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BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

7BICLCE 2017

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University of Vigo
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Plenary Lectures

The asymmetric priming hypothesis revisited

Martin Hilpert
University of Neuchâtel

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. In this talk, I will re-examine the asymmetric priming hypothesis in the light of experimental and corpus-linguistic 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.

The experimental results that will be presented rely on reaction time measurements from a maze task (Forster et al. 2009). It was tested 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. We collected data from 200 native speakers of American English via Amazon's Mechanical Turk platform. All participants were exposed to forty sentences with different pairs of lexical and grammatical forms (*keep*, *go*, *have*, etc.). Mixed-effects regression modeling (Baayen 2008) was used to assess the impact of priming, lexical/grammatical status, and text frequency on speaker's reaction times. Contrary to the asymmetric priming hypothesis, the results show a negative priming effect: speakers who have recently been exposed to lexical *keep* are significantly slower to process grammatical *keep*.

The second part of the talk will present a corpus-based test of the asymmetric priming hypothesis. The analysis draws on frequency data and distributional semantics. Specifically, token-based semantic vector space modeling (Heylen et al. 2012) is used as a tool that allows us to test whether two subsequent uses of the same linguistic form show systematic asymmetries with regard to their meanings. In the analysis, we observe several priming effects: lexical variants and grammatical variants strongly prime themselves, but lexical forms do not prime their grammatical counterparts.

The results suggest that the semantic unidirectionality that is in evidence in many instances of grammatical change is in all likelihood not due to priming. In the final part of my talk, I will discuss a number of possible alternative explanations that future work should address.

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Cognitive processes driving language evolution: Diachronic and experimental studies of English vocabulary change

Padraic Monaghan
Lancaster University

There are multiple contributors to language change that are external to the speaker, such as social or economic drivers, or even accidents of linguistic contact. However, there are also internal constraints that are key to shaping language evolution. In particular, psycholinguistic properties of language can predict which representations are acquired and stored with greatest fidelity by the speaker. For instance, we know that frequency, length, and the age at which an aspect of language structure is acquired all contribute to more stable storage and accurate reproduction of that structure. In this talk, I present a series of studies of the English vocabulary to demonstrate how internal cognitive processing contributors have shaped the language. First, I present corpus analyses of diachronic vocabulary change across the Indo-European family, as well as data from the structure of loan words in English. Then, I present a series of experimental studies using artificial languages in the laboratory, that demonstrate how these psycholinguistic features of words affect learning and cultural transmission across generations of speakers.

Wee loonies and quinies: The development of dialect in the childhood years

Jennifer Smith
University of Glasgow

Labov (2001: 416) observes that 'we all speak our mother's vernacular' but at the same time 'children must learn to talk differently from their mothers'. This is a necessary condition for language change.

These statements identify two pivotal points in the lifecycle of sociolinguistic development: *transmission* and *incrementation*. *Transmission* is 'the unbroken sequence of native-language acquisition' the early years of language development, where children are said to 'replicate faithfully the form of their parents' language, 'in all of its structural detail' (Labov 2007: 346). *Incrementation* is where children are said to move 'beyond the level of their caretakers and role models', and in doing so, advance language change (ibid: 346).

Despite the centrality of transmission and incrementation in documenting language change, to date we have little empirical data which track speakers across these crucial time periods. This leaves a significant gap in our understanding of the sociolinguistic processes underpinning a child's move from a linguistic replicator to a linguistic innovator.

In this talk I address this gap through a real-time panel study of children first in the preschool years and later in preadolescence in a community in north east Scotland. I examine a number of variables which are undergoing change in the dialect, and discuss how the results can shed light on the sociolinguistic correlates of transmission and incrementation in the formative years of dialect development.

Bad grammar and metalinguistic awareness in the age of social media

Anja Wanner
University of Wisconsin-Madison

Traditionally, written language is associated with time for planning, revising, and editing, resulting in texts with a clear beginning, middle, and end, using complete sentences, with a high density of modifiers and few markers of interpersonal discourse (Biber and Conrad 2009). However, the arrival of digital media has blurred the distinction between spoken and written language, and in industrial countries writing has overtaken reading as the basis of speakers' daily experience of literacy (Brandt 2015). This does not mean that the traditional patterns of writing have become more entrenched. Digital media have brought about a new kind of writing, writing that is medially written, conceptually oral, and technically digital, employing non-verbal strategies to mark topics (e.g., with hashtags) or express stance (e.g., through icons with names like "shruggie"). Even though empirical studies have shown that extensive texting may actually contribute to children's awareness of syntactic structures and overall literacy (van Dijk et al. 2016), many people, especially educators, are concerned that the use of "netspeak" or "text speak", with its many abbreviations, unconventional spelling, and reliance on emojis, will affect speakers' ability to craft complex arguments and will make the notion of "proper

grammar" obsolete. Prescriptive books on language are still bestsellers and the video "Word Crimes" (by "Weird Al" Yankovic), which suggests that speakers who can't write "the proper way" deserve to be mocked, has been watched over 35 million times. People are as interested in what counts as "bad grammar" as ever, but linguists usually brush off the subject as irrelevant, trotting out the same old examples ("To boldly go...") in textbooks to assure the novice that the study of prescriptivism has no place in linguistics. I would like to take a different approach. Based on corpus data, interviews with language professionals, and an ongoing survey on metalinguistic awareness, I will examine three linguistic phenomena in written texts that can be tied to three different strands of prescriptivism, as developed by Curzan (2014): the use of "who" vs. "whom" as an object pronoun ("stylistic prescriptivism"), the use of "I" as an object object pronoun ("between you and I"), an example of "standardizing prescriptivism", and the use of "they"/"their" as a singular pronoun ("politically responsive prescriptivism"). Particular emphasis will be put on differences in judgment and attitude between people who regularly think about grammar as part of their professional identity (teachers, editors, writers) and people who don't. Do speakers respond to different goals of prescriptivism in different ways? Does greater metalinguistic awareness lead to more nuanced or to harsher judgments? Results from this study will contribute to a better understanding of the effect of prescriptivist ideas on language usage and will also, hopefully, provide linguists with talking points for engaging in discussions with non-linguists on the social importance of (the study of) grammar.

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CORPUS DEMONSTRATION

Examining variation (historical, dialectal, cultural, and genre-based) with the BYU corpora (COCA, COHA, GloWbE, and NOW)

Mark Davies
Brigham Young University

The BYU corpora (http://corpus.byu.edu) provide researchers with large amounts of data to examine variation in English, in ways that are not possible with other corpora. This presentation will provide a wide range of examples of how the corpora can be used to look at historical, dialectal, cultural, and genre-based variation in English.

Part of the reason that the corpora are so useful for looking at variation is their size. For example, COCA (*Corpus of Contemporary American English*) is more than five times as large as the *British National Corpus*; COHA (*Corpus of Historical American English*) is more than 100 times as large as other historical corpora such as the *Helsinki Corpus*, *ARCHER*, or the *Brown family of corpora*; and GloWbE (*Corpus of Global Web-based English*) is more than 100 times as large as the *International Corpus of English* (ICE).

While size is not everything, this large amount of data means that we can use tools and procedures that would be quite impossible with a small 5-10 million word corpus. To give just one example, collocates are extremely sensitive to corpus size. With these larger corpora, we can use collocates to look at variation in meaning and usage between genres (e.g. *chair* in fiction or academic), between dialects (e.g. *scheme* in British or American English), or over time (e.g. the usage and meaning of words like *gay* or *chip* during the last 200 years). We can extend this to cultural variation and change, such as collocates of *family* or *wife* in the 20 countries in GloWbE, or how *women, religion*, or the *environment* are discussed over time in American English. There are also many syntactic, morphological, and lexical phenomena that could not really be researched with smaller corpora, and we'll give many examples of these as well.

Finally, we will discuss the NOW corpus (*News on the Web*), which is a "hyper-monitor" corpus. It contains more than *four billion* words of data from 2010 to the current time, and it grows by 4-5 million words *each day* (130 million words each month; 1.5 billion words each year). In other words, with NOW researchers can examine the language as of *yesterday* – not just 5, 10, or 20 years ago. And because it contains data from the same 20 countries as GloWbE, we can use NOW to examine with incredible detail at how change spreads through countries over time.

Workshops

Workshop 1: Morphosyntactic variation in World Englishes: Apparent-time and diachronic studies

Convenors:

Cristina Suárez-Gómez (University of the Balearic Islands)
Lucía Loureiro-Porto (University of the Balearic Islands)
Robert Fuchs (Hong Kong Baptist University)

Structuring subjectivity in Asian Englishes: Multivariate approaches to mental predicates across genres and functional uses

Sandra C. Deshors
Michigan State University

This study investigates the usage patterns of four near-synonym mental predicates, *believe*, *guess*, *suppose* and *think*, across three Asian and two native Englishes and explores to what extent

(i) the patterns of use of those predicates differ across native and ESL varieties;

(ii) cross-varietal variation can be observed across different written genres; and

(iii) native and ESL writers lexicalize differently believe, guess, suppose and think.

Modal expressions vary at different linguistic levels in relation to semantic and syntactic properties, pragmatic conditions, historical stages of grammaticalization and interplay with other grammatical categories (Chafe 1986; DeCarrico 1986; Bybee et al. 1994). Additionally, systematic variation in the use of epistemic stance is triggered by other factors such as (written) genres (Marín-Arrese 2015) and English variety (Krawczak 2014). In a recent corpus-based study contrasting *believe*, *guess*, *suppose* and *think* in British (BrE) and American (AmE) Englishes, Krawczak (2014) uses blog-based data to capture cross-varietal variation in the uses of mental predicates across the two native Englishes. I build on Krawczak's analysis by (i) expanding her study to also include Hong Kong (HKE), Indian (IndE) and Singaporean (SingE) Englishes, (ii) using written data and (iii) including a wide range of different genres (correspondence, editorials, creative, academic, student, popular and instructional writing). Methodologically, I adopt two multivariate statistical techniques, a multiple correspondence (MCA) and a classification and regression tree (CART) analyses, to assess 652 occurrences of the four lexemes, annotated for English variety, written genres and seven semantic variables (epistemic type, epistemic mode, epistemic class, argumentativity, verifiability, evaluation and negotiability). Overall, the lexicalization of believe, guess, suppose and think emerges as a fertile breeding ground for the development of variation patterns across native and Asian Englishes. Specifically, based on the MCA, when all factors are considered simultaneously, the uses of the four lexemes contrast sharply across varieties. However, although linguistic contexts involving the notions of irrealis, intention, prediction and evaluation facilitate the use of mental predicates, together, these contexts do not trigger distinguishing patterns across Englishes. Further, a resemblance emerges between SingE and AmE in their uses of *suppose* as well as a tendency for HKE and IndE not to mirror any particular native variety in contexts involving negotiable predicated events in correspondence. With CART, four factors turn out to affect the uses of *believe*, *guess*, *suppose* and *think*: variety, genre, argumentativity and epistemic type. Importantly, writers from different English varieties differ in their choices of

lexemes only when predicated statements are non-argumentative. Further, genre only influences writers' linguistic choices when predicates convey an opinion. Overall, however, what seems to be most relevant for writers is more the contexts of use of the predicates rather than how their meanings are lexicalized. As the first study of its kind to apply multivariate techniques to explore semantic structure across Asian Englishes, the results show that to make sense of semantic patterns across ESLs, extra-linguistic factors such as genre must be accounted for. The results also raise important questions about the emancipation of Asian Englishes and the place that semantic structure holds in this process.

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The progressive in 19th- and 20th-century Indian English: A pilot study

Robert Fuchs

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The historical spread of English around the world has given rise to a large number of new dialects, variously known as postcolonial Englishes or New Englishes. Research investigating similarities and differences among these varieties has often explored particular factors responsible for divergence, especially first language (L1) influence and general language learning mechanisms (e.g. Sharma 2005).

Although the ultimate aim of much of this research is to explain present-day differences between varieties through the reconstruction of historical processes of language change, until recently, little historical data was available. This situation is rapidly changing, with several historical corpora of New Englishes becoming available, which allow real-time diachronic studies of the emergence of these dialects (see details and references in workshop description).

This paper widens the focus to include a variety previously understudied in this respect, Indian English. At present, the only corpora allowing diachronic comparisons for this variety are the Hamburg Corpus of Non-Native Varieties of English, from around 2010, the Indian component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-India), from the 1990s, and the Kolhapur Corpus, from the 1970s (for examples of this approach, see Davydova 2016, Fuchs and Borlongan 2016). However, these corpora are not parallel, and thus only part of the data

included in them can be compared. Moreover, the time depth of the investigations they allow is relatively shallow.

In order to investigate diachronic change in Indian English, this paper relies on the Corpus of Historical Indian English (CoHind; 'hind' being a historical name for India). CoHind is a parallel newspaper corpus of 19th and 20th century Indian and British English that is currently being compiled by the author, currently comprising 400,000 words. While the restriction to newspapers limits the representativeness of the corpus, this the only genre for which there is ample data from India starting from a relatively early point in time, and a focus on newspaper data is by no means uncommon in research on New Englishes (e.g. Hoffmann et al. 2011, Macalister 2006, Mukherjee 2012). The morphosyntactic feature under investigation is the progressive aspect, whose usage has been documented to have increased in the last centuries in British and American English (e.g. Leech et al. 2009, Mair & Hundt 1995, Smitterberg 2005). At the same time, its usage spread from dynamic to stative verbs (e.g. *You're being rude*), from non-modal to modal contexts (*I should be studying*), and from active to passive contexts (*The issue is being looked at*).

Against this background, the present study investigates the question of whether change in the usage of the progressive in Indian English was parallel to that in British English, or whether it lagged behind or anticipated the trends in British English. To answer this question, the corpus (tagged with CLAWS) was queried with a number of regular expressions to extract verb phrases in the progressive. Tentative results suggest that at any given point in time, the overall frequency of the progressive was lower in IndE than in BrE. However, the functional extension of the progressive was more heterogeneous. IndE at first lagged behind BrE in the usage of stative verbs in the progressive, but later overtook BrE. By contrast, use of the progressive in modal and passive contexts has been lower in IndE compared to BrE at all times.

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Expansion of the *s*-genitive in World Englishes

Beke Hansen and Benedikt Heller
University of Kiel and University of Leuven

The genitive alternation, arguably among the best-studied grammatical alternations in English (Rosenbach 2014), has seen considerable diachronic change. In Early Modern English times, the *s*-genitive experienced a renaissance after it had almost died out in the Middle English period (Rosenbach 2002). This trend continued in Late Modern English, when speakers started using the *s*-genitive not only with animate possessors, but also with collective, temporal and locative ones (Wolk et al. 2013). When it comes to the effect of possessor animacy on genitive choice, there are notable differences between varieties (Hundt & Szmrecsanyi 2012; Heller et al. 2017). While it was possible to reconstruct these developments on the basis of diachronic corpora for ENL varieties, the virtual absence of diachronic corpora for ESL varieties makes it difficult to identify changes in the genitive choice, so that it is unclear whether genitive structures are also in flux in these varieties. Following Hansen's (fc.) approach, we use information about the speakers' age from the metadata of ICE-HK, ICE-IND and ICE-PHI to construct apparent-time scenarios about the development of genitive choice. Our findings indicate that the share of *s*-genitives increases with decreasing age in all three ESL varieties (although HKE shows a slightly regressive trend in the youngest age group). These findings suggest that the *s*-genitive is also on the rise in these ESL varieties. While studies on BrE and AmE show no regional variation in the proportion of the *s*-genitive in the early 1990s (cf. Leech et al. 2009), our study indicates that there is regional variation within the group of ESL varieties as well as between ESL and ENL varieties. IndE is most advanced in the rise of the *s*-genitive at the expense of the *of*-genitive, with the youngest speakers using the synthetic variant in one third of the cases where variation is possible. In HKE and PhiE instead, speakers of the youngest age group choose the *s*-genitive in only roughly one quarter of the cases. Also, possessor animacy seems to play a different role across these ESL varieties: *s*-genitive use seems to be on the rise with collective, locative and temporal possessors in PhiE but not in HKE and IndE. In contrast to the ENL varieties, the proportion of the *s*-genitive in the ESL varieties does not indicate that it has already become the predominant choice here. Our findings therefore suggest that the rise of the s-genitive is less advanced in ESL varieties compared to ENL varieties.

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ELF and ongoing grammatical change: Observations from typological profiling

Mikko Laitinen
University of Eastern Finland

Recent studies based on aggregate linguistic feature sets have suggested that written American and British English have reversed the long-tern trend towards more analyticity. Szmrecsanyi (2009: 340–1) points out that "on the whole, both American and British English have become more synthetic and less analytic over the past half century or so, thus reversing what is often argued to be a millennium-old trend." This presentation investigates to what extent and how this typological shift is apparent in English as a lingua franca use (viz. advanced second language use of English). I have suggested elsewhere (Laitinen 2016) that recent diachronic trends in the main English varieties are polarized and ongoing grammatical change is accelerated in ELF. It should be noted that this finding was based on one subset of grammar, namely core and emergent modal auxiliaries. In studies of spoken ELF, Mauranen (2012: 247) reaches a similar conclusion and notes that "the overwhelming majority of lexis, phraseology, and structures are indistinguishable from those found in a comparable corpus of educated ENL, including their frequency distributions." Again, these observations are based on a relatively small set of features.

This presentation presents a study that makes use of typological profiling based on aggregate structural features. This typological profiling method has previously been used to analyze a range of native Englishes, indigenized L2 varieties and learner English, but has not been used to assess ELF data. The method measures indices of grammatical analyticity, defined by the presence of free grammatical markers, and grammatical syntheticity, the presence of bound markers (e.g. Szmrecsanyi 2009; Szmrecsanyi & Kortmann 2011).

The study is corpus-based and draws evidence from the well-known first generation ELF corpora (viz. spoken VOICE by Seidlhofer (2011) and the new written WrELFA by Mauranen et al. (2015)). Additional evidence is drawn from the pilot versions of two second-generation ELF corpora that are not only larger in size in terms of the L1 backgrounds of the informants, but they also offer access to multi-genre ELF evidence. The corpora target texts in which English is used an additional linguistic resource alongside people's L1s in Sweden and Finland, two countries in which the role of English is undergoing changes whereby it is increasingly being adopted as an additional linguistic resource alongside the main domestic languages in the two countries (cf. Taavitsainen & Pahta 2008; Leppänen et al. 2011; Bolton & Meierkord 2013). These ELF corpora are synchronic, and it is assumed that the patterns of variability in the genres make apparent time studies possible and enable drawing conclusions on how ongoing variability is adapted in synchronic ELF data.

The results will shed light on the typological status of ELF and provide empirical evidence of its structural characteristics in a range of genres. They help to bridge the paradigm gap, making it possible to place ELF on the continuum of varieties. The first results also indicate that the conclusions in Mauranen (2012) and in Laitinen (2012) hold when using aggregate morphosyntactic features.

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Intensifiers in Multicultural London English. New trends and developments

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By the late 20th century, London had become a city with a large and varied immigrant population, reflecting many different countries, races and cultures. This had a great impact on the linguascape of the city, with the emergence of a multiethnolect or urban vernacular (Nortier & Svendsen 2015), generally known as *Multicultural London English* (MLE; cf. Cheshire *et al*. 2011). The combination of language contact and a socially and ethnically diverse young population constitutes the perfect setting for language change. This is particularly the case with intensifiers, and in recent years these have received a great deal of interest, most notably in teen talk, where they show a recycling nature and high contextual sensitivity and versatility (cf. Ito & Tagliamonte 2003; Paradis 2003; Tagliamonte 2008, 2016).

This paper is concerned with the system of intensifiers in MLE, examining data from the *London English Corpus* (LEC). In the analysis we will draw contrasts between teen and adult language; other variables, such as speakers' gender and ethnicity, will also be considered where necessary.

Our findings broadly confirm previous studies, showing that *so* and *really* are the most common intensifiers among London teenagers, in contrast to *very*, which is the most frequent in adults. Secondly, *pretty*, *all, enough/nuff* and *well* also stand out in teen language as compared to the speech of adults. Thirdly, we identify in teen talk two new intensifiers which, to our knowledge, have thus far not been reported in the literature: *bare* (*it's bare addictive*) and *proper* (*they were proper strict in school*). Significantly, no examples of these two intensifiers have been recorded in the language of adults. Fourthly, *bare* and *proper* are multifunctional in nature, with other functions including noun/verb/prepositional phrase modifiers, and discourse markers and quantifiers.

The paper concludes by discussing the possible reasons for the emergence of these two new intensifiers. It is hypothesised that the linguistic diversity of many MLE speakers, who belong to different ethnic groups, may influence different features of the variety, such as the system of intensifiers.

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On (semi-)modal verbs of obligation and necessity in Nain Inuit English

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The expression of obligation/necessity in English has been well documented from Old English to present day with studies focusing on the morphosyntactic development of modal constructions (e.g. Denison 1993, Warner 1993), the semantic properties (e.g. Ehrman 1966, Perkins 1983), or both (e.g. Coates 1983, Biber et al. 1999). Much of our understanding of modality comes from studies of Standard American and British English, but recently there has been an increasing interest in other varieties of English (e.g. Trousdale 2003; Collins 2005, 2009; Tagliamonte & Smith 2006; Dollinger 2008; Fehringer & Corrigan 2015), though the

context of more rural communities is still underrepresented. In this paper, we offer an in-depth analysis of the English spoken in Nain, a geographically isolated Inuit community in northern Canada, to test existing trends in modality in a rural setting, which also has restricted input varieties.

Across existing studies of modality, one observation remains consistent across data sets, regardless of the different combinations of modals and semi-modals under examination: over time, there is a rise in the use of semi-modals and a corresponding decline in modal verbs that express obligation/ necessity (e.g. Krug 2000, Leech 2003, Mair & Leech 2006, Close & Aarts 2010). Furthermore, previous research has shown a recurring trend in the semantic development of modal expressions where epistemic meanings tend to develop out of deontic (or root) meanings as a result of ongoing grammaticalization (e.g. Van der Auwera & Plungian 1998, Traugott & Dasher 2002).

The current study analyses the use of deontic and epistemic modals (should, must) and semi-modals (*got to*, *have to*, *have got to*, *need to*) in apparent time, using two different approaches to mapping obligation/necessity: one that follows variationist sociolinguistic studies such as Tagliamonte & Smith (2006) and Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2007) and another that adopts a more typological perspective (Van der Auwera & Plungian 1998). While it is useful to replicate established methodologies within the field to examine cross-dialectal patterns, we argue that typological models must be considered to avoid erroneous assumptions about adherence to norms observed in other, perhaps more standard, varieties of English.

Initial analyses of tokens (N=401) drawn from interview data from an age- and sexstratified sample of 25 lifelong community residents indicate that there are some similarities between Nain and other communities where this type of variation has been studied, though there are also some notable differences. Specifically, *have to* accounts for only 51.2% of deontic tokens in Nain English, in contrast to Tagliamonte and D'Arcy's (2007) study of Toronto English, which reports that deontic modality is dominated by this variant, and Collins (2005), who also finds a strong preference for *have to*, particularly in the spoken data in his corpus. We also observe a surprising absence of *have got to* (N=0). As such, our preliminary results seem to be more in line with outcomes in some rural, isolated communities in the United Kingdom (Tagliamonte & Smith 2006).

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"It have Patois": Agreement in existential constructions in Trinidadian English

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English existential constructions comprise a syntactic subject, often *there*, followed by a form of the verb *to be* and a notional subject, as in:

There is Patois
syntactic V sing. notional
subject subject (sing.)

In such constructions, subject-verb agreement is thought to be governed by the notional subject. Studies on different inner circle Englishes, however, have shown that existential constructions often exhibit non-agreement, particularly in spoken language, where constructions like, "*There's languages*" are not uncommon (cf. Meecham and Foley 1994 (Ottowa), Hay and Schreier 2004 (New Zealand), Cheshire and Fox 2009 (London)), though rates of non-agreement have been found to be generally lower in among outer circle varieties of English (cf. Jantos 2009, Collins 2012).

In Trinidadian English Creole (TEC), existential constructions may be additionally realized through the use of the existential subject it followed by the verb *to have* and a notional subject, which typically do not agree, as in:

It have Patois

syntactic Vpl. Notional

subject subject (sing.)

