalent to PP in (16)).

Despite this advantage of Mikkelsen et al., however, it seems that their approach may have difficulty in capturing the fact that Korean exhibits a stark contrast with English in that the former even permits an argumental DP to survive as an orphan, as in (17) (from M-K Park (2015: 695)).

- (17) A: chelswu-ka say-lul koylophi-nta.
Chelswu-Nom bird-Acc nag-Decl
'Chelswu is nagging a bird.'
- B: yenghuy-nun cwi-lul kulay. Chang (1976: 114)
Yenghuy-Top mouse-Acc so do-Inform' (Lit.)
Yenghuy is doing so to a mouse'

In order to derive this parametric variation between Korean and English, thus, this paper suggests combining M-K Park's (2015) idea with Mikkelsen et al.'s structure. M-K Park makes an interesting proposal for the parametric difference between the two languages that only Korean has multiple specifiers in *vP* through which the argumental DP can escape VP and *do* is an spelled-out form of *v*. However, instead of assuming with M-K Park that VP anaphora is VP complement selected by *vP*.

Selected References

- Chang, Suk-Jin. 1976. An analysis of conversation: Information and anaphora (in Korean). *Applied Linguistics* 8(2), 105-121. Language Institute, Seoul National University.
- Hauser, Michael J. (2010) *The syntax and semantics of do so anaphora*. PhD dissertation,

University of California, Berkeley.

- Mikkelsen, Line, Daniel Hardt and Bjarne Ørsnes (2012) Orphans hosted by VP anaphora. In Jaehoon Choi et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the 29th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, 178-186. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Park, Myung-Kwan (2014) Extraction out of overt anaphora. *Linguistic Research* 32.3, 693-718. *Linguistic Research*.
- Thompson, Andrea (2012) Categorizing surface proforms in the typology of anaphora. A handout read in Ellipsis 2012, Universiade de Vigo, 10 November 2012.

Susanne Reinhardt

University of Potsdam

Tying post-expansions to question-answer sequences – an Interactional-Linguistic perspective on cohesion

In the seminal text-linguistic literature, cohesion is identified as one of the criteria of textuality (de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981, Halliday & Hasan 1976). According to these scholars, any potential text is dependent on there being recognizable relations between items on its surface level to be definable as 'textual'. Contributions to the research fields of both *Conversation Analysis* (e.g. Sacks 1995a) and *Interactional Linguistics* (e.g. Selting & Couper-Kuhlen 2000) also topicalize the relevance of cohesive ties for spoken interaction, coining the related term 'tying' to denote that "parts [e.g. of a sequence] are tied together, ... [which] would be part of the warrant for saying ... that there's a conversation going on" (Sacks 1995a: 150). Still, a number of existing inventories of resources used to establish such surface relations tend to focus on the linguistic phenomena characteristic of written rather than spoken discourse, corresponding to text-linguistics' prevalent object of study (e.g. Halliday & Hasan 1976, de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981, Hoey 1991). This imbalance justifies and motivates an interactional-linguistic approach to the investigation of tying in order to explore which cohesive devices are of actual relevance to participants in talk-in-interaction.

This poster will present first results of an ongoing PhD project, which aims at investigating which (clusters of) verbal and non-verbal resources interlocutors may use in specific local and temporal interactional contexts to tie parts of a conversation together. Although adjacent parts of talk-in-interaction are regarded to be tied to each other by virtue of the 'principle of contiguity' (cf. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974: 728, Schegloff 2007: 14-16), it will be argued that there is a need for additional, explicit links between them to signal continuity (cf. also Selting & Couper-Kuhlen 2000: 85). This is particularly relevant for post-expansions, since these occur after the 'obligatory' parts of a sequence have already been produced, and a new sequence could start, or not. To establish an initial inventory of possible tying devices, first turns of ten to twenty post-expansions following non-problematic question-answer sequences (Thompson, Fox & Couper-Kuhlen 2015) are analyzed as to how they index that they belong to the previous sequence. The

cases are collected from corpora of American English telephone conversations (e.g. Newport Beach, CallFriend, CallHome); the analyses follow the methodology of *Interactional Linguistics* (e.g. Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 1996, 2001). The results presented in the poster will, at a later stage, serve as a basis for further investigation of the interactional distribution of cohesive devices in context: Their use seems to be not only significantly dependent on the issue of tying, but also the (dis)aligning or (dis)affiliative nature of the response to the initial question and the action(s) implemented by initiating the post-expansion.

Selected Literature

- Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth & Selting, Margret (1996). Towards an interactional perspective on prosody and a prosodic perspective on interaction. In: Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth & Selting, Margret (Eds.). *Prosody in conversation*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 11-56.
- Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth & Selting, Margret (2001). Introducing interactional linguistics. In: Selting, Margret & Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth (Eds.). *Studies in interactional linguistics*. Amsterdam (etc.): John Benjamins, 1-22.
- de Beaugrande, Robert-Alain & Dressler, Wolfgang Ulrich (1981). *Einführung in die Textlinguistik*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Halliday, M.A.K & Hasan, Ruqaiya (1976). *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.
- Hoey, Michael (1991). *Patterns of lexis in text*. Oxford (etc.): Oxford University Press.
- Sacks, Harvey (1995a). *Lectures in conversation*. Malden (etc.): Blackwell.
- Sacks, Harvey, Schegloff, Emanuel A. & Jefferson, Gail (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. In: *Language* 50: 696-735.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. (2007). *Sequence Organization in Interaction: A primer in Conversation Analysis I*. Cambridge (etc.): Cambridge University Press.
- Selting, Margret & Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth (2000). Argumente für die Entwicklung einer 'interaktionalen Linguistik'. In: *Gesprächsforschung – Online-Zeitschrift zur verbalen Interaktion* 1, 76-95.
- Thompson, Sandra A., Fox, Barbara A. & Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth (2015). *Grammar in everyday talk: Building responsive actions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.