This study uses the spoken component of the International Corpus of English Trinidad and Tobago (ICE T&T) to explore the behaviour of existential constructions in Trinidadian English (TE). It first looks at the overall distribution of the two forms in ICE T&T, and further goes on to

examine the dispersal of forms across the four major spoken ICE categories: S1A (private dialogues), S1B (public dialogues), unscripted monologues (S2A), and scripted monologues (S2B).

The data show that, with specific regard to *there+ BE* existential constructions, TE behaves differently from both inner and outer circle varieties. Non-agreement in *there+ BE* existential constructions is not a feature of TE; of 1248 such constructions, only ten instances of nonagreement could be found in the entire spoken corpus, i.e. less than one per cent.

It+ HAVE constructions, on the other hand, account for about 9 per cent of all existential constructions in the corpus; incidentally, this lies within the range of 6- 10 per cent nonagreement found in *there+ BE* constructions in other outer circle varieties of English, including Jamaican English (cf. Jantos 2009). Furthermore, *it+ HAVE* shows a general pattern of distribution similar to non-agreement in *there+ BE* constructions in other varieties of English, i.e. it occurs most frequently in the least formal contexts (S1A), and does not occur at all in the most formal contexts (S2B).

The behaviour of *it+ HAVE* and *there+ BE* constructions in ICE T&T invites us to examine the presence of what Mair (2002) calls "creolisms" in TE, and how the two local varieties- TEC and TE- interact with each other. Furthermore, the distribution of *it+ HAVE* across text categories, in particular its concentration within S1A, raises the question of the relationship between usage and acceptability, the discussion of which will be supplemented with data from an acceptability judgement study carried out with speakers of TE and TEC.

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Panchronic perspectives on the progressive aspect in World Englishes

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The currently accepted view of the progressive aspect in today's English is that of a grammaticalisation process, and one that is continuously evolving, with expanding generalisation to include stative verbs (e.g. as in *I'm loving it*) in well-known commercial usage. The domain of stative verbs, though, is nevertheless still relatively restricted, so that uses found in international varieties of English, such as *I'm having a cold*, and other adversative uses, are not found in standard varieties of English. The question of such uses being common

with the verb *have* is a case in point: the same verb is used to express adversity in causative constructions such as

(i) Students failing to disclose this fact are liable to have their registration cancelled (ICE-GB w2d 007-015)

when the meaning is passive. The present study first considers such uses in a corpus of Singapore English blog posts, in order to determine whether they are numerically significant in the frequency of stative progressive *have* found in international Englishes.

On the other hand, the historical development of the progressive has also been considered as being replicated in the use of the progressive in 'new' varieties of English, since stative uses were found in Old English, as discussed, for example, in Kranich (2013) and Ziegeler (1999). The question is raised first, whether these uses were the same as the stative uses found in international varieties of English today, and if so, whether there is a replication of the historical development of the progressive in such varieties. Grammaticalisation as replication in contact has been discussed in Kuteva et al (to appear) as well as Ziegeler (2014) to represent a recapitulation of the pathways of development of the lexifier language. However, a closer examination of the historical development of the progressive does not present a picture of clear grammaticalisation – there is no apparent lexical source, from Old English onwards, from which primary grammaticalisation may proceed. Although the Old English progressive has been claimed by Kranich (2013) to have been already in a state of primary grammaticalisation, the possibility of reanalysis as the process underlying the development of the progressive from Old English was proposed by Ziegeler (1999), and should also be noted, as the gradualness of reanalysis has since been discussed by De Smet (2012). The present study thus considers the prospect of reanalysis in the development of the progressive in international English dialects as another form of replication by recapitulation.

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Workshop 2: Constructions and language processing: Performance-driven constraints on perception and production

Convenors:

David Tizón-Couto (University of Vigo)
David Lorenz (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg)

Processing multiple negations: Grammatical structures that are perceived as unacceptable

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This paper investigates the processing of sentences containing multiple negation markers. Standard English is commonly classified as a Double Negation (DN) language, in which each negative marker contributes an independent semantic negation (de Swart 2010). As illustrated in (1), in DN languages the two negative markers cancel each other out following the *Duplex Negatio Affirmat* rule (Horn 2010: 111).

(1) A: Lenny likes nothing.

B: Lenny does **not** like **nothing**. =*Lenny likes something* (Puskás 2012: 615)

Strict DN is a rare phenomenon because of its formal complexity (i.e. markedness, the intricacy of the syntactic and semantic operations) and the pragmatic conditions required for its felicitous interpretation (e.g. in (1), speaker B intends to reverse the utterance expressed by speaker A). Yet, multiple negations occur more frequently in natural languages if the two markers are in different clauses. This phenomenon is not DN strictly because, as shown in (2), two independent propositions are negated only once, and it is not necessary to apply the DN rule (Zeijlstra 2004: 58-60). Although in formal terms, strict DN is a more complex construction, the successful parsing of both same-clause DN and different-clause DN requires comprehenders to hold in memory and integrate two negative markers that are linearly close to each other.

(2) The authors that **no** critics recommended have **never** received a Pulitzer.

The aim of the present study is to investigate how processing and formal complexity (as understood in Culicover 2013) affects the perception of sentences with multiple negations. We test this using three tasks: experiment 1 was an untimed acceptability task in which participants had to judge the stimuli on a 7-point Likert scale. In experiment 2 the stimuli were presented in a RSVP and participants were given 2000ms to decide if the sentence was acceptable or unacceptable (=speeded acceptability task). In experiment 3 word-by-word reading times were collected using a self-paced reading task. The materials consisted of 36 sets of 3 items which varied the presence and location of the negative determiner *no* with respect to *never*, resulting in three contrasts: A) single negation, B) different-clause DN, and C) clause-internal DN.

(3) A. **The** authors [that **the** critics recommended] have **never** received a Pulitzer.
B. **The** authors [that **no** critics recommended] have **never** received a Pulitzer.
C. **No** authors [that **the** critics recommended] have **never** received a Pulitzer.

The results are consistent across experimental measures in that sentences with multiple negations were perceived as less acceptable and showed increased response times. Crucially, the responses for condition C indicate a more degraded perception and slower recovery from disruption than for condition B. We interpret this as an instantiation of how both formal and processing complexity result in the perceived unacceptability of grammatical sentences.

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Effects of distance, morphology and modification on verbal agreement with collective-headed subjects

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Lacking a rich morphological system, the English language frequently bypasses morphological cues on a semantic basis and thus yields 'attraction errors' of the kind illustrated in (1). Hence, in complex NPs the plurality of a non-head (i.e. local) nominal element may interfere in the agreement operation and trigger plural verb number, as in (1) (Bock and Miller 1991; Bock et al. 2001; Acuña-Fariña 2016).

(1) *The cost$_{SG}$ of the *improvements*$_{PL}$ *have*$_{PL}$ not yet been estimated (Bock and Miller 1991: 45)

In (1), agreement is solved locally based on the semantic and morphological plurality of the non-head local noun *improvements*. Prior experimental studies have shown that this local resolution is conditioned by morphosyntactic factors such as regular morphology (which exerts a higher attraction than irregular plurals) and non-clausal modification (which interferes less frequently with verb number than clausal dependents) (see Bock and Miller 1991; Bock and Cutting 1992; Nicol 1995; Haskell and MacDonald 2003, among others).

This paper aims to contribute to this line of research with corpus-based data from the *British National Corpus* (BNC) and the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA) to gain some insights as regards the production of verbal agreement in a less-mediated (i.e. not elicited, unlike in experimental work) yet formal (written) setting. To this end, I have explored a set of complex noun phrases formed by a morphologically singular but semantically plural collective noun followed by a (morphologically and semantically) plural noun (hence *N*$_{COLL}$*-of-N*$_{PL}$), like (2) and (3), with a view to determining to what extent these might also be affected by the same constraints that regularly apply to attraction errors.

(2) A *group*$_{COLL}$ of deaf *people*$_{PL}$ *were*$_{PL}$ left penniless [BNC: CH6 7412]

(3) A random *bunch*$_{COLL}$ of *people*$_{PL}$ *are*$_{PL}$ waiting [COCA: FIC Mov:Bean]

Unlike in (1), agreement is flexible in (2) and (3); however, the acceptability of plural verb number seems constrained by the (morpho)syntactic and semantic features of the plural local noun. This study largely confirms prior observations concerning the higher attraction exerted by phrasal (vs. clausal) dependents of the N_{COLL}-*of*-N_{PL} (69% vs. 57%, respectively). As for morphology, this paper reports a significant correlation between morphological overtness and agreement: local irregular plural nouns (i.e. *men*) attract plural agreement more frequently than regular nouns (i.e. *boys*; 74% vs. 60%, respectively), yet non-morphologically-marked plurality is the strongest attracting force (i.e. *people*, 90%) (cf. Bock and Eberhard 1993; Haskell and MacDonald 2003). Interestingly, these trends apply only in local syntactic domains. As the distance between the subject and its verb increases (both in number of words and in syntactic complexity), only overt plurality exerts a noteworthy attraction on verb number (about 60%-70%). In contrast, non-morphologically-marked plurality is less pervasive in non-local (i.e. more cognitively complex) domains (52%).

All in all, the data suggest that the parser is unable to rely on semantic plurality when complex structures like N_{COLL}-*of*-N_{PL} subjects take dependents, as this increases the distance between the subject and the verb and adds further complexity to the noun phrase. The lower rate of plural agreement in these circumstances may thus be taken as an attempt to solve more efficiently the agreement operation in the singular; in other words, the more explicit and unmarked verb number is used when distance blocks a local resolution of agreement in the plural with the distant local noun or the (even more distant) collective noun.

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Sweeper uppers are no *by-standers*. Structural complexity in nominalizations of phrasal verb

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In English, three syntactically different patterns are available when forming *-er* nominalizations of phrasal verbs. For the first type a particle and verb-*er* are combined to form a new noun, as exemplified in (1) *by-stander*. In the structure of the second type, the particle is placed following the verb, resulting in the structure verb-*er*+particle, exemplified by *passer-by* (2) (OED 2017).

(1) After he had setled himself […] he gave the ***by-standers*** this farewell. (*Aritina*. Mackenzie, George 1660)

(2) … not even a chance ***passer-by*** was in the street. (*A Tale of Two Cities*. Dickens, Charles 1859)

More recent data provides evidence of so-called "*doubler-upper* nouns" (Cappelle 2010), an additional derivational variant involving multiple derivational marking with *-er* resulting in the structure verb-*er*+particle-*er*, such as (4), *sweeper upper*.

(3) … she would be a likely radical or ***beater-up*** of policemen. (*The Daily Mail* 1994)

(4) John joined his local paper as teaboy, ***sweeper upper*** and junior reporter … (*The Daily Mail* 1999)

Interestingly, the semantics of these derivatives oscillates between that of passive experiencers and active agents: The *by-stander* (1) and the *passer-by* (2) refer to people who are passively witnessing or accompanying an event. In contrast, a *beater-up* (3) is 'someone actively hitting a policeman' and a *sweeper upper* (4) is someone actively cleaning. Most of the bases of these nominalizations are verbs that have either habitual or durative meanings (Ryder 1999:282) and their semantic interpretation is impossible by looking at their form alone. In other words, they constitute non-compositional form-meaning pairs in the sense of Goldberg (2006).

This study is based on data obtained in a large-scale quantitative and qualitative analysis of a collection of historical corpora containing prose fiction dating from the 17th to the late 19th century and an additional collection consisting of contemporary newspapers amounting to a total of 2.5 billion words. The data reveals that over the centuries, the productivity of the *by-stander* pattern decreases while the productivity of the *runner-up* pattern as well as the productivity of the *sweeper-upper* pattern increases. Furthermore the tokens found display variation in the placement of plural *–s* which may be found in medial position (e.g. *runner**s**-up*, The Guardian 1990), in final position (*washer-upper**s***, The Guardian 2004) as well as in both positions (*shaker**s**-upper**s***, The Washington Times 1992) showing that language users still grapple with how to process the word-boundaries of these complex lexemes. This paper sheds light on the variation recorded giving further evidence of the constructionalization and the productivity of these derivational patterns.

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The V-*to*-V_{inf} construction: The role of frequency in the production and processing of reduced and chunked forms

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Certain multi-word sequences undergo phonological reduction and contraction to a single word (e.g. *want to* > *wanna*). In usage-based approaches, this is seen as a matter of coalescence, or chunking, which in turn has been linked to frequency (Bybee 2002, 2006, Ellis 2002, Ellis et al. 2009). This study addresses the issue of coalescence of frequent collocations and its consequences for their realization, perception and mental representation.

The corpus-based component of this study explores and compares the realization of 'semi-modal' instantiations of the type V-*to*-V_{inf}, namely *have to*, *used to*, *trying to* and *need to*, in American English. We consider the effects of speech-internal and extra-linguistic factors (speech rate, stress accent, phonological context, speech situation, age of the speaker), as well as possible effects of analogy with established contractions like *gonna*, *wanna*. Our findings show a high degree of coalescence in the items under study, but no clear pattern of contraction. Even in highly frequent and strongly coalesced items, reduction (articulatory ease) is restricted by a tendency to retain cues to morphological structure (explicitness). This shows the limitations of reduction as a frequency effect in light of the balance between articulatory ease and explicitness in speaker-hearer interaction.

The experimental component of this study reports the results of a word recognition experiment which tests how string frequency and transitional probability affect the import of reduction on speech perception. Previous word recognition experiments (Sosa & MacFarlane 2002, Kapatsinski & Radicke 2009) have shown that listeners treat highly frequent sequences as chunks, leading to a delayed recognition of elements of the sequence (e.g. *of* in *kind of*). These studies, however, do not consider the effect of reduction (e.g. "kinda"). Moreover, the question remains whether recognition relies on surface frequency or other association measures, such as transitional probability.

We recorded response times to hearing the word to in target sequences of the type V-*to*-V_{inf} from 40 native speakers of American English. Target sequences of varying frequencies were presented with a full or reduced to (e.g. "need to" or "needa"). Reduction, frequency of the sequence and transitional probability (from V to *to*), serve as independent variables. In our results, reduction generally delays recognition. In sequences of mid-high frequency, *to* is highly predictable and reduction can be expected; at higher frequencies, a chunking effect sets in which inhibits recognition of the element and which is reinforced by a reduced rendering.

Similarly, in cases of high transitional probability the element is predictable and the effect of reduction mitigated.

By incorporating frequency, chunking and reduction, this study can elucidate the interplay between speech production and speech perception. In particular, it provides an insight into how speakers and hearers use probabilistic and frequency information to cope with reduction in speech.

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Why I can try to make myself start but can never bring myself to finish: Processing-driven constraints on the transitivity of English causatives

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This paper explores pathways of change in the field of English causative constructions. It builds on Mondorf and Schneider's (2016) finding that the causative *bring* construction is becoming ever more specialized and consequently restricted. As their diachronic corpus data reveals, uses such as (1) were common from the 15th to the 17th century while they have become all but impossible in 20th century British English, the reason being that causative *bring* has come to be the construction for unsuccessful self-persuasion and is thus almost exclusively used in negated reflexive contexts with a modal verb (see (2)).

(1) [...] but as he had now brought her to confess a former love [...] (EEPF, 1671)

(2) I could not have brought myself to tell the tale to a living being […] (NCF2, 1867)

Unless we assume that Britons have become a nation of procrastinators, this finding has to be interpreted as an emerging constructional constraint. I argue that it reduces processing cost: The compulsory modal-negation-reflexive marking of the causative construction reduces overlap with other *bring*-constructions and thus system complexity.

An explanation for the nature of this constraint is offered by Mondorf and Schneider. They employ Hopper and Thompson's (1980) gradient concept of transitivity according to which the most transitive expression is one where an action is most effectively transferred to a patient, e.g. where a strong volitional agent performs an effective action on a weaker, less volitional patient. Modal verbs, negation and reflexive objects all lower the transitivity of a construction. Thus the *bring*-causative has been pushed towards the lower end of the transitivity scale. I argue that this further reduces processing cost: The asymmetry between more coding material and less action renders such low-transitivity constructions more cognitively demanding. Consequently, it was the lower frequency causative construction which was banished to this niche, leaving the less demanding and more efficient options to frequent non-causative *bring* constructions.

Crucially, the emergence of the *bring* constructional constraint must have triggered changes in other causative constructions as they absorbed the lost function of expressing successful causation. The present study is a first exploration of the field of causative constructions with the aim of uncovering emerging and vanishing constraints. Employing the same 76-million-word corpus as Mondorf and Schneider (2016), which encompasses texts from the 15th to the 20th century, it focuses on reflexive causative constructions with *bring* (3), *get* (4), *make* (5) and *force* (6), comparing their constraints and developments, also taking into consideration some of the non-causative constructions these verbs enter (e.g. *get*-passive).

(3) She couldn't *bring* herself to believe what she had overheard. (BNC, wridom1)

(4) He was willing to *make* himself believe, that I was artfully concealing the uneasiness […] (ECF2, 1754)

(5) You've actually *got* yourself believing your dead sister has risen from the dead […] (BNC, wridom1)

(6) I can't *force* myself to believe. (OTA, 1915)

Results show that the core functions of the different causative constructions differ: each has a characteristic transitivity profile. This distribution of the constructional field reduces functional overlap.

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Workshop 3: Speech rhythm in L1, L2 and learner varieties of English

Convenor:

Robert Fuchs (Hong Kong Baptist University)

Full papers

Investigating (rhythm) variation in Indian English: An integrated approach

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Recent experimental studies on the rhythm of Indian English (IndE) (Fuchs, 2013, 2016; Krivokapić, 2013; Heselwood & McChrystal, 2000) have presented IndE as more 'syllable-timed'[1] than most long-standing varieties of English. As with many studies on rhythm, results varied across metrics and between read and spontaneous speech styles (Fuchs, 2013), and were not always consistent (Krivokapić, 2013). Furthermore, the use and interpretation of the rhythm metrics has attracted critical scrutiny, and a broader approach of evaluating prominence measures both more generally and less categorically, has been advocated (cf Arvaniti, 2012; Jun, 2014 on tonal macro-rhythm; Prieto et al., 2012 on final lengthening; Post & Payne, forthcoming). We find evidence of shared, distinct characteristics of IndE also in this wider framework, e.g. less final lengthening in IndE, consistent with a more 'syllable-timed' reading (Fuchs, 2013, 2016), and greater accentual density (Maxwell, 2014).

This broader, integrated approach to prominence and the rhythm percept allows us to better explore potential variation in IndE and address the unresolved question of whether or not a pan-Indian variety of English can truly be identified (Wiltshire & Harnsberger, 2006; Pingali, 2009), once socio-linguistic factors have been controlled for. We investigate two possible sources of variation in IndE: i) L1 background; and ii) 'setting' (IndE as spoken in India vs IndE as spoken in the diaspora).

The variable of L1 is of particular interest due to an ongoing debate in the literature in relation to L1 effect on IndE (Sirsa & Redford, 2013; Wiltshire & Harnsberger, 2006), and the limited amount of research on IndE prosody and Indian languages. Despite documented areal features in phonology (Masica, 2005), it is known that Indian languages vary considerably among themselves, for example, differences in acoustic cues to prominence and timing characteristics (i.e., 'syllable-timing' for Hindi – Crystal, 1995); mora-timing in Telugu – Murty, Otake & Cutler, 2007). It is reasonable to expect divergences to influence the prosody of IndE, and indeed this has been documented in recent studies, suggesting a more frequent use of rising pitch on accented words for IndE speakers with L1s from an Indo-Aryan family (i.e. Wiltshire & Harnsberger, 2006; Puri, 2013; Maxwell, 2014), and differences in accentual density and tonal inventory based on L1, potentially indicative of typological distinction within IndE prosody (Maxwell, 2014). As pointed out by Sirsa & Redford (2013), however, only a handful of acoustic-phonetic investigations of L1 influences compare the L1 and IndE characteristics for the same speakers. Moreover, the findings of Sirsa and Redford (2013) and Maxwell (2014) indicate a more complex picture where possible L1 influence is varied, and one that depends on which aspects are being considered.

The differential of 'setting' introduces a further potentially important parameter of influence and source of variation. As spoken in the diaspora (in this study, in Australia), IndE becomes exposed to different prominence cues (e.g. more marked phrase final lengthening –

Fletcher & McVeigh, 1993), and any accommodation towards the host variety may further even out differences attributed to L1s. We hypothesise that inter-L1 influences are diminished in diaspora IndE and uniformity is further enhanced by accommodation to Australian English. Of primary interest is which features of Australian English prosody are taken up most readily, and which features of IndE persist most strongly.

We make a comparative analysis of key prosodic features involved in the percept of rhythm in domestic and diaspora IndE, as a function of L1, with a particular emphasis on the difference between Indo-Aryan (Bengali, Hindi) and Dravidian languages (Kannada, Telugu, Tamil). In particular, we look at: phrase final lengthening, f0 excursion, accentual density and pitch accent types, vowel reduction, consonant lengthening, speech rate and global timing patterns as captured by the rhythm metrics. Where differences emerge, we attempt to explain these with reference to prosodic differences between L1s, and the possible influence of Australian English. We discuss the evidence for sub-varieties of IndE based on L1 and 'setting' and the placement of these varieties in a prosodic typology.

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L2 English speakers with syllable-timed L1s rely on rhythmic cues in English perception, but are not more likely to produce conversational isochrony

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A neurological bias for periodicity was once thought to have a role in the organization of prosodic units (Abercrombie 1967). A less stringent claim is that the perception of language as periodic has little to do with the acoustic signal, but is a manifestation of the bias in processing (Lehiste 1977). The latter claim allows the possibility of a lack of correlation between production and perception of periodic speech patterns. However, any bias would not diminish the potential for individual linguistic and extra-linguistic experiences to affect use of periodic cues. This study tests the role of experience and examines a hypothesized link between production of conversational isochrony and reliance on periodic perceptual cues. 'Native-like' English speakers (n=17) completed tasks measuring the production of isochrony in spontaneous speech and the role of a periodic stimulus as an aid to speech perception. Six participants were L1 speakers of a language located closer to the syllable-timed pole of the rhythm continuum than English (White et al. 2007).

Isochronous intervals were extracted from recordings of participants using the methodology from Mooney and Sullivan (2015), finding robust inter-speaker variation. Participants were then presented with strings of CV syllables in random order spoken by a synthesized artificial voice and asked to respond upon hearing a given syllable. Half the strings a participant heard were manipulated for equal syllabic durations. Next, participants heard a synthesized voice read sentences in white noise in random pairs with a filter to remove non-prosodic cues to segment identity. One of the two sentences was manipulated for equal durations between the onsets of stressed syllables. Participants displayed a preference for periodicity in both perception tasks.

An interactional effect differentiated English L1 non-musicians from musicians with a more syllable-timed L1, but there was no correlation between individual production of isochrony and preference for periodic speech in perception. This leads to the conclusion that conversational isochrony does not directly encode a neurological bias, but that the extent of use of periodicity as a perceptual cue is correlated with experience. The rhythmic typology may have suggested further that participants with a more syllable-timed L1 would be most cued by syllabic periodicity, while a more stress-timed L1 would be cued by periodicity between stressed intervals. Instead, L2 English speakers showed heavier reliance on both types of periodic cuing, due either to some unknown effect of experience of a syllable-timed L1, or to increased reliance on periodicity in L2 processing.

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Longitudinal study of speech rhythm: A case study of Noam Chomsky

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Relative to the number of studies focusing on speech rhythm variability between languages [1]-[4], varieties of a language (L1, regional, L2, adult- or infant-directed speech) [5]-[9] or speakers of the same language variety [10]-[11], far less research has been done on speech rhythmic variability due to advancing age. Preliminary studies on Italian and Zurich German have provided evidence that speech rhythm in terms of durational variability of consonantal and vocalic intervals vary significantly between elderly and young speakers [12]-[13].

In this study we explored within-speaker rhythmic variability across age longitudinally, analyzing a sample of 20 public talks held by Noam Chomsky from the 1970's, when he was in his fifties, to 2016, at the age of 88 (https://chomsky.info/audionvideo/). How rhythm can be measured is still a matter of much debate. Given the evidence that f0, amplitude and segment duration are among the acoustic features which mostly vary with age [14]-[15], we analyzed these characteristics in the present study. We annotated Chomsky's speech on different tiers: segments, consonantal and vocalic intervals, voiced (VO-) and unvoiced (UV-) intervals, syllable and syllable amplitude peaks. Within-speaker durational variability was quantified through a variety of different rhythmic variables (%V, ΔC, ΔCLn, ΔC, ΔV, ΔVLn, rPVI-C, nPVI-V, %VO, varcoVO, nPVI-VO). F0 and intensity variability was computed by taking the standard deviations, variation coefficients and PVIs of average syllable intensity/F0 and syllable peak intensity/F0 values.

Preliminary results based on the durational characteristics of vocalic and consonantal intervals as well as of voiced and unvoiced intervals show that with advancing age %V and the variability of vocalic intervals (ΔV and ΔVLn) increase, while the variability of consonantal intervals (ΔC and ΔCLn) and the %VO decrease.

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(Re-)viewing the acquisition of rhythm in the light of L2 phonological theories

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Current empirical research on L2 speech rhythm can be described as predominantly descriptive in the sense that data analysis is not guided by theories of L2 phonological acquisition. With Colantoni et al. (2015: 31) I dismiss the notion of analytical – that is, theory-led – studies being inherently superior. However, in this paper I would like to illustrate how the current state of formalized knowledge of L2 acquisition can contribute to our understanding of this supra-segmental category of speech. It is, of course, incorrect to claim that quantitative studies do not turn to theoretical concepts advanced by interlanguage (IL) phonology research. The notion of transfer is often invoked (e.g. Gut 2003, 2009, 2012; White & Mattys 2007; Sönning 2014) and several studies have resorted to theoretical models for a post-hoc interpretation or explanation of their findings (e.g. Li & Post 2014; Ordin & Polyanskaya 2014). While it has been argued that existing models of L2 phonology are ill-suited to account for prosodic phenomena (Li & Post 2014: 224), this certainly does not apply across the board. Among others, the *Ontogeny Phylogeny Model* (OPM; Major 2001) and the *Linguistic theory of L2 phonological development* (LTD; James 1988) provide rich frameworks for studying prominence alternations in speech. Both contributions are dynamic in that they account for change over time and thus provide a foundation for studying IL development. Major's (2001) OPM synthesizes important insights from 20th century theorizing, including transfer, similarity, markedness, and universals. IL development is modeled as a systematic interplay of transferred, universal and target language structures; the model easily extends to prosodic phenomena (for an application to L2 timing patterns see Sönning 2015). The LTD is among the lesser-known works and has not received much attention in the literature. Its assumptions, however, directly translate into quantifiable hypotheses about systematic variability in prominence (or lack thereof) at the level of the segment or syllable. Central to the LTD is the notion of binary strength marking, indicating the relative prominence of a particular structure. IL phonology is assumed to emerge in a bottom-up fashion, with prominence grading gradually building up from the level of the word to that of the phrase and clause. While OPM-framed endeavors may navigate within the narrow realms of rhythm metrics, the LTD urges the researcher to look beyond such global measures and concentrate on individual segments or

syllables as the level of analysis. This ties in with current work within the prosody-based view of rhythm, which focuses on lengthening effects at prosodic heads and edges (e.g. Prieto et al. 2012; White et al. 2012; Li & Post 2014; Schmidt & Post 2015). The OPM and LTD not only encourage new methodological approaches beyond the well-trodden path of rhythm metrics but also constitute unified frameworks for the (contrastive) study of speech rhythm across different varieties of English. The application of these models to the analysis of L2 speech rhythm will be illustrated using data from a cross-sectional study on IL development in 60 German learners from grade 6 to university level (including BrE and AmE native speaker control groups of each 15 subjects).

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Work-in-progress

'Englishness' of rhythm measured by the nPVI and the Syllabic Distribution Algorithm

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This study examines a certain amount of English vocal music, and suggests (i) that what is measured by the nPVI can be reflected in the vocal music as well, and (ii) that the use of the nPVI and the Syllabic Distribution Algorithm (hereafter SDA; Hayes 2009: 49), both of which try to capture the native speakers' intuition on speech rhythm, can help to give form to rhythm that is and is not 'English'. This is a progress report on an investigation of the extent to which the arrangements of musical notes in English vocal music reflect the rhythm of English speech.

Speech rhythm has attracted linguists' attention since the nPVI (Low, Grabe and Nolan 2000; Grabe and Low 2002) was introduced as an analysis tool. It opened the way to a comparison between the rhythm of speech and that of music (Patel and Daniele 2003; Patel, Iversen and Rosenberg 2006). These works utilize the idea that 'musical notes can roughly be compared to syllables, and vowels form the core of syllables', and 'it seems plausible to compare vowel-based rhythmic measures of speech to note-based rhythmic measures of music' (Patel, Iversen and Rosenberg 2006). They use instrumental music as data. Another line of research on the speech-music interface is text-setting (Lerdahl and Jackendoff 1983; Hayes, 2009; Dell and Halle 2009). What characterizes English text-setting is a rather strong tendency for matching stressed syllables with musically strong beats, and hence referred to as 'stress-to-beat'. Earlier studies on English text-setting used sung or chanted verses to avoid complexity and idiosyncrasy (Hayes and MacEachern 1998: 474). Recent works on text-setting, however, extend their object of analysis to include vocal music, and show that the SDA also works there if two levels of structure are set up at grid notation (Temperly 1999; Temperly and Temperly 2011).

The present study makes a dual approach to English rhythm: one from the nPVI and the other from the SDA. A comparison of the sequential arrangements of musical notes between *Let it be* and *Michelle* by the Beatles, for instance, shows a significant difference between the nPVI scores (58.4 vs. 40.9) and 'un-English' text-setting in the latter. This can be explained as a deliberate choice made by the songwriter; in fact a note accompanying its manuscript lyric at the British Library says that Paul McCartney attempted to 'write a French-sounding song'. Since the rules of the SDA utilize a general principle that 'rhythmically strong units tend to be long as well' (Lerdahl and Jackendoff 1983: 80-84), the nPVI scores of the musical notes will necessarily vary depending on their place in a bar. Thus, the sequential order of stressed and unstressed syllables in lyrics will exert considerable influence on the output nPVI of the musical scores. A specific example from *Michelle* will show the relationship; if a text 'go together' is to be set to music, native speakers of English would rarely use a sequence of four notes of **equal** length (♩ ♩ ♩ ♩). Modern vocal music seems to enjoy autonomy of musical rhythm, but this is an attempt to show that the sequential order of stressed and unstressed syllables in English should lead to inherent rhythm in music as well as in speech.

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The introduction of English rhythm in the EFL classroom to improve intelligibility, comprehensibility and fluency

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There have been several attempts to classify languages according to their rhythm but, despite the conventional approach that claims English and Spanish to be stress and syllable-timed respectively (Pike, 1945; Abercrombie, 1967), multiple acoustic studies have challenged the veracity of isochrony as a reliable tool for rhythm classification. Nevertheless, some others have proved the existence of a tendency towards isochrony (see Lehiste, 1977, for a review). In fact, it is this tendency that really influences both production and perception (Lehiste, 1977; Dauer, 1983:52; Finch and Ortiz-Lira, 1982:113), creating an acoustic illusion that directly affects comprehensibility, intelligibility and fluency when speaking a second language. Therefore, rhythm works as a mechanism by which the speaker anticipates syntactic and lexical information that meets the expectations of the listener, which eases information gathering and understanding (Derwing and Munro, 2015:155). Some researchers have artificially manipulated durational patterns of L2 speech in order to make them similar to those found in the target language, thus showing that the more alike these are, the more intelligible the speech is (Tajima, 1997; Quené and Van Denft, 2010). For this reason, it is believed that the instruction of basic rhythmic cues [e.g. syllable length, stress and vowel reduction (Wong, 1987)] within the EFL classroom can positively improve L2 speakers' prosody. While a number

of studies endorse rhythm instruction (Chela, 1997; Derwing, Munro and Wiebe, 1998; Hahn, 2004; Graeme, 2006; Tsiartsioni, 2011), demonstrating its effectiveness in L2 prosody improvement, further fieldwork needs to be carried out.

My research mainly seeks to demonstrate how rhythm training can improve the global prosody of EFL students and consequently reduce L1 "negative transfer" (Celce-Murcia, 1996:20) into the L2. For this purpose, Spanish/Catalan first-year undergraduate engineering students from Rovira i Virgili University taking a technical English course are going to participate in a pronunciation program as part of the subject from February to June this year. The program is divided into ten weekly sessions of thirty minutes each and participants are split into three experimental groups and three control groups of approximately twenty to thirty students. All the sessions are designed according to, on the one hand, the course content, bearing in mind both the engineering topics and the language aspects dealt with in class so as to preserve students' motivation and awareness of the pronunciation sessions utility within their field (Anderson-Hsieh, 1990:201); on the other hand, Celce-Murcia's steps to teach communicatively (1996:36), through which students participate in a wide range of activities that progress from specific analysis, listening discrimination and controlled/guided practice to more extemporaneous rehearsal. Nonetheless, experimental groups are going to receive explicit rhythm instruction whereas control groups are not, making rhythm training the focus of study. In order to evaluate progress, both groups are going to take a recorded pre-test and a post-test at the beginning and the end of the course, which will be listened to by native speakers and assessed in terms of comprehensibility, intelligibility and fluency by means of a Likert scale. The experiment results are expected to show that students who benefit from a continuous rhythm instruction will be more comprehensible, intelligible and fluent with lasting results, no matter their proficiency level, than those who don't. This suggests that rhythm instruction is an important aspect to teach within the EFL classroom to enhance students' communication skills in English.

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Perceptual judgements regarding L1 effects on speech rhythm: Evidence from an Indian English educated speakers' community in Heidelberg

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Recent research has shed new light on IE target phonology as distinct from that of native Indian languages, suggesting that L1 effects on IE are minimal and that they may reflect either the incomplete acquisition of the target phonology or the influence of sociolinguistic factors including identity and/or regional variation (Wiltshire & Moon 2003; Sirsa & Redford 2013). Moreover, the increasing interest in IE speech rhythm patterns has heightened the need for further investigation; following Gargesh (2004) and Nishihara & van de Weijer (2011)'s viewpoint, IE has its own syllable-timed rhythmic patterns which might be derived from the influence of neighbouring vernacular languages. However, syllable- and stress-timing are to be probably better regarded as ideals rarely or never realised in actual speech (Fuchs 2014), and it would then be more adequate to describe such variation in terms of 'more/less syllable-timed' patterns, since the existence of weak forms in connected speech may demonstrates quite clearly that IE rhythm is either syllable-timed nor stress-timed (Sailaja 2009).

In order to test such theories, the present work intends to investigate IE educated speakers' evaluation of suprasegmental variation following a folk linguistics approach. In particular, it draws on a linguistic fieldwork research conducted in Heidelberg, Germany, at the beginning of 2016 and primarily based on the collection of empirical data from Indian university students of either Dravidian and Indo-Aryan language backgrounds (i.e. eleven semi-structured recorded interviews, spontaneous speech and a context-adapted survey from Kachru 1986 administrated to forty-two students between 21 and 27 years of age). The intent of the research was to analyse indexicality and linguistic awareness in L2.

The aim of this paper is to test whether local perceptions have common ground with linguistic beliefs. Specifically, all data gathered from the community will be used for qualitative analysis concerning identity issues and regional dialectal variation in relation to the contextual framework of Heidelberg, while the quantitative variationist analyses draw on data from eleven of these speakers, with a total amount of almost two hours of tape recording. I will furthermore assess whether participants distinguish and hence, differentiate, prosodic features geographically. As a matter of fact, Indian students' 'ethnography of speaking' (Blommaert 2013) seemingly concerns a rather North to South (and vice versa) more than a

state-to-state distinction; timing patterns, tone and speech rhythm of native languages are therefore ostensibly transferred to English and seem to approximately identify people's origin. As a consequence, they tend to differentiate between an 'Indian-oriented and a 'British/American- oriented' way of speaking. Thus, considering that the analysis of data showed that IE speakers primarily used nonsegmental parameters (accent, fluency, and speech rate) to make perceptual judgments, whereas segmental parameters had a relatively –yet present– minor role, this paper argues that it is possible to outline a prominence theory through which IE speakers' perceptual judgements about acoustic regional differentiation might share a common ground with a distinction between stress- and syllable-timed patterns. Hence, following Irvine and Gal's contention that there is no gaze that is not positioned (2000) I will discuss how unconscious linguistic ideologies might pervade such a level of linguistic structure. So far, on the basis of their awareness of such a sensible acoustic regional differentiation, it is important to note that such differences are apparently due to the incomplete acquisition of the target phonology and/or L1 influences and to the influence of sociolinguistic factors as pointed in Maxwell and Fletcher (2009, 2010) and Whiltshire and Harnsberger (2006).

In conclusion, the perceptual judgements at issue are likely to support the idea that similarities across vernacular languages account for similarities in the IE produced by speakers with diverse language backgrounds (already in Wiltshire and Hansberger; Pickering and Wiltshire (2000)).

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Workshop 4: Big data – small data – abstractness – concreteness: Critical approaches to methods in Corpus Linguistics

Convenors:
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Extracting noun phrases from unparsed corpora: Conflicting goals and a simple method

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The manual extraction of noun phrases (NPs) from corpus texts for the purpose of variationist analysis is certainly the most reliable and safest method available (cf. Jucker 1992; Schilk and Schaub 2016). However, it is not only slow but also unsatisfactory from a statistical point of view. Reaching sufficient token numbers is tedious, and systematic sampling from a large body of texts is hardly possible. Some studies have also opted for the automatic extraction of NPs on the basis of syntactic parsing (cf. e.g. de Haan 1993), which is quick and would, in principle, allow for big token numbers. Parsed corpora, however, are small and few and far between. Methods of automatic NP identification (cf. e.g. Vadas and Curran 2011), on top of being difficult to handle and apply, are hampered by a lack of precision as they struggle e.g. with the segmentation of embedded NPs (e.g. with recognising *crude oil* in *crude oil prices*; cf. Vadas and Curran 2011: 754). In this paper, the pros and cons of the manual and the automatic methods of NP extraction and their use in previous studies will be discussed briefly. After that, a simple semi-automatic method of NP extraction from ICE corpora developed in Brunner (fc. 2017) will be presented, which requires part-of-speech tagging only. NPs are extracted automatically using an R script; random samples are drawn, and only the NPs which enter the random sample are checked manually. The method, thus, combines the rapidity of the automatic approach with the precision of manual extraction.

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From big data to small data and back again: Using token-based semantic vector spaces for corpus-linguistic analyses

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This paper showcases a recent corpus-linguistic method that is typically associated with "big data" approaches, namely token-based semantic vector space modeling (Schütze 1998, Heylen et al. 2012). It is our aim to demonstrate how this approach can provide the input for in-depth qualitative studies of grammatical phenomena, as for example a contrast between two near-synonymous constructions. We will illustrate this approach by contrasting two pairs of English modal constructions, namely *may* vs. *might* and *must* vs. *have to*.

Semantic vector space models are routinely used in computational linguistics, where they are applied to problems such as word sense disambiguation or information retrieval (Turney and Pantel 2010). The technique has been adopted in a number of corpus-based studies (e.g. Sagi et al. 2011, Jenset 2013, Perek 2016, amongst others), but it remains a relatively underused technique. Its core idea is captured by the slogan *You shall know a word by the company it keeps* (Firth 1957: 11), which reflects the hypothesis that the meaning of a word is related to its distribution in actual language use. Semantic vector spaces analyze the meaning of a given word in terms of other words that occur frequently in close proximity to that word. For instance, the noun *toast* frequently occurs in close proximity of nouns such as *tea*, *cheese*, and *coffee*. A statistically processed frequency list of all collocates of *toast* in a given corpus is called a semantic vector. Semantic analysis enters the picture when semantic vectors of several words are compared. Most current applications of semantic vector space models analyze word types, thus averaging collocate frequencies over many occurrences of the same word. Our approach builds on the general logic of such type-based semantic vector spaces, but we adopt a more specific proposal from Heylen et al. (2012), which operates at the level of word tokens, thus capturing meaning differences between individual occurrences of the same word. The primary unit of data in such an approach is the concordance line, that is, a key word with a context window of several words to the left and several words to the right.

By contrasting concordance lines of synonymous expressions such as *may* and *might* (or *must* vs. *have to*) in a token-based semantic vector space that is based on the British National Corpus, we can visualize both semantic differences and areas of semantic overlap between the two. Furthermore, we can identify concordance lines in which *may* and *might* are synonymous, and others in which the two expressions convey very different meanings. The "big data" thus points us towards the "small data" that is most likely to contain information that is relevant to our research question. Conversely, analyzing the individual examples leads us to a deeper understanding of the aggregate data.

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Critical approaches to BNC data on *actually*

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This paper studies the use of *actually* in the spoken part of the British National Corpus (BNC) from a number of different quantitative angles and by conducting the relevant research from different BNC platforms/interfaces (including SARA, XAIRA, CQPweb, and the BYU interface; cf. Aston & Burnard 1998; Hoffmann et al. 2008; Hardie 2012). Issues relating to feasibility (i.e. big data, though small by some modern standards) and levels of abstraction will figure prominently. This study expands on research conducted for Krug (1998), whose results were ambiguous and complex. Other researchers, too, have only cautiously or in passing reported their BNC findings on *actually* (Mair 2006: 33; Li 2015). Perhaps now is the time (and this the forum) to discuss the issues and address the methodological caveats involved.

Issues to be dealt with include the following:

- To what extent (and perhaps why) do the various BNC search platforms and programs produce different results?
- What are appropriate normalization procedures for a discourse marker: per, say 100,000 utterances, turns, sentences or words?
- How do normalization procedures affect our findings and interpretations?
- In a set of thousands of examples, should we manually disambiguate different uses of *actually* (and if so, how best)?

We shall see that the different platforms indeed produce different quantitative results. This is surprisingly true even for different formats of BNCweb (depending, for instance, on access to the corpus via the Bamberg or Lancaster website). While the number of occurrences of *actually* is identical in the Bamberg and Lancaster BNCweb versions, word counts (and thus normalized frequencies) in the two corpora differ by 15–22%. A more severe problem is that some search options which used to be available for SARA, and still are with XAIRA (including educational levels of speakers, for instance), seem unavailable with BNCweb and the BYU interface.

On the positive side, it can be stated that figures do not differ in a random fashion: Different BNC platforms produce similar absolute and relative frequencies and thus largely parallel curvilinear patterns (as reported above for different BNCweb versions). Some patterns can be reasonably interpreted from a sociolinguistic perspective (cf. Trudgill 1974). A case in point is the apparent-time distribution for sentence-initial *actually.* This shows an S-curve pattern which strongly suggests language change in progress – with the over-60s lagging

behind and the three youngest cohorts (i.e. speakers under 35) demonstrably leading the change. Other patterns can be integrated into frameworks trying to capture the relationship between language and power: If, similar to *in fact* (cf. Traugott 1999), the use of *actually* can mark authority in spoken interaction, then high usage rates of *actually* among social groups that tend to occupy influential positions in western societies would seem to support power-based explanations (cf. Fairclough 2010, 2014). And it is indeed speakers aged 45 to 59 (i.e. the age band during which people usually reach the peaks of their professional careers) and speakers having enjoyed the longest periods of full-time education who exhibit particularly high usage rates of *actually*.

In conclusion, I shall argue that rather than be silent on the methodological difficulties they face, researchers should report diverging and conflicting results, point to the most likely interpretations and scenarios and use alternative versions of the BNC, possibly adjusting by factors based on previous experience, in order to complement (or actually fill gaps in) their otherwise incomplete data sets.

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Why go Bayesian? A corpus linguist's perspective

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The overwhelming majority of corpus-based studies in contemporary linguistics are based on frequentist inferential statistics. Bayesian inference is used much less frequently, although it presents a number of advantages. In particular, it provides inferences that are based on the data, rather than on the theoretical distributions of test statistics, and does not require

numerous assumptions to be met. The Bayesian approach also yields intuitively interpretable results and allows one to test the research hypothesis directly, while frequentist inference is based on the rejection of the null hypothesis, which can be often counter-intuitive. Bayesian analysis also does not force the researcher to make binary decisions (Vasishth et al. 2013), which can lead to *p*-value hacking. In this talk, I discuss these and other advantages of Bayesian statistics, while also mentioning its disadvantages, and illustrate how it works in a range of corpus-based studies.

In accordance with the topic of the workshop, I present two types of analyses at different levels of abstraction and complexity. In the first set of case studies, I focus on the lower level of abstraction and complexity and propose a Bayesian version of the popular technique of collostructional analysis (Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003). Collostructional analysis measures the attraction or repulsion between a lexeme and a construction with the help of an association measure (most commonly, the *p*-value of the Fisher-Yates exact test). One of the advantages of this approach is the combination of the effect size and statistical significance in one score. However, this practical advantage can also be regarded as a conceptual problem (Schmid & Küchenhoff 2013). In this talk, I present a Bayesian version of this measure, which reflects how confident language users can be about the attraction between lexemes and constructions. I will demonstrate this in my analyses of permissive and assistive causative constructions in English: *let* + VINF, *allow* + *to* VINF, *permit* + *to* VINF and *help* + (*to*) VINF, and their collexemes that fill in the infinitive slot. This approach represents a cognitively plausible measure of the speaker's confidence with regard to the association between a verb and a given construction.

The second set of case studies demonstrates a more complex method at a higher level of abstraction, namely, multiple regression analysis. It has become a de facto standard in variational and cognitive corpus-based linguistics for modelling of linguistic variants and near-synonyms (Bresnan et al. 2007, Arppe 2008, Miglio et al. 2013, to mention just a few). It involves more numerous and abstract features than collostructional analysis, such as semantic classes, valency, discourse status, register, etc. In this talk I demonstrate how Bayesian regression can help one model this variation, providing flexible measures of one's belief that a certain parameter has a certain (e.g. positive or negative) value. This can be particularly useful for cross-lectal studies in probabilistic grammar, when the researcher compares the effects of certain variables across different lects (Szmrecsanyi et al. 2016). The case studies again focus on the English constructions that express permissive causation, as well as on the assistive causatives in different geographic varieties of English.

While discussing the advantages of Bayesian inference, I will also talk about some well-known problematic issues, such as the choice of and sensitivity to priors and computational problems related to the application of Bayesian methods.

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Corpus-driven approaches to language change and psycholinguistics

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Corpus-driven methods (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001) allow linguists to detect collocations (Evert, 2009; Bartsch and Evert, 2014), semantically related words (Sahlgren, 2006) and concepts (Blei, 2012), trends in the media (Grimmer and Stewart, 2013) and much more.

The typically applied methods rely on patterns of overuse (e.g. for collocations), machine learning (e.g. for trends in the media) and distributional semantics (e.g. semantically related words). Particularly the two latter methods are not used widely yet in Corpus Linguistics. We present and critically assess two applications using these methods:

1. Diachronic change: corpus-driven methods give us a new way to detect salient changes from Modern English to Present-Day English. We use collocation statistics and machine learning approaches to detect diachronic changes on the level of lexis, lexicogrammar (collocations and POS tags (Schmid, 1994)), as well as syntax, using an automatic parser (Schneider, 2008). While the methods detect surprisingly many changes and confirm most of the changes described for the period (López-Couso, Aarts, and Méndez-Naya, 2012), the data needs to be interpreted carefully and critically.
2. Psycholinguistic features: we discuss how frequency-based measures and computational models often deliver surprisingly accurate psycholinguistic approximations, for example in research on collocations (Wulff, 2008; Pecina and Schlesinger, 2006), associations (Schulte im Walde and Melinger, 2008; Baroni, Dinu, and Kruszewski, 2014), learner language (Gries and Wulff, 2009) and mental load (Schneider and Grigonyte, 2016; Frank et al., 2013). Given enough data, there are only few limitations, and machines can achieve up to near-human efficiency on some tasks.

While radical proponents of corpus-driven methods are critical towards the use of annotated data (e.g. Sinclair 1991) we take the view that annotation is a key to the investigation of high-level descriptions (e.g. Aarts 1992, van Noord and Bouma 2009), particularly as the annotating tools themselves are largely based on data-driven methods. We also discuss the Occam's razor trade-off between simplicity and interpretability of the methods compared to their performance.

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Cluster analysis revisited: Introducing 'gravity' as a measure of goodness

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Multidimensional approaches to linguistic data analysis have been applied in areas as diverse as typology (Wälchli 2014; Szmrecsanyi 2012), corpus-based register studies (Werner 2014), comparative accent studies (McMahon & Maguire 2013), morphosyntactic profiling of varieties based on expert ratings (Kortmann & Wolk 2012), the analysis of lexical questionnaire data across varieties of English (Krug, Schützler & Werner 2016), and diachronic corpus studies (Hilpert 2013). They are used if the objects of interest (e.g. speakers/authors/raters, genres, varieties, languages, constructions …) differ with regard to multiple features, and if the researcher wants to make comparisons not on a feature-by-feature basis but across all features simultaneously. To this end, *n*-dimensional distances between all possible pairs of objects in a dataset are calculated, where *n* is the number of variable features that are considered. In linguistics, there are mainly three variants of the approach, which differ most markedly with regard to the visual arrangement of the output. They are (i) hierarchical cluster analysis (Gries 2013: 336 ff.), (ii) multidimensional scaling (e.g. Hilpert 2013: 66 ff.), and (iii) unrooted phenograms (or NeighborNets; cf. Huson & Bryant 2006). This paper focuses on the latter two approaches.

The notion of the *cluster* plays a central role in multidimensional analysis. A cluster is a set of objects that is either mathematically identified as constituting a group (in hierarchical clustering), or is regarded as a group by the linguist, based on the visualisation (in the other two approaches). Paradoxically, although a very strong quantitative element is always involved, clusters in the visual output are often discussed in purely qualitative or metaphorical terms. For example, clusters or cluster structures are described as more or less 'neat', 'resolved', 'star-like', 'coherent', 'tight' or 'strong', to mention but a few of the terms found in the literature. A nuanced and objective assessment of cluster strengths and of different clustering solutions is difficult in those terms, particularly if differences are not obvious but subtle.

To address this issue, this paper introduces a metric which is, for the time being, referred to as 'gravity'. It is intended as an objective (i.e. quantitative) measure of cluster coherence, independence, strength etc. – in short, the overall goodness of clusters. A cluster is characterised by high gravity, if (i) the average distance between its constituent elements is relatively small and (ii) if the distance between the cluster midpoint and all other (non-cluster) units is relatively large.

The paper will discuss examples from the literature to illustrate the problem, explain the rationale and mathematics underlying the new metric, briefly outline its implementation in the R-environment, and demonstrate its application, using corpus data from an ongoing study of concessive constructions in varieties of English. It is argued that, while it was designed for hypothesis-generating approaches, cluster analysis can also be used to test the plausibility of alternative clustering solutions. 'Gravity' provides an additional metric that can help bridge the gap between purely data-driven approaches and approaches that rely on assumptions, hypotheses and prior knowledge of the linguist.

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Exploring corpus homogeneity: Press editorials in the British, Canadian and Jamaican components of the International Corpus of English

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When frequencies of a linguistic phenomenon in corpus data are reported, this is commonly done in normalized figures. But frequencies alone tell us little about the distribution of said phenomenon within the corpus. Consequently, Gries (2006) proposes to additionally explore intra-corpus variability and report a measure of dispersion alongside normalized frequencies. But what are the consequences if a corpus or parts of it are substantially more heterogeneous than others? How does it affect a comparison of registers across varieties? Could a resampling of certain sections (e.g. Meyer 2004) increase their homogeneity?

Naturally, due to the diverse nature of research questions for which corpora are used, no single approach can answer these questions satisfactorily. A mix of quantitative and qualitative methods could facilitate identifying the source of the variability and the nature of the data, eventually forming the basis for an informed decision.

The present study illustrates what such a mixed-methods approach could look like and how it could be used to explore the homogeneity of the press editorials (PE) subsections of the Canadian, British and Jamaican components of the International Corpus of English (ICE)

(Greenbaum 1996). It then investigates potential sources of the variability and argues that textual heterogeneity complicates a register-informed (Biber & Conrad 2009) comparison of these subsections.

For this purpose, the corpus material was split into text samples and annotated with a set of linguistic variables (following Biber 1988) using the Multidimensional Analysis Tagger (Nini 2014). The data were then subjected to explorative data analysis using the software R (R Core Team 2016, Chang et al. 2016, Wickham 2009, Yu et al. 2016).

Overall, it was found that the PE text samples cluster largely by variety and are distinguishable through features that mark personal involvement and features associated with more informal registers (Biber 1988). It is mainly the frequencies of 1st and 2nd person pronouns and contractions that are responsible for the distinction between the clusters, and therefore the varieties.

Based on the previously identified variables and clusters, texts are subjected to close reading and some scans of the original newspaper texts are reviewed. Results suggest that ICE-GB primarily contains institutional editorials while ICE-JA and ICE-CAN also include other opinion pieces (e.g. columns, comments, personal editorials and letters to the editor). The findings of this study mirror the distinction of these text types as described in theoretical communication studies and practical guides for journalists (Bell 1991, Mast 2012, Müller 2011).

To increase homogeneity of the individual sections, the PEs were resampled into more fine-grained textual categories ("institutional opinion pieces" and "personal opinion pieces") and material was added. As more situational variables remain stable, the new categories provide a higher resolution for comparative register studies.

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Simulated language learners, simulated linguists: An exploration of language change and causal hypotheses in probabilistic grammar

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This paper aims to marry the probabilistic-variationist approach with the modeling of language as a cognitive-evolutionary dynamic system, as represented in iterated learning exemplar/agent-based models. In the probabilistic-variationist framework, speakers' choices and the factors determining them are quantified using the mathematical language of uncertainty; differences between speaker groups and across time can then be evaluated by comparing the strengths of individual effects (e.g. Bresnan & Ford 2010; Wolk et al. 2013). Choices also play a crucial role in iterated learning models, but here the focus lies on the causal mechanisms underlying patterns of variation and change. In this approach, speakers are individually modeled as entities that both learn a particular linguistic pattern from data and produce such data themselves, providing data for other models to iteratively learn from. This allows researchers to experimentally explore the dynamics of language change and the effect that the parameters of the models (such as the properties of the learning algorithm) have on them. For example, Blythe & Croft (2012) used a variant of agent-based modeling to test what kinds of weightings in exemplar-type models will lead to the well-known s-curve of language change, arguing that differential weighting of forms is necessary to robustly create this shape. In short: the probabilistic-variationist approach allows us to find out what happened, and iterated agent-based models allow us to evaluate the explanations why it happened.

Agent-based models so far have focused on research questions dealing with development and replacements of forms, and the relatively straightforward learning algorithms of these studies are of limited use for the massively multifactorial alternations studied by probabilistic grammarians. However, the suitable tools for analyzing these alternations, such as generalized linear regression models, are themselves learning algorithms suitable for use in agent-based modeling: they are trained from data and can themselves generate new data through prediction. Combining the paradigms allows researchers to test specific causal claims, as long as these claims can be represented in the model. In this demonstration, I will attempt to leverage this method to tackle three explanations for an observed change in the effect of animacy on the English genitive alternation proposed by Szmrecsanyi et al. (2014). They found that since approximately the middle of the 19th century, animacy-based restrictions against certain types of possessors in the s-genitive have weakened. For this change, three possible causal claims were given: it can be seen as a simple grammar-internal change, a change in the grammaticosemantic interplay of possession and animacy, or a change in the frequency distributions of category-internal animacy gradience. I will formulate these changes as variations in the model inputs, and evaluate the effects that these changes produce.

As a final step, I will introduce the idea of a simulated linguist, who studies the simulated language user communities by sampling predicted data and analyzing it using the probabilistic-variationist toolset. The idea behind this method can also be used to validate the original corpus analyses without iterative learning, as an alternative to bootstrapping. I will use the results of this method to reflect on factors that probabilistic models may miss.

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Workshop 5: Different perspectives on proper noun modifiers

Convenors:

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Topic

Proper nouns used as modifiers, as e.g. in *the Watergate scandal*, *a London theatre*, *the Ghana problem*, *another Hillary phone call*, are a relatively new and productive phenomenon in English (see Biber and Gray 2011, Rosenbach 2007). There are only a few studies on the phenomenon in English (Rosenbach 2007, 2010) and a few on similar constructions in other Germanic languages (Schlücker 2013 on German and Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2013 on Swedish), which rather than fully explaining the phenomenon, in fact identify a variety of issues for further study. These issues fall within different traditional areas of linguistics, morpho-syntax, semantics and pragmatics, phonetics, sociolinguistics, etc. We believe that only by investigating these issues ‘in dialogue’ can we fully understand this new use of proper nouns in English. The aim of this workshop is then to bring together experts from different areas around the topic of proper noun modifiers. The workshop is seen as a stepping stone towards a special journal issue, in which the contributors can work with and benefit from the findings of their co-contributors, in order to reach a fuller level of understanding of this new phenomenon as well as, more generally, of the interplay of different fields of linguistics.

Outstanding issues in context

- One open question pertains to the **morpho-syntactic** status of the proper noun modifiers. Several authors have shed their light on noun modifiers and have argued for a compound or (and even *and*) a phrase status (see e.g. Bauer 1998, Giegerich 2004, 2015). The issue of the proper noun modifiers is quite probably even more intriguing, as they in general show the syntactic behaviour of phrases, but usually have fore-stress, which is typically seen as a key distinguishing feature of compounds. Questions about individual lexicalization, and analogical formation with existing lexicalization, and even lexicalization of a larger identifying proper noun construction with a fore-stress pattern, are interesting options to explore.

- Within the area of **phonetics**, stress has been proven to be an important part of the morpho-syntactic debate, and has been identified as a (minor, but not neglectable) factor in the genitive alternation (Shih et al. 2015). The stress patterns of the proper noun modifiers have not yet been looked at on the basis of natural language data.
- The discussion of the **semantic** interpretation of the construction has focussed on the identifying function of some proper noun modifiers, and on how it could be integrated into existing models of the noun phrase (Rosenbach 2007, Schlücker 2013, Breban 2017). But the issue of how the proper noun actually identifies is much more complex and intriguing. For instance, in *the Ghana problem*, the actual explicit content added by the proper noun *Ghana* is very limited and most of the interpretative work is left to the 'decoding' participant. We invite papers looking into underspecification, underdetermination, the role of **pragmatics** in this construction and possibility in contrast to genitive constructions.
- Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2013) used long stretches of text to discuss when and how Swedish proper noun modifiers were used in **discourse** as alternatives for other possible constructions (determiner genitives, more complex constructions with postmodification). A similar, fleshed out qualitative discourse study of proper noun modifiers in English has not yet been done.
- In terms of **variation**, the main question is how the proper noun modifier construction relates to the genitive constructions in terms of speaker choice. Rosenbach's (2007) main claim is that they are equivalent when we restrict focus on proper noun modifiers denoting humans in definite noun phrases, but has to concede that even within this very restricted set, equivalence is not absolute, e.g. *the Guggenheim museum* versus **Guggenheim's museum* and *John's sister* versus **the John sister*. Alternations with other constructions, the *of*-genitive (see e.g. Biber et al. 2016) and with adjectival modifiers, e.g. *the Italian invasion*, are also of interest.
- Rosenbach (2007) restricted her corpus work to texts in the news **genre**, as she argued proper noun modifiers are a common feature of a nominalized style. Breban (2013) found that newspaper headlines were a frequent source. However, the construction seems to be productive in other, informal genres, e.g. our colleagues are setting out *a Manchester strategy*, discussing *the Kazachstan scholarship problem*, and hoping to have *Boris bikes* in Manchester in the near future. A study looking into different genres, in the trend of work on noun modifiers by Biber and colleagues, would be welcome.
- In terms of the **historical** development, we know that the first examples of proper noun modifier constructions were found in the 17th and 18th centuries with proper nouns denoting locations, e.g. *Greenwich Park* (Biber and Gray 2011, Rosenbach 2007). The studies show that noun modifiers show a marked increase in frequency only in the 20th century. The specific information on proper noun modifiers is restricted to Rosenbach's discussion of the different semantic types of nouns featuring in the ARCHER news corpus, but it is only focused on this issue and doesn't provide a full picture of the development of this construction as such and in relation to noun modifiers in general.
- A final issue concerns the relation of proper nouns modifying nouns, such as *the Watergate scandal*, and another recent use, proper nouns modifying adjectives, e.g. *Einstein smart*, *Usain Bolt fast* (Vartiainen 2016). To what extent do these **constructions** share features, share a history and influence each other, if at all?

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Some distributional properties of proper noun modifiers in the British National Corpus

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Experimental and corpus-based studies of the stress patterns of English noun-noun constructions (NNs) have established that the presence of a proper noun in the modifier position predisposes such constructions to 'right stress', i.e. to perceived prominence on the head (e.g. Plag et al. 2007). Furthermore, acoustic studies of compound production have shown that 'right stress' in fact reflects the presence of two pitch accents, one on each constituent: the perception of prominence on the right-hand constituent is due to the lack of an expected declination in pitch (e.g. Kunter 2011). In terms of prosody, NN constructions with proper noun modifiers therefore tend to be less tightly bound than prototypical left-stressed NN compounds, in which the constituents are united by a single pitch accent; rather, the prosody of the proper noun construction tends to resemble that of the prototypical AN phrase.

Using a large sample of data from the British National Corpus (BNC), the present study demonstrates that this prosodic looseness is also reflected in the morphosyntactic behaviour of these constructions: NNs with proper noun modifiers show less evidence of lexical integrity compared to NN constructions generally.

Using the Lancaster University bncweb interface (Hoffmann et al. 2008), I searched the BNC for all strings of exactly two nouns, including proper nouns, following the definite article within a sentence, and not followed by another noun. This produced 41,3871 hits. Using the same context, I also searched for sequences of noun adjective noun, yielding 10,990 hits. Whilst some of these sequences represent the combination of a modifying noun with an AN compound, there are also instances in which the adjective can be analysed as modifying the head of a NN construction, and this can be taken as evidence that the NN in question lacks lexical integrity. If proper noun modifiers are less tightly bound to their heads than other modifying nouns, we would therefore expect to see a larger proportion of proper noun modifiers in NAN constructions than in NNs generally. Finally, I searched for all sequences of exactly three nouns in the given context, yielding 63,883 hits. If proper noun modifiers are less tightly bound to their heads than other modifying nouns, we would expect to see a relatively high proportion of proper nouns in the left hand position of trinominal compounds, arising from constructions of the form N[NN].

The results reveal highly statistically significant differences between the distributions of proper noun modifiers and those of other modifying nouns. Compared to the proportion of proper noun modifiers in NN constructions generally (19%), the proportion of proper nouns was significantly higher in the first noun position of both NAN constructions (45%; $p < 2.2e-16$) and NNN constructions (36%; $p < 2.2e-16$). If, as asserted by Biber et al. (1999: 599), 'the most noun-like modifiers [tend to] occur closest to the head noun' in English, we might conclude that proper noun modifiers are not only prosodically similar to adjectives, but also distributionally intermediate between adjectives and other modifying nouns.

The alternation of proper noun modifiers and determining genitives: Findings from a corpus and a production study

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Rosenbach (2007) raises the issue of the potential equivalence between the proper noun modifier (PNM) and the determining genitive (GEN) constructions in English. In some cases, these two constructions seem largely equivalent, e.g. *the England goalkeeper* (PNM) vs. *England's goalkeeper* (GEN). In this paper, we provide a detailed investigation of cases where equivalence fails, focussing on semantic-pragmatic restrictions, but controlling for other factors (e.g. proper noun ending in *-s*).

We first conducted a corpus study starting from a random sample of 1000 instances of the string proper noun followed by common noun from the BNC. This set was manually cut down to those examples with identifying PNMs in definite noun phrases (NPs), resulting in a data set of 254. This set was sorted according to the parameter: Is alternation between PNM and GEN possible? The main findings were: 1) Alternation is avoided when a core genitive relation is

expressed (kinship, ownership, agent) or when the proper noun denotes a location (*the London Olympics*) or when the proper noun and NP denote the same referent (*Phi Phi island*); 2) Alternation can entail a change in meaning, e.g. *Ghana's problem* 'Ghana has a problem' vs. *the Ghana problem* 'a problem which involves Ghana in some way'.

We followed up the corpus study with a production experiment in which participants were first asked to rate the naturalness of the PNM and GEN constructions in naturally occurring linguistic contexts borrowed from the corpus study. They were then asked to paraphrase the meaning of the relation between the PNM/possessor referent and the NP referent using a relative clause construction. 110 native speakers of English participated in the experiment, which contained 20 examples of possible alternations. The new data confirm the findings of the first study and suggest that the PNM construction is preferred precisely when language users want to express a different interpretation than that of the corresponding determiner genitive.

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The origins of the proper noun modifier construction: Multiple sources and constructional schematization

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Proper noun modifiers (PNMs) have been described as a largely 20th-century phenomenon by Rosenbach (2007), who uses the ARCHER corpus to document their increase in British news texts since 1650. As a side note to her main diachronic claims, Rosenbach speculates that the productive PNM construction, prior to her data, developed via analogical extension of lexicalised *s*-less determiner genitives such as *saynt Marke day*. This suggestion fails to account for certain features observed by Rosenbach, e.g. PNMs denoting locations are attested earlier than PNMs denoting persons. In addition, it might have been influenced by the restrictions on her sample, e.g. the exclusion of 'fixed names' such as *Windsor Castle*, *Hampton Court*.

We report on the results of a systematic diachronic corpus study using EEBO and CLMET3.1. The results underline the importance of distinguishing between PNMs denoting locations, persons, etc. not only because they appear at different times, but also because they originate from multiple source constructions (see Van de Velde et al. 2013): Location PNMs can be traced back to fixed names with location adjectives (*Windsor Castle*, *Oxford Road*); what Rosenbach refers to as 'appositions', *the Musgrave family*, are precursors of person PNMs; and combinations such as *Sunday morning, Monday evening* paved the way for other time PNMs (*the Spring edition*, *the 2012 Olympics*). All developments are individually motivated as compression strategies (see also Rosenbach 2007), but might also have been boosted by an emergent more general PNM construction in users' mental representation. We test the cognitive plausibility of such a PNM construction in a second synchronic corpus study, which examines whether individual language users who frequently resort to one subtype are also

more likely to make frequent use of the other (which points to a unified mental representation).

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English Name-Noun compounds: Identifying and classifying uses

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Name-Noun compounds can serve either an identifying or a classifying function (cf. Rosenbach 2007; Schlücker 2013, Breban 2017). Also, Name-Noun compounds may undergo a shift from the identifying to the classifying function (cf. e.g. Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2013, for Swedish).

Consider *diesel engine* or *HeLa cells / Hela cell / hela cell*. In Conceptual Semantics (Jackendoff 2010), complex words like *diesel engine* – which originates in the Name-Noun compound *Diesel engine* (*CAUSE* or *HAVE* relation) – fill out the basic modifier function *CLASSIFY*. That is, they behave like the lexicalized nominal compounds *xray* or *beta cell*, which consist of two concatenated nouns. More recently, however, Schlücker (2016) has argued for positing a *COMMEMORATIVE* relation as part of their semantic-conceptual structure: these compounds would thus exhibit is a 'named after' relation, with an arbitrary name for the given subkind. Turning to *HeLa cell / Hela cell / hela cell*, this construct designates an immortal cell line derived from the cancer cells originally taken from Henrietta Lax (*PART* relation).

In both *diesel engine* and *HeLa cell*, the first constituent does not provide any descriptive information about 'what kind of' N2 is the compound, irrespective of our knowledge of the life and story of Mr Diesel or Henrietta Lax. As such, these compounds would lack not only the descriptive function attached to compounds like *cancer cell* or *taxi driver*, but also the direct intersective or co-compositionality relations of Adjective-Noun compounds such as *red wine* and *busy signal*, respectively.

We therefore address the question how a particular Name, which identifies a referent, becomes an element with a classifying function. It may indeed turn out that the Name conjuring up a description rather than denoting it as a noun does, is part of this shift from naming an entity after its originator to naming a class – in less prototypical, classificatory names and nouns (in the sense of Anderson 2007). This is a feature of conventionalized nomenclature in technical vocabulary, also in the social sciences (see the *Pinocchio paradox*). Other examples are iconic products, their fakes and imitations, for instance *Kelly bag* and *Birkin bag*, where the compound takes on a classifying function via the characteristic attributes associated with the bags carried by fashion icons Grace Kelly and Jane Birkin. In like manner, we can use the well-established *Jackie O style* for a fashion style category inspired to Jacqueline Kennedy's signature style; *Hitler moustache* (see Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2013: 272 for the Swedish counterpart) labels imitations of Hitler's characteristic moustache (also in more

recent analogical expansions like *Hitler kettle*); or, based on Verner Panton's furniture from the sixties, the non-established *Panton table* could come to classify a vibrantly colored table made in plastics.

It the light of this, we carry out a qualitative investigation into a set of examples initially gathered from the *Contemporary Corpus of American English* (COCA) and American and British broadsheets. Information on meaning and etymology is gathered from lexicographic and encyclopaedic tools, google pages, as well as the extended concordance lines in which such constructs are found to occur. The construction of specific meanings is accounted for within the Lexical Constructional Model developed by Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and associates (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibánez and Masegosa 2014). The model allows to put the focus onto a number of cognitive operations and, importantly, to deal with figurative uses of language and metonymy in particular.

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The NAFTA signing, a Luftwaffe staff officer and *a Västerbotten family*: English proper noun modifiers in German and Swedish contrast

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Although previous studies of English proper noun modifiers have touched upon contrastive aspects with other languages (see, e.g., Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2013; Schlücker 2013: 464–5; Breban 2017: 13), to date there has been no systematic study. The aim of this paper is to fill this gap by investigating personal names, place names and the names of organizations used as premodifiers in English non-fiction source texts and their translations into English from German and Swedish. The investigation will provide insights into (i) how translators interpret the modifiers, (ii) what structural means are used in German and Swedish to render them, (iii) in what ways the semantic relations that the proper nouns express affect the translation choices and (iv) the specific nature of translated language (cf. Baker 1993). German and Swedish share most of structural means used to translate proper noun modifiers, including the most straightforward equivalent, compound nouns.

The material was collected from a new, parallel and comparable corpus. The corpus is being compiled by the researchers, and the texts include recently published biographies and books on popular science.

The non-fiction genre seems to favour the use of modifiers based on acronyms (*NKVD troops*) and locations (*Southampton traffic*) (as found also by Rosenbach 2007: 165), rather than personal names (*the Obama presidency*). Overall, there are a large number of alternatives among the renderings of proper noun modifiers, e.g., compound nouns (*Stirling undergraduates* > *Stirlingstudenter* (Sw.)), prepositional phrases (*the Apple corridors* > *korridorerna på Apple* (Sw.)), genitives (*Apple headquarters* > *Apples högkvarter* (Sw.)), adjectives (*Washington think tanks* > *Washingtoner Denkfabriken* (Ge.)), appositions (*the Clinton administration* > *die Regierung Clinton* (Ge.)), metonymies (*a Picasso painting* > *einem Picasso* (Ge.)) and omissions of the proper noun (*White House interns* > *Praktikantinnen* (Ge.)).

Our findings support Schlücker's (2013) observation that German translations of location-based English modifiers may involve prepositional phrases or adjectives. The same holds true for the Swedish translations. Furthermore, there seems to be a tendency for modifiers with a deverbal head noun and a complement interpretation to be rendered as prepositional phrases in both German and Swedish (*the NAFTA signing* > *die Unterzeichnung von NAFTA* (Ge.) / *undertecknandet av NAFTA* (Sw.)). Among the notable language-specific tendencies is a German preference for postposed genitives (*RAF airfields* > *Flugfelder der RAF*) and a more frequent Swedish use of compounds (*the Dunkirk pocket* > *Dunkerque-fickan*).

Proper noun modifiers in English texts translated from German and Swedish are mostly based on compounds in the source texts (e.g., *DDR-Fernsehen* (Ge.) > *GDR television*; *Karl XII-dagen* (Sw.) > *the Charles XII anniversary day*). Interestingly, some English modifiers originate in the translation strategy explicitation (*skärgården* (Sw.) > *the Stockholm archipelago*).

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Brick-hard and *Kardashian big*: Common and proper nouns as intensifiers in English

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There has recently been growing interest in the way proper nouns and proper names can be used in a modifying as opposed to a referential function (Rosenbach 2007; Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2013; Breban 2017). The research has thus far focused on the ways in which proper nouns can modify nouns, and the potential for proper nouns to modify adjectives has to my knowledge received little attention. In this paper I attempt to fill this gap by introducing a diachronic study of common and proper nouns that are used as intensifiers in English, as in *lightning-fast* (the N-Com+ADJ construction) or *Einstein-smart* (the N-Prop+ADJ construction). I suggest that the N-Prop+ADJ construction is a recent innovation that is based on the historically prior, and quite well-established, N-Com+ADJ construction. My data, which come mainly from the *Corpus of Historical American English* (COHA), show that the productivity of the N-Com+ADJ construction, as measured by type frequency, has doubled from the late 19th to the late 20th century. I suggest that this increase in productivity has likely contributed to the emergence of the N-Prop+ADJ construction, which is sporadically attested in my data from the 1970s onwards.

In order to be used felicitously as intensifiers, the nouns must be associated with properties that are perceived to be typical of their referents. This association is quite straightforward for N-Com+ADJ constructs like *steel-hard*, *lightning-fast* and *ice-cold*, where the meaning of the construction is easily understandable through encyclopedic knowledge. The interpretation of N-Prop+ADJ constructs, on the other hand, relies on the discourse participants' ability to identify the referent of the proper noun. Consequently, the proper nouns that are used as intensifiers typically refer to "paragons" (Lakoff 1987: 87–88), who are particularly famous for possessing a certain property, as in *Bill Gates rich*, *Audrey Hepburn pretty* or *James Bond cool*. In addition to the synchronic and diachronic analyses of these constructions, I will pay special attention to some methodological questions that need to be taken into account when conducting a corpus linguistic study of low-frequency items like the N-Prop+ADJ construction.

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Workshop 6: Approaches to fragments and ellipsis in spoken and written English

Convenors:

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And then what? Fragments and interactional syntactic theory

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The notion of "sentence" belongs to the oldest and most pervasive ideas in the study of languages, despite all its definitional controversies: Is a sentence a unit expressing a complete thought, or is it a unit with at least a subject and a predicate? Is it what we find between a capital letter and a punctuation mark, or is it the largest unit to which syntactic rules apply (cf. Matthews 1993: 91; Ries 1931; Seidel 1935)? In the face of these controversies, Matthews (1993: 91) identifies two main criteria for sentences: completeness and correctly fitting words. This paper will focus on the first criterion: completeness. It will be argued, in line with Traugott (2017) and Miller & Weinert (1998: 31), that this notion of completeness has to do with formal written language and schooling.

There are numerous elements and constructions in (spoken) interaction that pose problems for syntactic theories based on completeness, as they seem to operate on a non-sentential, interactional level. Consider *and then what* (1), *so what then* and *What about* (both in (2)).

(1) But we can share food. We'll share food. Yeah, you guys share food. **And then what**, you know, these guys don't eat all that much either, I've noticed. (COCA, Hot Topics, ABC 2015)

(2) […] Oh, that's not gonna slow me down, she said. Mero expected her to neigh. **So what then**, Rollo said, picking at the horse manure under his boot heel. **What about** Tin Head and his galvanized skull plate? I heard it this way, she said. (COCA, Annie Proulx, "The half-skinned steer", 1997, *The Atlantic Monthly* 280.5: 116)

It will be shown that a theory of interactional syntax needs to abandon the notion of the complete sentence and instead has to look at how meaning is negotiated in interaction, as "the expansion of prior utterances by constituent increments", or "'chunks' that can be used for moving discourse forward" (Traugott 2017). However, this is not to say that the complete sentence should be discarded altogether. It is still an important and valuable concept for the analysis of written, planned language. This paper will sketch a complementary model: interactional syntactic theory.

“Not on my watch” and other *not*-fragments

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English has at least three different *not*-fragment constructions. One of them is used to forcefully state that someone, usually the speaker, will see to it that a situation evoked in the preceding discourse will be prevented, as in (1):

(1) Bride-to-be: We’ll have pastel flowers, and a vanilla bean cake with white fondant.

Groomzilla: Vanilla? **Not on my watch**. We’re having chocolate. (COCA)

Another construction is used in dialogic interaction as a hedged negative reply to a polar question, as in (2):

(2) Reporter: Were there any prior reports of plane trouble?

Mr. McCurry: **Not that I’m aware of**. (COCA)

A third construction, illustrated in (3), always includes a *that*-clause and is added as an inference-denying afterthought to a preceding speech act (see Schmid 2013 for types (2) and (3)):

(3) It’s clear by now I’m going to be late this morning. **Not that it matters**. (COCA)

Syntactically, the first type displays straightforward anaphoric reduction (as in “When are you free?” – “Not today.”; cf. Huddleston and Pullum et al. 2002: 849) but it contains extra pragmatic content, involving an emphatic negative retort. While productive, it has a few high-frequency exemplars, including *Not if I have anything to say about it* and *Not if I can help it* (cf. Cappelle and Depraetere 2016). The second type is syntactically more challenging: if it is reduced at all, the reduction apparently fails to respect constituent structure (e.g. *There are not [any prior reports of plane trouble that I’m aware of]*). Again, this construction is centred around some high-frequency members, among which we find *Not that I know (of)*, *Not that I’ve heard (of)* and *Not as far as I know*. The third type allows the gloss “This is not, however, to say/suggest that…”, according to Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 811), who treat it as a case of insubordination (cf. Evans 2007). This type, too, has some semi-fixed lexical patterns, e.g. *Not that I mind* and *Not that it mattered*. Using a constructionist perspective, I will analyse the syntactic, lexical and semantico-pragmatic properties of these three types, as revealed by corpus data.

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Post-Auxiliary ellipsis voice mismatches from Late Modern English to Present-Day English: Insights from corpora

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This paper analyses Post-Auxiliary Ellipsis (PAE; Sag 1976, Warner 1993, Miller 2011, Miller & Pullum 2014) voice mismatches between the antecedent clause(s) and the ellipsis site(s) from Late Modern English to Present-Day English, using the Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English (PPCMBE) (1700–1914) and the Penn Treebank-3 (Brown Corpus (1961) and Wall Street Journal sections (1989)). The term 'PAE' covers those cases in which a Verb Phrase (VP), Prepositional Phrase (PP), Noun Phrase (NP), Adjective Phrase (AP) or Adverbial Phrase (AdP) is omitted after one of the following licensors (those elements that permit the occurrence of ellipsis): modal auxiliaries, auxiliaries *be*, *have* and *do*, and infinitival marker *to* (the latter believed to be a defective non-finite auxiliary verb; see Miller & Pullum 2014). This study focuses on two subtypes of PAE, namely VP ellipsis and Pseudogapping (VPE and PG henceforth), illustrated below:

(1) we *engaged* as close as any Ship could be ~~engaged~~. HOLMES-TRIAL-1749,59.1054 (VPE: antecedent active, ellipsis site passive)

(2) things *are got* into the state I fear they will ~~get~~. GEORGE-1763,200.283 (VPE: antecedent passive, ellipsis site active)

(3) dip it in the spawn of Frogs, *beaten* as you would ~~beat~~ the whites of eggs. ALBIN-1736,4.75. (PG: antecedent passive, ellipsis site active)

The preliminary results show that voice mismatches were possible in PG and VPE in Late Modern English with low frequencies and have been gradually disfavoured in Present-Day English. This fact serves as counterevidence for Merchant's (2008, 2013) claim about the impossibility of finding voice mismatches in PG and confirms Miller's (2014) corpus-based findings for Present-Day English. These results are also in line with Hardt & Rambow (2001) and Bos & Spenader (2011), as they did not find any voice mismatches in their corpus-based studies of VPE in Present-Day English. Finally, whereas Kehler's (2000, 2002) theory regarding voice mismatches (there must exist an asymmetric kind of discourse relation between the antecedent and the ellipsis site –temporal succession, concessives, etc. – for voice mismatches to be judged acceptable) has not been confirmed by my data, the validity of Kertz's (2008, 2013) theory (voice mismatches are acceptable as long as there is topic continuity) remains intact.

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Completability vs. (in)completeness

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In natural conversation, no notion of "complete sentence" is required: (a) non-sentential utterances are adequate to underpin people's coordination, and (b) all linguistic dependencies are resolvable across more than one turn:

(1) Angus: But, Domenica, Cyril is an intelligent and entirely well-behaved dog who
Domenica: happens to smell [radio play, 44 Scotland Street]

(2) A: I'm pretty sure that the:
B: programmed visits? A: programmed visits, yes, I think they'll have been debt inspections. [BNC]

Most standard grammar formalisms have problems accounting for such data because their notions of 'constituency' and 'syntactic domain' are independent of performance considerations.

Moreover, no notion of "full proposition" is necessary for successful interaction. Strings, contents, and speech acts can emerge incrementally without any participant having envisaged in advance the result of the interaction:

(3) Eleni: Is this yours or
Yo: Yours. [natural data]

(4) Lawyer: And you left your husband because …
Client: we had nothing in common any more

(5) Hester Collyer: It's for me.
Mrs Elton the landlady: And Mr. Page?
Hester Collyer: is not my husband. But I would rather you continue to think of me as Mrs. Page. [The Deep Blue Sea (film)]

However, morphosyntactic and semantic licensing mechanisms apply as usual in non-sentential utterances. For example, in morphologically-rich languages, speech acts with subsentential/subpropositional elements require appropriate case morphemes and, in all languages, binding restrictions are observed according to current contextual parameters:

(6) A: I heard a bang. Did you hurt
B: myself? No but Mary is in a state

This shows that grammatical licensing and semantic processing are performed incrementally subsententially online, at each step affording possibilities for further extension by interlocutors' actions or the situational context. Moreover, a level of abstract syntax, divorced from the conceptual structure, impedes a natural account of such phenomena. For these reasons, we argue that we need a view of natural language as a "skill" employing domain-general mechanisms rather than fixed form-meaning mappings. We provide a sketch of a Dynamic Syntax architecture combined with incrementally-induced conceptual representations within which underspecification and time-relative update of meanings and utterances constitute the sole concept of "syntax".

Echo fragments

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Echo fragments (1b) are the fragmentary (i.e. elliptical) versions of *true echo questions* (1a) (Sobin 2010).

(1) *Context*: A and B are organising the Oscars award ceremony.

A: Make sure the Oscar is presented by the husband of Michelle Obama.

Incredulous that A wants an Oscar to be presented by an ex-president, B replies:

a. B: Make sure it's presented by the husband of WHOM?

B: Make sure it's presented by the husband of MICHELLE OBAMA?

b. B: Presented by the husband of WHOM?

B: Presented by the husband of MICHELLE OBAMA?

To date, echo fragments have received scant attention in literature that adopts a *PF-deletion* (Ross 1969, Merchant 2001) approach to ellipsis (for cursory remarks, see Abe & Tancredi 2013). This oversight is unfortunate, as echo fragments, being in-situ questions in *wh*-movement languages such as English, have the potential to be highly instructive for such theories.

We report the results of the first systematic cross-linguistic study of echo fragments. We focus on those properties of echo fragments that are unique to them. These include their size (much more deaccented material can accompany the focussed phrase in echo fragments than can accompany the focussed phrase in regular fragments, as a comparison of (1b) and (2B) shows), and their undeniable island-insensitivity (3).

(2) A: The Oscar will be presented by the husband of someone important.

B: Indeed. {The husband of Michelle Obama / * Presented by the husband of Michelle Obama}.

(3) A: The rumour that Dracula died is surely false.

B: That {WHO/DRACULA} died? (sentential subjects: islands for extraction)

We also outline ways in which the current PF-deletion theory can be revised to capture the unique properties of echo fragments while still retaining its ability to capture the myriad restrictions observed on regular fragments (see Merchant 2004). Potential means of revision include adjusting the semantic identity condition ellipsis (e.g. Merchant's 2001 *e*-GIVENness condition) so that it ignores *given* (Schwarzschild 1999) Foc-marked material (as echo questions and echo fragments are necessarily *given*, cf. Arstein 2002), or reconsidering the prosodic and/or syntactic conditions that trigger the A'-movement which derives regular fragments.

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Why-stripping in English: A direct interpretation account

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Why-stripping in English consists of the adverbial why phrase with a non-wh remnant, as attested in the corpus example in (1) (COCA: Corpus of Contemporary American English):

(1) "Daddy, will you buy me a violin?" Sonya said. "Why violin?" (COCA 1995 FIC)

The construction Why violin? is a nonsentential utterance (NSU), but receives a sentential interpretation. Such a form-meaning mismatching NSU, similar to sluicing, thus raises the question of how we can account for the semantically propositional character of what appears to be syntactically less than sentential structures (Merchant 2004, Ginzburg and Sag 2000).

In answering this question, Yoshida et al. (2015) claim that Why-stripping involves movement of the focused phrase violin followed by clausal ellipsis, whose basic idea follows the deletion approaches developed for Sluicing in English (Hankamer 1979, Morgan 1989, Merchant 2004). The movement-based ellipsis analysis at first glance seems to be quite intuitive and attractive in capturing many connectivity effects in Why-stripping. In typical

examples, the remnant in the Why-stripping corresponds to the correlate (a violin) in the preceding sentence, which easily allows us to reconstruct the source sentence of Why-stripping. However, when taking into consideration a wider range of data, we encounter issues in positing putative sentential sources. Note corpus examples with no overt linguistic or discourse correlate at all:

(2) a. You worked there, didn't you? You know the answer, so **why ask**? (COCA 2009 FIC)

b. A feeling that things will never get better, so **why try**? (COCA 1999 ACAD)

A further complication arises from examples like the following where the remnant seems to refer to the preceding state of affairs:

(3) a. In fact, they reviewed and approved our press release. So we're a bit scratching our heads to figure out why **this**. (COCA SPOK 2004)

b. As they did, they hurt like hell. I groaned. "Fingers hurt, yes? Good. Not lose them. Now shut eyes." "Why **that**?" (COCA 2003 FIC)

The ellipsis approach expects properties of movement operations, but we however observe island insensitivity in Why-stripping as in sluicing, as also observed in the literature:

(4) Well, I think what's happening is both risky and immoral. Why **immoral**? (COCA 2009 SPOK)

Recognizing such empirical challenges to postulate proper source sentences for ellipsis in Why-stripping, we propose a DI (direct interpretation) approach where the complete syntax of the remnant in Why-stripping is just the categorial phrase projection of the fragment itself (see Ginzburg and Sag 2000, Stainton 2006, Kehler 2002, Culicover and Jackendoff 2005, Sag and Nykiel 2011, among others). There is thus no syntactic structure at the ellipsis site and fragments are the sole daughter of an S-node, directly generated from the constructional constraints such that "the focus marking why selects an NSU that functions as a focus establishing constituent". This implies that why can combine with any expression as long as it meets the contextual requirements which is formalized in terms of the DGB (dialogue-game-board).

The DBG (dialogue-game-board) tells us where the contextual parameters are anchored and where there is a record of who said what to whom, and what/who they were referring to (see Ginzburg 2012). Uttering a Why-stripping in the dialogue introduces the information about QUD (question-under-discussion) as well as SAL-UTT (salient utterance). The QUD evoked from the wh-question 'Why violin?' concerns the information such that Sonya asks Daddy for a violin and Daddy is asking the value p that causes this asking: the reason for asking him to buy a violin, not other instruments. The focus marking why helps the fragmental remnant to function as the SAL-UTT (focus establishing constituent).

The DI approach may appear to place a heavy burden on the mapping relations from simple fragments to sentential interpretations. However, once we have a system that represents clear discourse structures with the information about salient utterances and question-under-discussion, we can have straightforward mapping relations from fragments to propositional meaning.

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Ellipsis with(out) movement? – Experimental investigations on the structure of fragments

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Speakers frequently use fragments (Morgan 1973) (1a), instead of complete sentences (1b), which convey the same proposition as sentences despite their reduced form. This observation has led some researchers to assume that fragments are in fact elliptical sentences (e.g. Merchant 2004, Reich 2007).

(1) [Context: Passenger to taxi driver upon entering the vehicle]

a. "To the airport."

b. "Bring me to the airport."

We present three acceptability rating experiments which evaluate the specific predictions of Merchant's (2004) movement and deletion account. According to Merchant (2004), the derivation of fragments involves their movement to the left periphery and subsequent deletion of the remnant. The theory makes the testable prediction that only those constituents which may appear in a left-peripheral position in full sentences are possible fragments.

Merchant et al. (2013) report two experiments in support of this view which we replicated in a more systematic manner. Their first study suggests that the unavailability of P-stranding in German is reflected in the acceptability of the respective short answer fragments. The effect is robust in our replications in English and German, but it can be explained even under a nonsentential account by case-checking requirements (Barton & Progovac 2005:89).

Merchant and colleagues' (2013) second experiment investigates whether restrictions on complement clause topicalization correlate with the acceptability of the respective fragment complement clauses. We conducted replications in English and German controlling for additional parameters and did not observe the same effect. This indicates that CC topicalization is not an appropriate testing ground for Merchant's theory.

Therefore, we shifted to multiple preverbal prefield constituents in German, for which Müller (2003) notes restrictions on which constituents may appear together in the preverbal position. Again, Merchant's account predicts only those to be acceptable in the prefield which are so as topics. Our data indicate that heavily degraded prefield configurations may be

acceptable as fragments. We interpret this observation as evidence against obligatory movement in fragments.

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General Session

The role of grammaticalization in developing new pragmatic functions: The case of the *it…that* construction

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In any language, certain structures develop specialized pragmatic/discourse functions, as is the case with the impersonal *it…that* construction in English, which is associated with detachment in the expression of stance in formal English writing. This structure allows the writer to suppress self-reference and communicate his/her stance or attitude implicitly and hence objectively (Berman et al, 2002; Berman, 2005; Biber & Finegan, 1989; Hyland, 2005). In spoken varieties, in contrast, expression of stance is explicit, with self-mention being the norm, and where discourse markers, e.g. *I mea*n, and hedging devices, e.g. *I think*, make free mention of the speaker. Formal spoken English seems to employ features from both varieties of formal writing and informal speech, as there is an overwhelming tendency to combine the *it…that* structure with more involved expressions that explicitly mention the first person (Berman, 2005), as in *I think it is necessary that*. This phenomenon of interweaving constructions expressing objectivity and subjectivity is under investigation in the present study, whose purpose is to address two issues: 1. how the nature of the spoken register influenced the pragmatic/discourse function of the *it…that* structure as an expression of stance; and 2. the role grammaticalization played in shifting the function of this construction. Initial analysis of data from formal spoken and written corpora indicates that in formal written English, this construction served two pragmatic functions: expression of writer stance and suppressing mention of the writer, which together resulted in implicit stance. In the formal spoken register, the construction has become grammaticalized so that it has come to be associated with stance only, thereby losing the implicitness feature and allowing blending with personal expressions. More specifically, it will be argued that grammaticalization gave the construction a new pragmatic function, i.e. expression of stance regardless of the implicit/explicit feature. This process is called pragmaticalization (Diewald, 2011), which involves a speaker's attitude towards the hearer (Aijmer, 1997). As a consequence of grammaticalization / pragmaticalization, the construction started to acquire new functions not found in the written register, e.g. eliciting stance, e.g. *is it your conclusion that*.

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English in the linguistic landscape of a former Black-only South African township: A semiotic approach to a multilingual community

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Linguistic landscape studies aim to capture the complexities of multilingual societies and provide new insights in order to gain a deeper and more accurate understanding of the linguistic uses of such communities (Landry and Bourhis 1997; Shohamy and Gorter 2009). Within this analytical frame, this paper investigates the role of English in the public space of Soshanguve, a township located about 25 km north of the city of Pretoria, South Africa. Soshanguve was a designated black-only area until the end of the Apartheid in 1992 and, with 99.1% black Africans from Nguni, Sotho, Tsonga and Venda origins, it has remained so until this day (Statistics South Africa 2012). From a linguistic point of view, while most residents still have an indigenous African L1 (Statistics South Africa 2012), the relevance of English as an official language with a significant higher status in the South African context (Kamwangamalu 2003; Mesthrie, 2006) cannot be undermined. In this regard, the semiotic analysis of signage in a delimited area of a central market in Soshanguve reveals that English is extensively used despite not being the only lingua franca in this context. With virtually all bottom-up signs, divergent patterns have been identified in terms of using English, versus other languages, for specific purposes. Additionally, particular communication strategies that respond to an audience design (e.g. intermodality or spelling) have been also described. These findings represent an important contribution to understanding the contemporary use of English in this type of multilingual South African contexts.

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English football language: Its principal users and domains

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Reflecting a truly global and popular sport (e.g. Goldblatt 2007:xii ff.), the language of football can be seen as the world's most widespread special language (cf. Sager et al. 1980:68). However, in contrast to many other special languages, relatively little research seems to have been carried out on its linguistic properties (Lavric et al. 2008:5). A similar lack of coverage can be noted as regards football language from a sociolinguistic point of view, where there are many interesting connections, on and off the pitch, between different user groups and football repertoires that warrant further scholarly attention (cf. e.g. Stockwell 2002:36-38).

The present paper discusses certain features of English football language. On the one hand, it deals with the specificity of the register as such, especially vocabulary, including its relationship to general language and sports language. On the other, it identifies the principal domains relating to the main subvarieties, or codes, of football language, spoken as well as written, i.e. (i) official language, as used in the documents issued by FIFA and UEFA; (ii) journalistic reporting, as used in live broadcasts and post-match commentary in newspapers; (iii) participant talk, as used on the pitch and in the dressing-rooms; and (iv) supporter language, as used in fanzines, supporter blogs and on the terraces.

In addition, there is a third, non-verbal medium of football language that should be recognized, namely body language. Typically consisting of gestures of different kinds, such language can be either codified or non-codified, the former illustrated by the repertoire of signals used by referees and the latter by the various gestures used by players and fans.

It is argued, among other things, that while football language can be seen as a fairly well-defined register on its own, it also contains highly specific features and formulae that can be distinctly related to specific user groups. At the same time, however, there is likely to be a great deal of overlap between the subvarieties identified, for example between journalistic reporting and supporter language. All in all, then, football language appears to offer a variety of interesting sociolinguistic angles or dimensions.

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That-clauses: Retention and omission of complementizer *that* in some varieties of English

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An OBJECT CLAUSE, also sporadically referred to as a COMMENT CLAUSE (Warner 1982: 169; Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 951), is that kind of clause functioning as the direct object of the matrix verb. In English, the most common type of object clause is introduced by the complementizer *that*, hence its traditional label *that*-clause (Quirk et al. 1985: 1049). Regarding its different usages when occurring in post-predicate position, these constructions are employed to report the speech (i.e. *He said that nine indictments have been returned publicly in such investigations*), thoughts (i.e. *I think Stuart's gone a bit mad*) or attitudes (i.e. *I was quite confident that it would stay in very well*), among others (Biber et al. 1999: 660-661). As observed, the complementizer *that* can either be retained or omitted with no meaning alteration and Biber et al. (1999: 681-682) enumerated a series of discourse factors favouring *that* omission (the presence of co-referential subjects in the main clause and the *that*-clause, among others) and favouring *that* retention (the use of coordinated *that*-clauses, among others).

Even though the topic has been extensively researched in British and American English (Biber 1999) and the history of English (Fanego 1990a, 1990b; Suárez-Gómez 2000; Calle-Martín and Romero-Barranco 2014), the academia is still in want of such studies in other varieties of contemporary English. This considered, the present paper will analyze *that*-clauses in Indian English, Hong Kong English and New Zealand English with the following objectives: 1) to analyze the distribution of *that/zero* in the mentioned varieties of English; 2) to assess the phenomenon in terms of register and the informants' age and gender; 3) to classify the instances regarding the verb taking the *that*-clause (i.e. mental verbs, speech act verbs and other communication verbs); and 4) to evaluate the contribution of some factors favouring the omission and the retention of complementizer *that* in these environments. The source of evidence comes from the New Zealand, Indian and Hong Kong components of the *International Corpus of English*.

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The use of simulations in the ESP classroom to identify Spanish students' problems with word stress

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Nowadays, students are more than accustomed to using technological devices such as mobile phones, tablets and computers on a daily basis. As would seem feasible, ICTs are little by little also becoming common materials used inside the foreign language classroom. Among these resources, video recordings and video simulation tasks have been found to help students improve their productive oral skills (Gromik and Anderson, 2010) as well as motivating them and boosting their self-confidence to speak in English (Hirschel et al., 2012). However, to the best of my knowledge, not much research has been carried out on pronunciation problems students have in the video simulations they record.

This paper hence intends to contribute to the field in two ways: a) students´ problems with word stress will be thoroughly identified and analysed. This topic was chosen because there are many differences in word stress patterns in Spanish and English, thus, frequently leading Spanish students to stress English words on the wrong syllable (Palacios, 2001; Estebas, 2012); and, b) as far as I am aware, most of the research conducted has focused on EFL learners whereas this study will analyse the problems of ESP students studying a degree in Tourism and Hospitality.

More specifically, the participants were asked to record a 20-25 minute-long business-meeting simulation in groups of 4-6 people. Each of the members had to perform a different role (chairperson, secretary or the marketing, development or financial representative). The mistakes made by these undergraduate students concerning word stress will be classified into three groups according to the type of vocabulary they represent: a) problems with core language; b) problems with academic terms; and, c) problems with technical items.

The results show that ESP students have quite a few problems with word stress in polysyllabic English words. Moreover, an important teaching implication that can be extracted from this study is that ESP teachers need to pay attention to word stress in the classroom since most of the words which were incorrectly stressed in the videos represent items that share similar roots in both English and Spanish but are stressed on different syllables, such as *interesting, strategies* or *aspect*.

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Find out, *give up* and *point out*: Hidden differences behind the uses of phrasal verbs in native and learner Englishes

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This study investigates phrasal verbs (PVs) in (in)transitive constructions across native English and French- and German-English interlanguages (ILs). Work by Gilquin (2014) shows that, as verb-particle combinations, (i) PVs associate more/less strongly with particular syntactic constructions and (ii) association patterns vary across native and learner Englishes. This study digs deeper into PV constructions by assessing exact degrees of mutual attraction between verbs and particles and between PVs and their semantic uses. Specifically, the study explores

i. to what degree verbs, particles and their semantic uses attract within verb-particle [V Prt], verb-object-particle [V OBJ Prt] and verb-particle-object [V Prt OBJ] constructions, and

ii. how association strengths vary across native and learner English.

2,909 PVs were extracted from the French and German subsections of the ICLE and LOCNESS corpora and annotated for lemma, particle and semantic uses (literal, idiomatic, completive, continuative, inceptive). Statistically, association strengths were measured using Stefanowitsch & Gries' (2005) co-varying collexeme analysis approach.

Overall, within individual constructions, different verbs and particles (*bring* and *up* in *bring up* or *build* and *up* in *build up*) combine in different degrees, suggesting that, as cognitive routines, those combinations are not equally entrenched. Further, individual constructions affect verb-particle association strengths differently: in French-English IL, *come* and *back* associate more strongly in [V Prt] constructions than they do in [V Prt OBJ] constructions. Individual constructions also affect PVs semantically: in [V Prt], the strongest association of a PV and a semantic use were observed in German-English IL with a completive *wake up* and in French with a literal (and less complex) *come back*, suggesting that different learner populations operate at different levels of semantic complexity. Pedagogically, this study bears important implications, namely the need (i) to focus on PVs' aspectual uses to help learners develop more confident uses of PVs in completive, inceptive and continuative contexts and (ii) develop resources that help learners improve their uses of PVs in [V OBJ Prt] constructions, specifically. Ultimately, this work raises the question of polysemous PVs, the extent to which the different semantic uses of a single PV associate differently with different constructions and how those associations vary across learner populations.

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Love and resentment: A cluster analysis of attitudes to English in Europe

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The last decade has seen the emergence of a growing body of research on attitudes to English in continental Europe (e.g. Edwards 2016, Leppänen et al. 2011, Mollin 2006). What are people's perceptions of (the rise of) English, and how do these views differ within and between countries? We zoom in on Germany and the Netherlands, two countries where English is becoming increasingly entrenched, although this process is more accelerated in the latter given its smaller size and economic imperative to connect with the outside world. To build up a profile of typical attitudes towards English, we conducted an attitudinal questionnaire with over 4000 respondents from all population segments in the Netherlands and Germany. Respondents were asked roughly 30 questions on their attitudes to using English, perceptions of the status and importance of English, and its impact on their first language (L1). An unsupervised clustering algorithm (k-means) was then used to uncover the underlying structure in their responses. The algorithm partitions the observations into groups (or 'clusters') and repeatedly assigns each data point to a cluster until the cluster assignments are optimal.

Two groups emerged for each nationality, one highly positive and one somewhat more negative in their attitudes to English. On average, people in the positive groups in both countries were more likely to be younger, female, better educated and more proficient in English than their compatriots in the negative groups. However, while negative attitudes in Germany were linked with lower proficiency levels, Dutch respondents could have simultaneously negative attitudes and high proficiency levels (probably reflecting more widespread English competence in the Netherlands). Further, Dutch respondents with negative attitudes nonetheless found English important, more so than their German counterparts. Dutch respondents in both the positive and negative groups were more likely to feel that too much importance was placed on English in their country, perhaps suggesting a perception that 'Englishification' has gone too far in the Netherlands. By contrast, German respondents disagreed more strongly that English poses a threat to their L1 and is overrated in their country, suggesting greater confidence in the status of their L1.

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Testing Rohdenburg's complexity principle on GloWbE: The case of sentential complements

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Variation and change in the complementation system of English has attracted much scholarly attention, especially from a diachronic perspective. The radical changes observed have been labelled as Great Complement Shift (Rohdenburg 2006:143) and described as a "massive restructuring of the complement system" (Fanego 2007:162). This area of grammar, however, is still underresearched in the field of World Englishes, notable exceptions being various studies on ditransitive verbs (Olavarria de Ersson and Shaw 2003; Mukherjee and Hoffmann 2006; Mukherjee and Schilk 2008; Mukherjee and Gries 2009; Bernaisch 2013; Nam et al. 2013; Schilk et al. 2012, 2013; Gries and Bernaisch 2016) and, to a lesser extent, infinitival vs. gerundial complementation (Deshors 2015; Deshors and Gries 2016).

Given that scholars such as Schneider (2007:86) and Mukherjee and Hoffmann (2006:148) describe the complementation profiles of verbs as a differentiating and innovative feature of new varieties of English, the current study aims to contribute to this field by focusing on the complementation profile of REMEMBER, which includes both finite (declarative, interrogative and exclamative) complement clauses (CCs) and non-finite ones (*to*-infinitive and *-ing*). In particular, it aims to check the influence of Rohdenburg's complexity principle (1996:151) on the envelope of variation between finite *that*/zero CCs and non-finite CCs in British and Indian English. In doing so, I would test the hypothesis put forward by Steger and Schneider (2012:172) that World Englishes tend to use finite CCs to a larger proportion than non-finite CCs, as they are easier to process due to their higher explicitness. The potential language internal features related to the complexity of the CCs under study are the following: complexity of the CC subject; complexity of the CC measured in number of words, constituents and presence/absence of supplementation and intervening material between the main verb and the CC. The corpus used to carry out my research is GloWbE, *The Corpus of Global Web-based English*, in particular the British and Indian components.

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White appropriation of Jamaican Creole in reggae music

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Over the past 500 years, linguistic resources have been spreading worldwide. For instance, Jamaican Creole (JC), a stigmatised non-standard variety of English, has been crossing cultural and national borders, with reggae music being a pivotal driving force. Due to its close association with reggae, the formerly locally and ethnically marked JC is now prone to reappropriation and recontextualisation in various contexts. So far, sociolinguistic studies on performed language have addressed the concept of 'crossing' (Rampton, 1995) of white artists to African American Vernacular English in hip-hop (e.g. Eberhardt & Freeman, 2015) but the linguistic appropriation of JC by white reggae artists has yet to be examined. This study adds to the sociolinguistics of globalisation and performance by focusing on the global spread of reggae and JC. It aims to find out 1. which JC features are used in the white artists' performances, 2. if the singers' exposure to JC influences their use of JC, and 3. if the use of JC is affected by the topic of the song. The present study adopts a comprehensive approach including a phonetic, morpho-syntactic, lexical and content-oriented analysis of the singing style of seven reggae artists/bands.

The findings indicate that the artists use JC on all levels of linguistic variation. Those artists who are highly exposed to JC use higher numbers of JC features than those whose exposure to JC is low. Furthermore, the topic of the song seems to influence the use of JC. While songs that deal with Rastafarian beliefs and 'roots' reggae only exhibit a few salient JC features, those that address everyday topics and express in-group belonging to youth culture include high rates of JC features on all linguistic levels as well as colloquialisms and AAVE lexical and morpho-syntactic features. This implies that the use of JC in reggae is no longer tied to Rastafarian doctrines but can index youthfulness and light-heartedness, depending on its co-occurrence with other (extra-)linguistic features. Thus, JC has gained new prestige and has crossed national and cultural borders through its commodification by white reggae artists (Mair, 2013).

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Genitive variation and change in postcolonial Englishes: Focus on semantic relations

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Today, genitive variation, i.e., the variation between the inflectional *s*-genitive and the periphrastic *of*-construction, is "arguably the best researched of all syntactic alternations in English" (Rosenbach 2014: 215). Numerous studies have shown that the *s*-genitive is on the rise (again) and that this rise is more advanced in American than in British English, which makes the feature relevant to the question of the Americanization of English worldwide (cf. Schneider 2006: 67). However, except for one recent paper (Szmrecsanyi et al. 2016), which also covers Indian and Singaporean English, there are no further (published) studies of genitive variation in varieties other than the so-called "Inner-Circle" varieties (Rosenbach 2014: 252-62).

In the proposed paper, we present real-time evidence from three postcolonial Englishes: Jamaican and Bahamian, which, as the acrolectal ends of their respective creole continua, represent English used as a "second dialect" (Görlach 1990: 40), and Indian English, which in many ways exemplifies a prototypical "New English." We systematically compare a historical newspaper corpus from the 1960s from each country with a contemporary one as well as with the press sections of the Brown family of corpora and their 2006 updates AE06 and BE06 (https://cqpweb.lancs.ac.uk/).

In numerous studies, possessor animacy has emerged as the most influential language-internal factor determining genitive variation. Following Payne & Berlage's (2011) suggestion that the various semantic relations holding between the possessor and possessum of a

genitive phrase might eventually prove more powerful than animacy, we illustrate in this paper that "redefining and fine-tuning a factor […] may reveal far stronger effects of this factor than previously assumed" (Rosenbach 2014: 231). Thus, we develop a framework for genitive meanings to account for both animacy and semantic relation at the same time. In addition, we consider a number of further independent variables, such as end weight, informational density, topicality, superordinate *of*-phrases, and the presence of a final sibilant in the possessor noun phrase. Apart from a number of individual distributional analyses, we use mixed models to determine the probabilistic contribution of each of these variables to the observed variation, in order to obtain an accurate picture of inter-varietal differences and language change in progress.

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Confusion is the bridesmaid of change – The XYZ construction in World Englishes

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The so-called XYZ construction (see the simplified representation in (1)) is a syntactic template that is frequently used by L1 speakers of British and American English to concisely express new ideas via Conceptual Blending (Turner 1987; Fauconnier & Turner 2002; Steen and Turner 2013):

(1) FORM: X BE *the* Y *of* Z
MEANING: 'Input space$_1$: X and Z are in a relationship
that is similar to the relationship
between Y and an unmentioned W associated with Y;
meaning of blend = compression of input relations'

The construction can be used to express ideas such as (2):

(2) Vanity is the quicksand of reason (Turner & Fauconnier 1999: 413)

In (2), *vanity* (X) is to *reason* (Z) what *quicksand* is to a traveller (W) – i.e. dangerous and potentially a point of no return. The precise meaning of the blend is thus the compression of complex input domains and their relationships into a simple, human-scale new idea (such that vanity negatively affects ones's ability to reason).

While the XYZ construction has extensively been discussed using data from Standard British and American English, so far no study has investigated it in the various World Englishes. The present talk will therefore provide a Construction Grammar (Goldberg 2006; Hoffmann and Trousdale 2013; Hoffmann 2014) analysis of the construction drawing on data from the GloWbE corpus (http://corpus.byu.edu/glowbe/). As we will show, all varieties of English exhibit fully substantive (that is lexicalized) micro-constructions such as (3) and (4):

(3) variety is the spice of life (221 instances across all subcorpora)
(4) necessity is the mother of invention (190 instances across all subcorpora)

In addition to that, however, a particular focus will be on variety-specific nonce instantiations (constructs) of the construction. The input spaces for these blends will be classified using FrameNet (https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/), a Frame Semantic database for English (Boas 2005; Fillmore 2006; Fillmore & Baker 2010). This will allow us to detect variety-specific as well as variety-general cognitive mappings and to identify the input mental spaces that speakers of the various varieties draw on (cf., e.g., Sharifian et al. 2008; Wolf 2008; Polzenhagen & Wolf 2010):

(5) Confusion is the bridesmaid of change (GloWbE PK B)
(6) Internet is the ocean of information (GloWbE IN B)
(7) Competition is the fuel of business so that they can have services (GloWbE GH G)
(8) Rap is the prophet of Hip Hop. (GloWbE SG G)

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“Where are they from?” British and American perceptions of music performances

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Audiences are used to hearing an American-influenced accent in singing which is still the dominant voice in many contemporary popular music genres. Most studies dealing with the sociolinguistics of music have focused on the production side of performances. The complex interplay of motivations for stylizing performed language has been well-researched with focus on language-ideological processes (Trudgill 1983, Simpson 1999, O’Hanlon 2006, Beal 2009). However, the audience as well plays a decisive role in any kind *of high performance* (Coupland 2007) because the success of an artist depends on their evaluation and approval. Nevertheless, the audience’s perception has been widely neglected. How do listeners identify performed accents? Which features, language-wise and other, are generally perceived and assigned to a specific speech community? Do listeners from different varieties evaluate the same singers differently? In light of this research gap, British and American students’ perceptual assessments of accents in British pop and rock music were elicited with 38 guided interviews based on ten music stimuli. Presenting the songs how they would be played on the radio, i.e. with background, was a deliberate choice. It approaches a natural listening experience and background music can be considered social information which triggers particular associations and influences the audience’s perception (Niedzielski 1999, Gibson 2010). A qualitative content analysis of the interview transcripts led to the creation of codes and the clustering of statements into perceptual categories. Results show that whereas the British participants named various phonetic features to identify e.g. an Americanized singing-style, the American subjects were quite vague in describing their own variety. Against expectations (Frith 1996), they also were not more sensitive to identifying British singers who emulate an American accent than the British group. Apart from pronunciation features, genre and content were important for the perceptual process. Both activate different sets of expectations, i.e. phonetic memories, and influence the audience’s perception and evaluation. It becomes clear that not only performers but the audience as well takes part in constructing different styles in singing.

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Caribbean queen? Rihanna and Nicki Minaj's multivocal pop personae

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Pop music surpasses national and linguistic boundaries (Pennycook 2007). It creates a marketplace of various linguistic resources that artists use in their music performances to create their pop personae (Trudgill 1983, Coupland 2007: 146-176). Performers are mobile, transnational linguistic agents. They do not only physically travel worldwide and spread their multivocality, but their products are distributed and consumed internationally via a multitude of media channels. They transport mobile standard and non-standard varieties into new spaces and make them accessible to a broad audience. Rihanna and Nicki Minaj are globally successful artists with Caribbean roots who combine different musical styles (R'n'B, hip-hop, reggae, pop) and the performance codes associated with that genres (African American English, Jamaican Creole, Standard American English). Rihanna's recent single *Work* was praised for reflecting her Barbadian heritage, others dismissed it as lyrical gibberish. Minaj's Jamaican Creole performances are mostly accepted as authentic although she is originally from Trinidad. These contradicting reactions give insight into language-ideological perspectives and stimulate the need for a thorough linguistic analysis. Which performance codes are used and why? Do they co-occur with specific parts of a song or musical styles? Which features are used to index different varieties?

A morpho-syntactic and accent analysis of Rihanna's and Minaj's work reveals that certain parts within a song pattern with the choice of a specific variety. For instance, American English seems to be reserved for sung, not spoken or rapped, parts. The analysis also shows that both artists use Jamaican Creole to perform their Caribbean identity but only command a truncated repertoire (Blommaert 2010: 102-136). The performance is mainly restricted to stereotypical features. The study also scrutinizes different music videos and demonstrates that the Caribbeanness of the music performances is reinforced through visual modalities in an exoticizing and commodifying way. Results show that both artists are transporters of standard and non-standard English varieties. Rihanna's and Minaj's playful mix of features within their genres is not only a display of their multifaceted and multivocal identity, but it gives insight into language-ideological processes within the dynamics of global Englishes.

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Salience, identity and vowel change in Liverpool English: The case of NURSE and happY

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While many varieties in Britain are reported to be levelling (Kerswill 2003), there is evidence that at least with respect to some variables this is not true for Scouse, the variety of English spoken in the city of Liverpool (Watson 2007).

This paper investigates change in the NURSE and happY vowels in Liverpool English across 3 generations of speakers and discusses if and how the results might be connected to questions of salience, local identity, and Liverpool's changing fortunes in the 20th and the 21st century. Based on a sample of 20 sociolinguistic interviews, this study finds that younger speakers use more local variants of the NURSE-SQUARE merger, a highly salient variable (Honeybone and Watson 2013, Watson and Clark 2013) that is part of the stereotype of Liverpool English. Realisations of less salient happY, on the other hand, become laxer, which is a change *away* from the (tense) traditional local norm, and towards the majority of the other varieties spoken in Northern England (Trudgill 1999).

While style shifting patterns and explicit comments suggest that the salience of the NURSE-SQUARE merger is declining, this in itself does not seem to be a satisfying explanation for what is happening. I interpret phonetic change in the two vowels under scrutiny as being governed by a combination of salience and questions of identity (based on qualitative data from relevant parts of the interviews): younger speakers use Scouse variants of the socially salient NURSE vowel to express their 'primary' identity as Liverpudlians, and laxer realisations of less-salient happY to also associate themselves with other towns and cities in the north. This strategy allows them to simultaneously express both their local and their regional identity linguistically.

Furthermore, recent (small, but noticeable) improvements both in Liverpool's economic situation and its internal and external image are identified as likely factors behind the covert prestige that seems to be attached to Scouse NURSE realisations despite the fact that Liverpool English is still one of the most stigmatised varieties of the UK (Montgomery 2007).

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FRED and FREDDIE: From research database to e-learning platform

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FRED – the Freiburg Corpus of English Dialects – is a monolingual spoken-language corpus of regional English dialects from nine major dialect areas in England, Wales, Scotland, the Hebrides and the Isle of Man. The corpus samples approximately 2.5 million words of transcribed text and 300 hours of recorded speech (Hernández 2006; Szmrecsanyi and Hernández 2007). The central aim in creating FRED was to provide a solid geographically balanced database for investigations into morphosyntactic variation in traditional British English dialects. Until recently, such investigations using the full corpus have been restricted to on-site research in Freiburg.

This talk outlines how FRED is now being made available world-wide by publishing it online via the University Library's Current Research Information System (FreiDok plus). We demonstrate how FRED transcripts and audio files can be accessed online. Furthermore, we present an interactive research database featuring a full-text search engine and various filters to sort the corpus files by geographical and social parameters, such as dialect area, speaker age and sex.

Furthermore, FRED is now being expanded into FREDDIE, an open access online platform for teaching, learning and research. FREDDIE will provide, for example, full alignment of the audio files (down to phoneme level), multimedia online tutorials on how to use the corpus and relevant software for analysis, teaching materials (such as manuals and worksheets), and emulations of AntConc and R. Some of these are already implemented in a pre-final version while the rest will follow in the near future.

FREDDIE simultaneously enhances the functionality of FRED as a research and a teaching resource by allowing both scholars and students to use the FRED data for all sorts of linguistic analyses from phonology to discourse level in a time-efficient and easy-to-use fashion. Even undergraduate students can experience all aspects of empirical linguistic research, from data selection and transcription to quantitative analysis and visualization.

In sum, this presentation aims to show that FRED and FREDDIE offer multiple opportunities for linguistic research, teaching and learning.

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English *what with* absolute constructions: Diachronic and synchronic perspectives

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The so-called *what with* absolute (WWA) construction introduces a reason conjunction as illustrated by the examples extracted from the COHA (Corpus of Historical American English) with about 400 million words of American English from 1810 to 2009:

(1) a. In about a year, what with wine, women and play, my money vanished. (COHA 1830 FIC Disowned)
b. What with the gown, limos, and all the rest, you're probably looking at about a hundred grand. (COHA 2009 FIC FatallyFlaky)

The construction, predominantly occurring in the register of 'fiction', has been steadily used since 1810's, contrary to Huddleston and Pullum's (2002) point. This paper reports our investigation of total 1951 instances we have identified from the COHA. In particular, we analyse the data with respect to the complementation pattern of the *what with*, the coordination property (coordination of like and unlike categories), and the negative and positive implication (cf. Felscher and Britian 2007, Trousdale 2012). The corpus search shows us that the complement of the WWA, similar to the *with* absolute, ranges from a simple NP to a nonfinite S including a SC. The intriguing property comes from the dominant use of the coordination data including even the coordination of unlike categories:

(2) a. but what with $_{NP}$[the coffee] and $_{VP[ing]}$[being scared out of her wits besides], she couldn't possibly sleep. (COHA 1957 FIC)
b. ... what with $_{VP[ing]}$[driving the natives out] and $_{S[en]}$[the war waged with Mexico], they have cost us millions of treasure and thousands of lives. (COHA 1862 MAG)

Another revealing use is the positive implication of the construction:

(3) What with the track and the weight room handy, I kept myself in good shape ... (COHA 2004 FIC)

Such a positive use, countenancing Kortmann (1991), suggests that the uses of the WWAC are not limited to the negative implication, but extended to more wide perspectives.

It is clear that the WWA has more restricted uses than the *with* absolute, while sharing certain properties with other absolute constructions. In this paper, we suggest that these regularities as well as idiosyncrasies can be expected once we look at the construction with the spirit of Construction Grammar.

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Adverbialization of speaker attitude in contemporary written English: The Adv-Adj construction

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The Modern English period has seen great expansion of two related adverbial constructions primarily used to express speaker-oriented meanings: SAdv-S (the sentence adverbial construction) and Adv-Adj/Adv-pp/Adv-Adv (adverbial modification of a modifier or participle). Since the eighteenth century, these constructions have become remarkably productive in English, expressing speaker attitude or stance, including epistemic and evidential meanings, intensification and evaluation. As Swan notes, "speaker comments have become increasingly adverbialized" (1988:538) in written English. The Adj-Adv construction examined in this paper is exemplified in (1):

(1) a. This is partly the fault of the translation which is **infuriatingly unclear** in places (c.1990)
b. Damien Hirst's **exquisitely tedious** "The Complete Spot Paintings" (2012)
c. the **suspiciously chimerical** army of 70,000 rebel fighters conjured by Mr Cameron from the northern deserts (2015)

The construction developed in parallel with the type and token increase in sentence adverbs over the Modern English period (Broccias 2012; Nevalainen 1994, 2008; Peters 1994; Swan 1988, 1997). Evidence has accumulated that many sentence and adjective modifiers grammaticalized out of VP adverbs via usage-induced semantic change linked to syntactic decategorialization (Brinton and Traugott 2005:136). However, many *-ly* adverbs appear now to be coined as instant evaluative and/or intensifying modifiers.

This paper briefly outlines the history of Adv-Adj and examines the patterns of usage of the construction in a 1.8m-word corpus of 'opinion' writing: reviews and comment articles published in British English newspapers and magazines. Two issues are addressed: (i) the productivity of the construction and its relation to other adverbial constructions and the distribution of adverbs across constructions; (ii) the information structural aspects of the adverbialization of speaker attitude. It argues that a phonological 'gang effect' (Bybee 2010: 121) enhances current productivity of the construction (with an element of language play). Usage of the construction reflects the current trend for increased information compression, or 'phrasal discourse style' (Biber & Gray 2012), in non-fictional written English: it enables speaker evaluation to be backgrounded and depersonalized.

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Which factors determine the degree of rhoticity in Expanding Circle Englishes? The Case of Chinese English

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The realization of postvocalic-/r/ has been frequently examined in both diachronic and synchronic research on world Englishes. Since it constitutes “the most important phonotactic difference among accents of English” (Melcher and Shaw, 2003: 19) and a multitude of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors is known to modulate the degree of rhoticity, postvocalic-/r/ forms an instructive phonological marker to investigate the dynamics of norm formation in emerging varieties of English. While the Inner Circle and Outer Circle varieties have been extensively studied in this respect, there is fairly little research on the variable realization of postvocalic-/r/ in the Expanding Circle Englishes. Here, we fill this gap with an empirical study on rhoticity by highly proficient users of an EFL variety emerging in China, English teachers, who are considered one of the most pertinent norm providers for the learners of this variety. We provide a multivariate analysis of phonological and sociolinguistic factors conditioning the degree of rhoticity in Chinese English and explore the competing roles of norm orientation, substrate influence, and other relevant variables therein.

We asked 13 English teachers from a Chinese university to perform a variety of speech production tasks. All teachers were native speakers of Mandarin with different degrees of rhoticity in their L1 depending on their regional background. Our results show that Chinese English as an EFL variety is best categorized as marginally rhotic, albeit with significant inter- and intra-speaker variability. Furthermore, both grammar-internal and external constraints affected the degree of rhoticity. Concerning phonological variables, the preceding vowel was the only significant factor: The NEAR vowel was the strongest predictor of rhoticity, followed

by the SQUARE, LETTER, and NURSE vowels, while the START and FORCE vowels disfavoured rhoticity. Among various sociolinguistic variables examined, speakers' target norm and speech style constituted significant factors. Interestingly, L1 rhoticity failed to meaningfully explain the variability.

Closer inspection reveals that our English teachers representing this EFL variety are 'norm dependent' and behave in an exonormative manner. We will compare our results with previous research on rhoticity across contemporary world Englishes and discuss the consequences of our findings for norm formation in emerging English accents.

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The syntax of an emotional expletive in English

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Various phenomena of language express emotions rather than ideational or discursive meanings (Foolen 2012, Majid 2012). Yet there seems to be no 'grammar of emotions': forms of language for expressing emotions are parasitic upon the more dispassionate expression of ideas (Sapir 1921: 38). From the viewpoint of Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG), emotions manifest as an overlay on structures evolved for the communication of interpersonal and representational meanings.

This is particularly true of 'expletives', meaningless words which 'fill out' the clause with an expression of emotion. I focus on the expletive use of *fuck* and its various derivatives in an attempt to circumscribe their syntactic distribution. I review earlier classifications by McEnery & Xiao (2004), Pinker (2007) and Hoeksema & Napoli (2008) before using the FDG framework to delimit expletive use, manifested by the forms *fucking*, *fucking well* and *the fuck*, which have precisely delineable complementary syntactic distributions. I show that the syntactic positioning of expletives is subject to rules for NPs, AdjPs, AdvPs, PPs, VPs and 9 kinds of Pronouns, also including tmesis as in *im-fucking-possible.* The specific distribution of these items follows from having grammatical rather than lexical status, with largely the same function as optional markers of pragmatic functions. This leads to a FDG-informed hypothesis that the items are absent from the Representational Level and realize an operator of emotional emphasis (EmoEmph) on Focused or Contrasted Subacts at the Interpersonal Level. I test and validate this hypothesis by examining the grammaticality or discourse-acceptability of all possible exceptions. I finally examine the repercussions for the Morphosyntactic Level, where the syntactic distribution of the items is actually effected.

Three stages of processing are involved: a pre-linguistic **conceptualization** imbued with emotion; the **formulation** of a Discourse Act with an Illocution and a Communicated Content containing Subacts, where the emotion is overlain on Subacts with particular pragmatic functions; and **encoding**, which involves a contextually influenced selection of a realization of EmoEmph (*fucking*, *frigging*, *effing*, …), a grammatically enforced selection of an adjectival/adverbial or NP form, a placement of the expletive determined by the nature of the syntactic head, and finally the option, in certain circumstances, of tmesis.

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Attitudes toward accents of standard English in secondary schools in Trinidad

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In the anglophone Caribbean, tendencies of endonormative re-orientation have been observed in the development of local standards of English (Bruckmaier & Hackert 2011; Leung 2013; Deuber & Leung 2013; Hackert 2016). However, the norm orientation has also been found to be multidimensional, since the emergence of local standards of English is taking place in a complex competition between British, American and local norms (Mair 2006:158), and some exonormative orientations also exist (Sand 2011; Deuber 2013; Westphal 2015). Moreover, local standards may be developing toward an overarching Caribbean Standard English (Allsopp 1996). While these multivalent findings have been based on research on language use and attitudes in some domains of Standard English, the educational context is still underresearched although it is a decisive domain for the negotiation and inculcation of linguistic norms.

This paper adds a language attitude perspective to the question of whether and to what extent an endonormative standard is emerging on the island of Trinidad. Situated in the school context and focused on the elicitation of covert attitudes, this study reports on the results of an accent rating study with 803 secondary students. Respondents were asked to rate the accents of teachers from Trinidad, other anglophone Caribbean islands, the United States, and Great Britain according to items related to standardness and appropriateness in education. Additionally, informants were asked to identify the teachers' countries of origin.

The findings of the study reveal that the respondents' norm orientation is multidimensional and includes exo- and endonormative influences: first, the results indicate a general coexistence of different standards since no standard served as a superordinate norm. Second, there is no clear-cut distinction between exo- and endonormative accents from an attitude perspective. Third, fine-grained differences in the ratings were also observed: overall, British and American voices received higher ratings than local ones, but an American-influenced Trinidadian voice was also highly appreciated. These findings provide new insights for the discussion of standards in Trinidad, the wider anglophone Caribbean, and other small postcolonial speech communities where different local and global norms interact.

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'I regret that I spoke' vs. 'I regret speaking': Variability in sentential verb complementation in British and American English

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The development and change of the English complementation system have been studied widely (see, e.g., Rohdenburg 1995, 1996; Fanego 1996, 1998, 2007, 2016, among many others) but more research is needed for Present-Day English, "where comparatively little work has been done" (Fanego 2007: 161). One of the major changes in sentential verb complementation is the evolution of the gerund from being a nominal gerund in the early periods of English to acquiring full verbal properties by Late Modern English (Fanego 2007) and its establishment "as a second type of non-finite complement" (Rohdenburg 2006: 143) at the expense of infinitives and *that*-clauses. Previous studies of the complement-taking predicate *regret* have shown that in British English the choice between *that*-clause and the gerundial –*ing* is non-categorical or probabilistic (Cuyckens et al. 2014, Cuyckens & D'hoedt 2015) with the speaker having the possibility to choose between them. My study focuses on this non-categorical variation and intends to identify any existing differences in the clausal complementation profile of *regret* in British and American English. In this presentation, I will first describe the distribution of the main patterns covered in reference grammars (Quirk et al. 1985; Huddleston & Pullum 2002) and some alternative patterns encountered (e.g. *the main thing here not to regret for what you lose after divorce*, GloWbE US). Secondly, I will discuss some of the linguistic variables that seem to determine the choice between nonfinite and finite sentential complements. The data are retrieved from the *Corpus of Global Web-Based English* (GloWbE, Davies 2013), which makes it possible to study the verb *regret* as it is "used on the net" (Loureiro-Porto 2017). A pilot study already shows a tendency for both varieties to

favor nonfinite constructions (especially *–ing* forms, cf. Rohdenburg 2006). However, the data also show that the increasing preference for nonfinite patterns over *that*-clauses, a long-term development in the complementation system, is clearly stronger in American English.

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Reported speech – A practice in change?

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There exists a large body of research on reported speech (RS) in spoken English (e.g. Arendholz et al. 2015, Buchstaller and van Alphen 2012, Holt 2009, Holt and Clift 2010). Focusing on RS with the quotative "say" in question turns, this paper examines formal and functional change in British Prime Minister's Questions (PMQs). Due to the greater availability of data, previous

research has largely been concerned with change and variation in written corpora of Present Day English (e.g. Mair 2006, Mair and Leech 2006). The recordings of PMQs, which date back to 1978, allow a unique insight into aspects of recent and short-term diachronic change in a spoken genre. The data base for the study covers a period of 34 years (1978-2011) and is composed of two data sets: 1) radio broadcasts from 1978-1988 (22 recordings, ca. 5.5 hours), and 2) TV footage from 2003-2011 (42 video recordings, ca. 21 hours). These are complemented by Hansard, the official record of the House of Commons (www.parliament.uk/business/publications/hansard/). Because of the shortcomings of Hansard for interactional and linguistic analysis, additional transcripts were created in the GAT transcription system (Couper-Kuhlen and Barth-Weingarten 2011).

Informed by Interactional Linguistics (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 2001), the study explores RS with respect to its 1) linguistic formatting (morphosyntactic, lexicosemantic, prosodic), 2) sequential and turn-internal placement, and 3) function in the two data sets. To identify aspects of short-term language change, 4) the distribution of these patterns over the audio and video data is analyzed and compared.

While it is found that RS in MPs' questions generally is used for "question prefaces" (Clayman and Heritage 2002), i.e. the background information which prepares for the question proper, the study shows changes as regards form and function: In the 1978-1988 data, the RS is largely indirect, embedded in interrogative nested structures and can be found in prefaces of "helpful questions" (Bates et al. 2012). This contrasts with the 2003-2011 question prefaces, where direct and indirect RS are more evenly distributed and performed in declarative syntactic environments. Here RS is associated with more adversarial action types.

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Who all can say *who all* in American English?

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In Standard English, a wh-question is ambiguous as to whether it demands a singleton or plural answer:

(1) Who did you see at the party?

Some dialects, like West Ulster English (McCloskey 2000), resolve this ambiguity by using *all* to denote a question as plural:

(2) Who all did you see at the party?

"Who are all the people that you saw at the party?"

This paper explores the largely undescribed use of such *wh-all questions* in American English. Such use is said to be a dialect feature of the Midlands (Murray and Simon 2006, Cassidy 1996), but there is little data in support of this claim. Our questions are twofold: from a dialectological perspective, what is the regional distribution of *wh-all* in AmE? From a morphosyntactic perspective, what can we ascertain about the feature's structure?

We conducted a grammaticality judgment survey circulated via social media, in which six sentences, one representing each *wh-all question* (*who/what/where/when/how/why*), were presented. Participants were asked whether they could say or understand each sentence. In total, 55 participants distributed across the Northeastern, Midwestern, Southern, and Western US took the survey.

Wh-all questions are widespread throughout the Midwest and South. Over 70% of respondents accept sentences with *who/what/where-all*. Sizable minorities (~20-30%) also accepted *when/how/why-all*. In contrast, the Northeast and West had less acceptance of *who/what-all* (30-60%), with the other *wh-all* questions largely unattested. Among individual speakers, there was an implicational hierarchy guiding acceptance (3). Speakers accepting *how all* also accept *who all*, but not vice versa.

(3) how>why>when>where>what>who

Participants who rate the test sentences as ungrammatical, regardless of region, consistently misunderstand them by forcing an incorrect reading in which *all* is a floating quantifier associated with a subject like *you*.

The implicational hierarchy suggests that questions about plural objects (*who/what/where*) are more widespread than plural events, reasons, etc., while the consistent misunderstandings suggest *wh-all* questions are built through some aspect of the morphosyntax. We argue that these findings are connected: the morphological structure making objects plural with *all* has spread throughout AmE, but making *when/how/why* plural is an innovation limited to the Midwest and South.

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"I'm single again and this time *for good*". The use of *for good (and all)* to indicate permanence in present-day British and American English

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This paper addresses the use of *for good* (with its variant *for good and all*) as a construction (cf. Goldberg 2006, and Traugott and Trousdale 2013) to indicate permanence in British and American English. Although the semantics of the word *good* might suggest that this phrase is more common in contexts with a positive meaning, the data analysed actually challenge this assumption. As a matter of fact, most of the examples where *for good (and all)* occur seem to share two main features: (i) the verb that collocates with this phrase tends to indicate some change of state, and (ii) in most cases that change is for the worse. Thus, combinations with verbs like *leave*, *die*, *quit*, *end*, *stop* or *go* (especially in the passive voice, as in example (1) below) are very common, whereas occurrences of this phrase with verbs denoting stability, such as *stay* in (2), are hardly attested.

(1) Lose a wallet of dollar bills in Times Square, and it's *gone* **for good**.

(2) It was no surprise that she fell in love with the place and *stayed* **for good**.

For a deeper understanding of the construction, a contrastive analysis is established between examples with *for good (and all)* and instances containing *forever*, a much more common adverb very close in meaning and function to our phrase. In spite of the semantic and functional similarities, *forever* seems to combine rather frequently with verbs which do not convey change, and it is more flexible with regard to its position in the sentence (cf. (3)), as opposed to *for good (and all)*, which shows a clear tendency to occupy sentence-final position (as shown in the examples above).

(3) The landscapes of the island are of unparalleled beauty and will surely give you moments that will remain **forever** etched in your and your guests' memories.

The data for this study are taken from *GloWbE (Global Web-based English)*, a large online corpus which is an optimal source of information for low-frequency items like the one under analysis.

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Fantastic variants and where to find them: A descriptive account of the English spoken by Koreans

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Whereas the function and status of English in Korea have been studied in detail (e.g. Park 2009), research concerning the actual linguistic form of the variety are rather scarce (but cf. Hadikin on collocations in Korean English as a notable exception). The present investigation takes a corpus linguistic perspective and uses an egalitarian framework of World Englishes (i.e. taking a critical stance on the conservative distinction between innovations and errors; cf. Davydova 2012). Using a corpus of spoken English by Koreans (ca. 300,000 words), several potential morpho-syntactic patterns of a Korean English variety can be identified in the material, such as a preference for the omission of plural marking on nouns in cases where plural marking is redundant due to the lexical or textual context. Furthermore, a trend towards the omission of the first person pronoun *I* in subject and third person pronoun *it* in subject and object position can be observed. Regarding prepositions, three processes are at work: plus-prepositions (occurrences of prepositions in unexpected contexts), minus-prepositions (omission of prepositions) and preposition replacement (one preposition standing instead of another). Omission of verbs can frequently be related to copula deletion before adjectives mirroring Korean usage. A quality which sets this project apart from many others is that frequency numbers are available for all previously listed variants and the contexts in which they can be found. As no systematic description of the morpho-syntactic level of the English as used by Koreans has been produced yet, this study provides fundamental insights into the variety under scrutiny.

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Spanish borrowings in Miami-based newspapers: A case study

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The *hispanization* of American English is a predictable phenomenon occurring in various southern States in the US. South Florida, particularly Miami, is precisely one of these neighboring enclaves in which code-switching and borrowing mechanisms are most palpable. This research study is intended to collect Spanish-induced lexical units in Miami English through the revision of local online newspapers and magazines (*The Miami Herald*, *Miami New Times*, *Miami Today News*). These loanwords or calques are related to the semantic field of pastimes and entertainment. The study is divided into two main stages: data extraction and data analysis. The former concerns the annotation of *hispanized* lexis, and a comprehensive

description of these units as to morpho-syntactic and etymological traits. The lemma is necessarily accompanied by co-text, thus entailing a complete understanding of lexical influence and semantic transparency. The latter, i.e. data analysis, aims at drawing a quantitative and qualitative revision of the information gathered: annotated lemmas are classed and grouped according to word-building parameters and morpho-semantic variations. Eponyms and toponyms are also taken into consideration due to their significant cultural load.

Though restricted to pastime and entertainment in local newspapers, the results reveal that in multicultural and bilingual cities like Miami, English is linguistically and culturally influenced by Spanish. Obviously, the number of loanwords and calques extracted from these written sources does not reflect the actual state of the question, especially in Hispanic bilingual families, in which this number is considerably much higher. However, the corpus shows a group of 'accepted' borrowings in the English-speaking communities, regardless of race and origin. As expected, a great number of these lexical units are direct borrowings (loanwords, false borrowings and hybrids). This study can be of great importance to corroborate how the phenomena of code-switching and bilingualism have influenced English in North-American regions like south Florida.

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The interplay of semantics and phonetics: A closer look at English adjective-noun minimal pairs

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The paper compares the stress pattern of **novel** semantically non-compositional adjective-noun (AN) combinations in English (*red safe* = a safe used to store blood reserves) and their compositional counterparts (*red safe* = a safe that is red).

Studies showed that stress is realized through several acoustic correlates, e.g. fundamental frequency (F0), duration, and/or intensity. One study (Morrill 2012) looked at English AN combinations. Lexicalized items are often stressed on the adjective (*BLACKboard*) whereas their counterparts are stressed on the noun (*black BOARD*) (Chomsky & Halle 1968). While Morrill (2012) examined **lexicalized** combinations (*blackboard*) and their counterparts (*black board*), my study reported here focuses on **novel** combinations (*red safe* (see above)) and their counterparts (*red safe*). The question is whether novel non-compositional combinations differ in their stress pattern – expressed through the acoustic correlates mentioned above – from their compositional counterparts. I believe that stress interacts with semantics in novel combinations: While compositional items should have non-initial stress (*red SAFE* (= a safe that is red)), non-compositional ones should have initial stress (*RED safe* (= a safe used to store blood reserves)). This tendency should be mirrored in, e.g., the difference between the maximum/mean intensity of the vowel of the first syllable (V1) and the maximum/mean intensity of the vowel of the second syllable (V2) (cf. also Morrill 2012): The difference should be greater in non-compositional items (e.g. 4.4 decibels (dB) in *red safe*) than in compositional items (e.g. 2.4 dB in *red safe*). Duration and F0 will also be investigated.

English native speakers first read the compositional versions of all minimal pairs embedded in sentences (*Peter bought a red safe again, which has a nicer color than the pink one.*). Later, the subjects read the non-compositional versions embedded in the same environment (*Peter bought a red safe again which is a safe used to store blood reserves.*). Subjects always (1) read a sentence silently, (2) answer a question to see whether they understood the meaning and, finally, (3) speak the sentence three times aloud.

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Document-classification models as a new method for data-driven linguistics

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The use of advanced statistical models in linguistics is increasingly encouraged (e.g. Gries 2015). Classifying models that use logistic regression have been proposed and used. Typically, the number of features in these studies stays relatively small, a handful to maximally hundreds. In computational linguistics, approaches used in document classification (typically called Machine Learning approaches) often use tens of thousands of features, in particular lexical types, part-of-speech tags or syntactic categories. We show with three case studies that using such models with thousands of features opens up an entire new branch of research for data-driven approaches.

- An approach to historical linguistics, showing linguistic changes from Early Modern English to today

- An approach to stylistics, comparing different styles of thought
- An approach to registers, using the British National Corpus

Approaches with rich lexical features of content words ("bag-of-words") have widely been used for document classification, but far fewer investigate linguistic form: see e.g. Juola (2008) for authorship attribution, and Mehler et al. (2011) for genre identification.

Most machine learning approaches are primarily interested in the accuracy of the classification, very few are interested in linguistically interpreting the features, the best known exception are perhaps Biber's studies (Biber and Conrad 2009). Unlike in their studies, treating tens of thousands of features individually is now easily manageable. In technical terms, we use feature weights as keyword extraction algorithm, an approach that has hardly been used yet, see Yang et al. (2013) for an exception. We are not aware of any approach of this method in historical linguistics.

We also discuss that although a number of statistical assumptions are not met, although the envelope of variation is not respected, the models often perform surprisingly well, and can detect new patterns, by discovering the most discriminating and hence most salient features. Not all suggested features are true positives though, an interactive manual filtering step is usually required.

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Patterns of semantic convergence and divergence: Concessive conjunctions in twelve varieties of English

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This paper explores the semantics of the concessive conjunctions *although*, *though* and *even though* in the twelve L1 and L2 varieties of English used in Great Britain, Ireland, the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Jamaica, Nigeria, India, Singapore, Hong Kong, and the Philippines. Data are drawn from the *International Corpus of English* (cf. Greenbaum 1996), supplemented by the *Santa Barbara Corpus* (Du Bois et al. 2000–2005). While there have been many theoretical and some quantitative studies of the semantics of concessives (e.g. Azar 1997; König 2006; Hilpert 2013), none of them work within the World Englishes paradigm – a gap addressed by this paper.

Sweetser (1990) proposes three types of concessives. *Content concessives* are based on some causal or conditional presupposition, whose non-realisation results in concessive meaning: In (1), an environmental disaster of long duration unexpectedly causes relatively little harm. *Epistemic concessives* trigger an inference, which turns out to be false – thus, in (2) a person regularly posing with a certain weapon is assumed to fight with it, too. Finally, in *speech-act concessives* one proposition qualifies or corrects the pragmatic thrust of another, as in (3), where a positive economic evaluation contrasts with a negative environmental one.

(1) And the Ixtoc blow-out in the Gulf of Mexico – even though it gushed for months – did less harm than it might have […]. (ICE-GB:W2B-029)
(2) […A]lthough he's always brandishing his bolo, Bonifacio never fought with the bolo. (ICE-PHI:S2A-034)
(3) Though it has brought economic gain, it did harm to the nature. (ICE-IND:W1B-011)

Extensive semantic disambiguation of the data reveals firstly that in all twelve varieties *although* and *though* predominantly encode speech-act concessives, followed by content concessives, while the inverse is found for *even though*; epistemic concessives are rare overall. It is argued that *even though* is not merely used for emphasis (cf. Quirk et al. 1985) but for the marking of semantically distinct constructions. Secondly, the semantics of *although* are least variable across varieties; the pattern arguably constitutes a core feature of Englishes. Finally, the semantic variability of all three conjunctions is measurably smaller between L1 varieties than between L2 varieties, suggesting L2 divergence and L1 convergence.

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Variation among Pakistani and U.S. English blogs: A multidimensional analysis

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The present research is a Multidimensional Analysis (MDA) of English blogs and newspaper opinion editorials originating from Pakistan and the U.S. using MDA dimensions reported in Grieve et al. (2010). The aim is to examine regional and/or functional variation among Pakistani and U.S. English and its possible causes. The data was collected from 2009-2016 in

various sub-categories: Individual Blogs from single-/multi-writer blog websites; News Blogs from newspapers' 'Blogs' sections; Tech Blogs from technology news blogs; and op-ed Columns from newspapers. The data (3674 texts) was tagged using Biber Tagger for 130+ linguistic features. The dimension scores for 4 dimensions – (i) Informational versus Personal Focus; (ii) Addressee Focus; (iii) Thematic Variation; and (iv) Narrative Style – were calculated using frequencies of features reported in Grieve et al. The overall results show that the present data follows similar trends as reported by Hardy and Friginal (2012), but the personal or conversational tone is reduced (i.e. a higher score on dimension 1 with a lesser score on other 3 dimensions) especially for the U.S. blogs, which makes the regional variation among Blogs in the present study non-significant. Conversely, the category of Columns exhibits more variation in the present data as compared to Hardy and Friginal's equivalent category. The breakdown of Blogs data into sub-categories (Individual, News, and Tech) reveals that Pakistani Tech Blogs are functionally nearer to news reports with informational focus and less personal tone as compared to their U.S. counterparts. News Blogs from both regions generally depict less personal tone as compared to Individual Blogs. The reasons for the overall less personal tone (hence less 'diary type blogs' as per Grieve et al.) in the U.S. data might include a different time period of data collection (previous studies used data from approx. 2003-2009). The internet is a rapidly changing place where websites disappear quickly. The closure of popular blog directory 'Globe of Blogs' used in previous studies for identification of blogs, abundant availability of 'commentary type blogs' on blog directories used for the present research and evolving nature of blogs (i.e. addition of new blog types) seem to be other relevant causes.

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An ex-deal wherein they're going to train the teachers: Relativizers in spoken Philippines English

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Previous research on the distribution of relativizers in India, Hong Kong and Singapore Englishes shows that these L2 varieties converge with L1 varieties of English in that *who* tends to be used as subject with human antecedents (Levey 2006), whereas *that* supersedes *which* in the same syntactic function with non-human antecedents, as a consequence of the decrease of *which* at the expense of *that* (Leech et al. 2009: 227, 229). The only exception to this tendency is Indian English, which favours the use of *which* with non-human antecedents, irrespective of the syntactic function. This has been attributed to substratal influence, i.e. the non-reduction relativization strategy of Hindi, a language that uses pronominal relativizers to introduce the relative clause (Suárez-Gómez 2014). The aim of this paper is to analyze the distribution of relativizers in Philippines English (PhiE) found in the conversational component (S1A texts) of the *International Corpus of English* (ICE-PHI), in order to see (i) if PhiE has also accommodated to the general distribution of *who* and *that* observed in other varieties of English, (ii) if PhiE shows peculiarities in relativization which have not been accounted for in other varieties, such as a higher relative frequency of subject relative clauses; this would be justified by substratal influence, since only nominative arguments can be relativized in Tagalog, the dominant substrate language (Kroeger 1993: 23-24), and (iii) if PhilE shows innovative structures commonly found in L2 varieties, derived from the process of language learning inherent to these varieties. Additionally, this study intends to complement Collins et al.'s (2014) analysis on the relative clauses in Philippines English, which focuses on *that* and *wh*-relativizers, by taking into consideration relativizer zero (e.g. *I just like the way Ø she dresses up and you know her hairstyle*), commonly used in this variety to introduce relative clauses indicating manner or time, as well as unusual forms such as *wherein* (e.g. *I think they have to adjust the conditions wherein they will apply the death penalty*), not recorded in the ICE data of British English or other Asian varieties.

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The *have long V-ed X* construction as a device to covert repetition/continuity into a length of time

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Have V-ed X for a long time can be paraphrased as *have long V-ed X*. However, this is not always the case. Hilpert (2014: 19) argues that the sentences in (1) are both acceptable but that (1b) cannot be paraphrased with the adverb *long*:

(1) a. I have known your father for a long time
    b. I have read this book for a long time
(2) a. I have long known your father.
    b *I have long read this book.

There are some constraints on the *have long V-ed X* construction, but Hilpert does not mention why (2b) is grammatically aberrant. The aims of my presentation are: (i) to clarify the behavior of the construction with corpora such as COCA; and (ii) to offer a reasonable explanation about its behavior.

The prototypical use of this construction (roughly 70% of the relevant examples in COCA) shows the subject of the construction is a plural NP with no article (e.g. *Traditionalists have long argued*… / *Scientists have long known*…). These examples mean that an individual event (*A traditionalist argues*…) has repeatedly happened in a long time span. Such a repetitive meaning requires the subject of the construction to be plural, because in this construction, the quantity of the repeated events during that time is converted as a length of time and expressed with the adverb *long*. The action in (1b) is hard to interpret as the repetition of reading. Hence it sounds strange.

Quirk et al. (1985: 541) and Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 827) indicate that the adverb *long* shares a lot with quantifiers like *some* and *much*. This is a reflection of the fact that the *have long V-ed X* construction is a device to convert the quantity of repetition or continuity into a length of time. Such a conversion can be observed in other English expressions (e.g. A goods train takes some stopping *(=it takes some time to stop*…, Jespersen 1940: 113).

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The expression of pronominal subjects in British English, Indian English and Singapore English: A corpus-based study

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English has traditionally been considered a prototypical non-pro-drop language, that is, one in which subject pronouns cannot be omitted. However, pronoun omission, understood as the presence of a gap in a construction that could be filled by an overt pronoun (cf. Haegeman 1994: 450-458), as in example (1), is attested with different degrees of pervasiveness in up to 51% of the varieties included in the *Electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English* (Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2013).

(1) *[…]* ***philosophy***$_i$ *is good general background for all sorts of things*

Ø$_i$ *Doesn't give one skill like many of the courses here*. (ICE-GB:S1A-033 #38–39:A)

The present paper is an attempt to shed light on the occurrence of omitted pronouns in British English (BrE) and in two high-contact varieties of English, Indian English (IndE) and Singapore English (SgE). Several factors will be considered in order to account for this phenomenon:

- Variety: IndE versus SgE versus BrE
- Text type: spoken versus written, informal versus formal
- Clause type: main versus subordinate
- Sentence type: declarative versus interrogative
- Position in the clause: initial versus non-initial
- Class of the verb co-occurring with the pronoun: non-modal auxiliary versus modal auxiliary versus lexical verb
- Frequency of co-occurrence of the pronoun and the verb (cf., for instance, Bybee & Thompson 1997)
- Presence versus absence of subject-verb agreement
- Syntactic environment of the pronoun and its antecedent: coordinate versus non-coordinate clauses
- Accessibility of the antecedent (cf., for instance, Ariel 1994)

In order to carry out this analysis, all the instances of omitted and overt subject pronouns will be retrieved from 60 texts taken from the British, Indian and Singaporean components of the *International Corpus of English* (approximately 40,000-45,000 words from each component). The instances of omitted/overt pronouns will be annotated for each of the variables mentioned above and will then be analysed by means of a binary logistic regression.

The findings of this study will help to clarify which factors have an influence on the expression of pronominal subjects in BrE, IndE and SgE, and, additionally, which ones have a more significant effect.

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The language of pop lyrics: A multidimensional register analysis

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Even though pop culture is recognized as a driving sociocultural force worldwide, likely to affect everybody on a daily basis (Trotta 2010), and even though pop culture is in large parts a text-based phenomenon, surprisingly few attempts have been undertaken to describe its discourse from a linguistic perspective. The current study addresses this apparent gap and provides a corpus-based register analysis of pop lyrics, arguably the epitome of the language of pop culture (Werner 2012; Bértoli-Dutra 2014).

The approach used follows the scheme for multidimensional register analysis (MDA) developed by Biber (1988; see also Biber 1989; Biber & Conrad 2009) and is based on a 546,400 word corpus (1,842 songs; period 2001–2016) of pop lyrics semi-automatically retrieved from lyrics webpages. For quantitative data analysis the study relies on the Multidimensional Analysis Tagger (Nini 2015) to identify register *features* to contrast lyrics with other registers. In a second step, the n-gram and keyword features of AntConc (Anthony 2016) are used to establish register/style *markers*.

Overall, the MDA situates lyrics close to the general text types conversation and personal letters. As claimed in earlier analyses (e.g. Murphey 1989; Pettijohn & Sacco 2009), it emerges that pop lyrics indeed carry some conversational force (indicated by a high incidence of first and second person pronouns, private and mental verbs, usage frequencies of negation and contractions comparable to those in speech; cf. Biber et al. 1999). However, this "conversational directness" (Durant & Lambrou 2009) stands in stark contrast to other findings pertaining both to genuinely linguistic aspects (such as a conspicuous lack of dysfluencies) and situational factors (such as the actual social and spatial distance between addressor and addressee(s) not being reflected linguistically). These discrepancies can largely be ascribed to the specific circumstances of production (usually planned and performed; Coupland 2011) and the amount of audience/referee design (Bell 1984) involved. In addition, register/style markers (such as the use of phonesthetic devices and of rhyme and meter) contribute to the linguistic distinctiveness of pop lyrics. In sum, the evidence suggests that pop lyrics exemplify a highly special register in which, comparable to other types of modern media discourse, "pseudo-

intimacy" (O'Keeffe 2006) is created.

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Pragmatic variation in World Englishes: The use of tag questions in Trinidadian and Philippine English

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The International Corpus of English (ICE) with its many individual components, diverse text types, and large spoken part is an excellent tool to analyze variation between and within World Englishes on all levels of linguistic variation. However, research using the ICE is generally biased with regard to two aspects: first, most ICE-based research has focused on morpho-syntax (e.g. Hundt & Gut 2012), while there are some phonetic studies (e.g. Rosenfelder 2009) and hardly any investigations on pragmatic variation (e.g. Aijmer 2013). Second, most cross-variety comparisons either pool text types together or merely use face-to-face conversations (e.g. Hundt & Gut 2012).

This study addresses these research gaps by analyzing pragmatic variation with regard to text type and comparing Trinidadian and Philippine English. In the ICE-Philippines and the ICE-Trinidad and Tobago I analyze the form and pragmatic function of variant and invariant tag

questions (TQs) in face-to-face conversations, phonecalls, classroom lessons, and legal cross-examinations. This investigation of TQs in these two New Englishes adds to the growing field of variational pragmatics (Schneider & Barron 2008), which has largely focused on British and Irish English (e.g. Barron et al. 2015).

The analysis shows that the two varieties mainly differ with regard to individual TQ forms: for example, *not so* and *or what* are exclusive to Trinidadian English whereas Filipinos use Tagalog particles, such as *no* or *ba*. In contrast to these differences, invariant TQs dominate over variant ones in Trinidadian and Philippine English. Trinidadian Creole and Tagalog TQs are more frequent in informal than in formal text types. Furthermore, many invariant tags, such as *right*, are frequent in both varieties. With regard to the pragmatic function of TQs the analysis shows that text type exerts a strong influence on function beyond a formal-informal dichotomy: speakers have the same communicative needs in similar speech situations regardless of the variety of English.

This text type-sensitive approach is capable to show the internal heterogeneity of New Englishes and thus challenges assumptions of their homogeneity. The corpus-based variational pragmatics approach has great potential to show similarities and differences between and within World Englishes from a fresh perspective.

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***Why*-suggestions**

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Certain English negated PRES.INDIC *why*-sentences are ambiguous between question (a) and suggestion (b) readings (Gordon & Lakoff 1971, Sadock 1974):

(1) Why don't you come.
(a) What is the reason for you not coming?
(b) Come!

A common view is that (1b) represents an optional indirect speech act of an ordinary *why*-interrogative sentence (e.g. Holmberg 1979). This paper argues that it is the sole reading of a special *why don't you* construction (WDY) grammatically distinct from regular *why*-interrogatives; and investigates some of WDY's specific grammatical properties.

Grammatical reflexes of the suggestion reading include:

→ *don't be* (Quirk et al 1985, Huddleston & Pullum 2002)

(2) Why don't you be more careful. [SUGGESTION only]

(3) Why aren't you more careful? [QUESTION only]

While mostly limited to imperatives, *do*-support with be occurs in specific PRES.INDIC contexts including WDY, *if*-clauses (*If you don't be quick*, *you'll miss the bus*, Palmer 1965) and "informal subjunctives" (*I suggest that you don't be late*, Collins 2006).

→ contraction of *why don't you* to *whyncha* (Horn & Bayer 1984)

(4) Whyncha come. [SUGGESTION only]

→ no NPIs (Holmberg 1979)

(5) Why don't you (*ever) be (*any) nicer to your students.

→ future reference only

(6) Why doesn't he be careful { in future /*nowadays }.

An analysis is pursued whereby

(i) WDY involves a null modal M*, related to the subjunctive (Potsdam 1996) and the 'plan' component of the English simple futurate (Copley 2002, 2008). M* blocks *be*-raising, triggering *do*-support.

(ii) WDY does not allow an answer (Green 1975), indicating a special subtype of rhetorical questions (Cheung 2008, 2009). Negated rhetorical questions do not tolerate NPIs (Han 2002).

(iii) WDY delivers a negative proposition (**q** = 'there is no reason not to do X') that inputs a 'short-circuited' inference ('if both **q** & there is reason to do X, then: do X!'), deriving the SUGGESTION.

Why WDY must be negative (*Why don't we be friends* / **Why do we be enemies*), unlike the related nonfinite construction (*Why not be friends* and *Why be enemies* are both suggestions to make the peace), remains a mystery.

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Adjectives in two variants of the *it*-extraposition construction: A distinctive collexeme analysis

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This paper adopts the perspective of construction grammar (Goldberg 2006) and a corpus-based method for investigating pairs of semantically similar grammatical constructions and the lexemes that occur in them. The method, referred to as *distinctive-collexeme analysis* (Gries and Stefanowitsch 2004; Hilpert 2014), is used to identify lexemes that indicate a strong preference for the *it is ADJ to V*-construction as opposed to the *it is ADJ that*-construction , and thus it enables us to examine subtle distributional differences between two semantically or functionally near-equivalent constructions. The data used in this study come from the academic sub-corpus of COCA. On the basis of the case study dealing with adjectives in the *it*-extraposition constructions with that-clauses and to-infinitives in the academic discourse, the paper shows that there are adjectives that exhibit a strong preference for one construction as compared to the other. Moreover, the results of the distinctive-collexeme analysis of this pair of constructions reveal that the frame-constructional semantics is an influencing factor in the choice between these two constructions.

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Posters

Production and judgment of English adjective-noun strings and noun-noun compounds in L1 Spanish-L2 English children

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The possible cross-linguistic influence regarding the relative order of the adjective in D(eterminer) P(hrase)s in language pairs that present a structural overlap has already been studied in simultaneous bilinguals (e.g. Kupisch 2014, German-Italian; Nicoladis 2006, French-English). This overlap affects the adjective-noun order in Germanic languages and the noun-adjective one in Romance.

Studies concerning possible cross-linguistic influence in N(oun)-N(oun) compounds related to, among other issues, the order of their constituents have also been carried out in simultaneous bilinguals (e.g. Nicoladis 2002, French-English) and comparing simultaneous and sequential bilinguals (e.g. Fernández Fuertes et al. 2008, Spanish-English).

DPs and NN compounds share the same underlying word order in the respective Romance and Germanic languages in that, for example in English, the modifier always precedes the head regardless of whether the modifier is an adjective or an noun.

One of the differences between Spanish and English DPs with and adjective and NN compounds affect word-order: the unmarked order in Spanish DPs is that of the head followed by the adjective whereas in English the adjective is placed before the head; likewise, Spanish NN compounds are left-headed, while English ones are right-headed.

Considering all this, the purpose of my study is to assess how L1 Spanish children learning L2 English in a formal educative context deal with this word order difference when using English regarding the two mentioned structures. The instruction participants receive for each of these structures as well as their appearance or not in the textbooks used in the educative context will be taken into account as relevant factors.

Data have been elicited from Spanish-English sequential bilinguals by means of two experimental tasks: a production and an acceptability judgment task. In the first task, participants were asked to produce a series of phrases; in the second, they had to rate a set of grammatical and ungrammatical phrases.

Results show that there is cross-linguistic influence from Spanish to English word order. However, this is also modulated by the type of task, by some of the experimental items, and by the instruction or appearance of (or lack thereof) the structures under analysis in text books.

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A corpus-based comparative analysis of nominalizations in *-ism* derived from politicians' surnames

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The proposed poster concerns the area of contemporary English word-formation, focusing on the derivation of abstract nominalizations in *-ism* with politicians' surnames as derivational bases. Formations in *-ism* (*Nomina Essendi*), although well established in dictionaries as lexicalized forms, also show a high degree of morphological productivity (Bauer 2006). Besides *-ness*, which is an extremely productive suffix in this category, other affixes in this group (*-ity*, *-ancy*/*-ency*, *-acy* or -(*it*)*ude*) are mostly unproductive (Hamawand 2007). It is the suffix *-ism*, with all its semantic load and pragmatic influence, that has a special status in contemporary English word-formation (Bauer 2003). On the one hand, the suffix *-ism* may be seen as quantitatively peripheral, when compared to affixes with higher frequencies (cf. *-er*, *-ess* or *-y*). On the other hand, *-ism* is particularly interesting in specialist discourses in combination with certain derivational bases. Numbers of hapax legomena with *-ism* exploiting certain proper names are surprising. A random corpus search returns numerous once-only formations with proper names. This is a clear indication of the productivity of this suffix. Given this, the suffix cannot be taken as completely marginal in contemporary English. Initially, any formations with the element **ism* have been retrieved from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) (Davies 2008). As we are interested in derivations with politicians' surnames only, the original results of the search have had to be manually tidied. Compiling an exhaustive list of politicians' surnames, functioning as potential morphological bases, would be hardly possible. Instead, we have gathered all formations with **ism* (most of which are irrelevant). The list has been manually edited and only relevant derivations have been left. The formations have been divided into those recorded once only and those recorded more than once. The search period covers the years 1990-2015. Our objective is to compare the derivational potential of the suffix *-ism* in academic and journalistic texts. Specifically, we want to check whether it is possible to distinguish 'grammar-lexical patterns' hosting derived nominalizations in the two genres. Grammar-lexical patterns are used in the sense of Goldberg's (2006) Construction Grammar or Hunston and Francis's (1999) Pattern Grammar.

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The elephant in the room: The loss of figurativeness in second-language ESP contexts

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A number of theorists (Dirven, 2003; Chen and Lai, 2011) have argued that non-figurative language such as metonymy and metaphor must be theoretically approached as stages along a continuum: with literal and metaphor at both ends, and metonymy somewhere in the middle. In language acquisition contexts, particularly in those relative to specialized domains, practice may deviate from such idealization, as the uses of language by learners can be de-facto less creative than those of native speakers, and figurativeness can be transparent unless made explicit by instructors. With regard to language use, learners tend to follow the received models prevalent in their fields of study, without much awareness of their figurative nature. As a result, language tends to be perceived as indistinctly specialized, thus distorting the position of language elements within the metonymy-metaphor continuum. Most importantly, it prevents linking figurative and non-figurative uses into a more comprehensive use of language as a richer, more creative tool for communication. It affects L2 EAP discourse by eliding a number of element of native-English use, such as deliberateness and nonce-formation in the extension of meaning, and it restricts the variety of meaning extension strategies followed by users.

Using a three-dimensional taxonomy for metaphor which takes into account communicative, conceptual and linguistic values of these (Steen, 2011) and a detailed revision of metonymy types (Littlemore, 2015) as research instruments, this paper reports evidence on the little degree of figurativeness in the writings of 400 intermediate (CEFR B1) undergraduates in the fields of in Economics, Geography, and Chemistry at a Spanish university. A detailed quantitative analysis finds stark differences with the level of figurativeness in the texts they are exposed to, creating a significant divide between natives and non-native future scientists and researchers in the modern uses of specialized-domain English. An analysis of 50 recent papers in these fields by non-native authors confirms such divide, calling for attention to both metaphor and metonymy as part of ESP undergraduate curricula so as to retain figurativeness within English as a global language in these fields.

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English heritage and L2 speakers: The importance of language status in sentential subject production

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The nature of sentential subjects in the case of English/Spanish bilinguals' data has been extensively analyzed both in the case of simultaneous bilinguals (e.g. Liceras et al. 2008, 2012) as well in sequential bilinguals with Spanish as their L2 (e.g. White 1986, Liceras 1989, Montrul & Rodríguez Louro 2006) or with English as their L2 (e.g. Lozano 2002, Pladevall 2007). However, not much has been said regarding a comparison between L2 English and L1 heritage English. The present work focuses on this last comparison and on the crosslinguistic influence. We aim to determine transfer occurs from Spanish into English and results in the over-production of (illicit) null subjects. This provides information as to the status of the two languages and how the properties of the more salient language (i.e. Spanish as the language having two subject types: null and overt) influence those of the other language (i.e. English as the language having one subject type: overt).

English sentential subjects produced by 12 L1 Spanish L2 English children and 12 2L1 English-Spanish speakers are analyzed. The L2 English participants are divided into two proficiency groups depending on the amount of exposure to English at school (2 or 4 years; aged 8-9 and 10-11). The heritage speakers have been exposed to both languages form birth (aged 6-15). Written production data are obtained by means of a wordless picture sequence and the oral production data through a semi-guided individual interview.

The results show that the subjects produced by English heritage speakers are both grammatically correct and pragmatically adequate and this is so across the two tasks even if differences appear between the oral and the written one. The L2 speakers produce significantly more ungrammatical and pragmatically inadequate subjects, where differences between the two proficiency groups (the younger group produces more ungrammatical and non-adequate subjects) and tasks (more ungrammatical subjects in the oral task and more pragmatically inadequate subjects in the written task) are appreciated. These results are interpreted in terms of language status (L2 – heritage language) and the interaction of the grammar of the two language systems.

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Nomina Actionis with names of states. A corpus-based study across written text genres

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The project is anchored in the field of contemporary English word-formation. Specifically, it studies the formation of English abstract nominalizations in *-ation* with names of political states as derivational bases. The source of language data is the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) (Davies 2008). In a synchronic perspective, English *Nomina Actionis* are marked by means of a few different suffixes (Aronoff 1976; Bauer 2003). In this project, we will be interested only in those which take the suffix *-ation* (or any of its spelling variants: *-ization*, *-tion*, *-ion*, *-ition* or *-ution*). From among all these suffixes, *-ation* is currently the most productive (Bauer 2006), which in turn indicates that the respective morphological process is a living one. However, the ongoing production of *-ation* formations in political contexts does not necessarily mean their automatic lexicalization. This is due to a high percentage of low-frequency items among all derivations. As for derivational bases, we take proper names which are names of political states. For this purpose, we have used the list of 193 names of political states, current UN members (http://www.un.org/). After the manual clean-up of the original list, we have compiled a list of actual search items, consisting of short and morphologically manageable names which are capable of attracting the suffix *-ation*. Different spelling variants of potential morphological bases have been taken into consideration. A significant percentage of state names (search items) have not so far participated in the formation of respective *-ation* nominalizations. Apart from numerous hapax legomena, there is a group of names which form a 'middle-frequency' group of formations, those between numerous instances of *Americanization* and a wide variety of hapax legomena. It is desirable to establish constructional patterns as understood in Construction Grammar (Goldberg 2006) or in Pattern Grammar (Hunston and Francis 1999). Prevailing grammar-lexical patterns hosting key nominalizations will be identified in the 'academic genre' and in the 'journalistic genre'. It is assumed that these two genres employ subtly different grammar-lexical patterns which host key nominalizations. Our goal is to find which nominalizations and which grammar-lexical patterns are characteristic of each genre.

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"I don't buy the expression": Processing conventional metaphorical expressions by native speakers and English learners

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This paper aims to discover (1) English native speakers' judgement and processing of conventional metaphorical expressions as surveyed in Lakoff and Johnson (1980; see also Sweetser 1990); and (2) whether Chinese learners of English can achieve a native-like outcome when they judge and process these metaphorical expressions, especially when the expressions do not have a word-to-word counterpart in their L1. While it is assumed that learners are able to establish the direct link between a concept and the corresponding L2 word (e.g. Kroll and Stewart 1994), whether the more abstract metaphorical meanings could be processed by learners in the same way as the more concrete literal meanings remains a question (see De Groot 1992 for detailed differences).

A sentence judgement task and a self-paced reading task were conducted among 20 English native speakers and 80 Chinese learners of English at four proficiency levels. In the sentence judgement experiment, 16 sentences containing metaphorical expressions and 16 sentences containing the literal use of the metaphorical words were presented, and participants were asked to rate the acceptability on a 11-point Likert scale. In the reading task, participants read the sentences containing metaphorical expressions and those containing the literal use of metaphorical words word by word, and answered the comprehension question after each sentence. A pair of examples are demonstrated below:

(1) John attacked Peter with a stick. (Literal)

(2) John attacked Peter's idea fiercely. (Metaphorical)

English native speakers demonstrated undifferentiated acceptance to metaphorical expressions and the literal use of the metaphorical words. They also showed instant access to both the literal meaning and the metaphorical meaning of a single word in the reading task. On the other hand, learners were generally more reluctant to accept the metaphorical expressions compared with the literal expressions. Less proficient learners spent longer time to react to the metaphorical meanings, while more proficient learners showed similar reading pattern to the native speakers. When the learners read the metaphorical expressions that are not available in their L1, they persistently rejected the expressions, and showed significant hesitation in the reading task.

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About Vigo

Here you are offered some ideas to enjoy the city of Vigo, with its good-quality bars and restaurants, its lively nightlife, its shopping areas, and the many cultural and architectural wonders that the city has to offer … Not to mention its people and its quality of life, which you will have the chance to experience!

Eating

Vigo's cuisine is famous for its quality and variety. You will find all kinds of restaurants in Vigo: traditional Galician bars, grills, tapas bars, sandwich places and nouvelle cuisine restaurants. The following list is intended to provide you with a few good ideas as to where and what to eat (Tripadvisor will confirm this!), but walking around is a *must* if you want to explore the culinary possibilities that the city has to offer.

- **Casa Marco**. Garcia Barbón, 123. (+34) 986 22 51 10. Excellent for both fish and meat lovers.
- **Follas Novas**. Serafin Avendaño, 10. (+34) 986 229 306. Amazing fish.
- **The Othilio Bar**. Luis Taboada, 9. (+34) 986 190 017. Excellent. Extremely popular, book in advance!
- **La Trastienda del Cuatro**. Pablo Morillo, 4. (+34) 986 115 881. Good tapas and wine.
- **Palo Palo**. Martin Codax, 20. (+34) 986 439 657. Good value for money.
- **Albatros**. Estación Marítima de Vigo – Muelle de Trasatlánticos. 986 437 162. Impressive views, right by the Ría de Vigo.
- **Casa Vella**. Pescadería, 1. (+34) 986 433 121. Speciality: seafood.
- **A Curuxa**. Cesteiros, 7. (+34) 986 436 526. Good locations and excellent Galician food.
- **Tapas Areal**. México, 36. (+34) 986 418 643. Really tasty food and amazing homemade desserts.
- **Curcuma**. Brasil, 4. (+34) 986 411 127. Vegetarian.
- **Gálgala**. Pracer Alto 4. (+34) 986 221 417. Vegetarian.
- **La Tagliatella**. Rosalía de Castro, 25. (+34) 986 116 011. Italian.
- **Cambalache**. García Barbón, 25. (+34) 986 447 171. Italian.
- **Chilam Balam**. Oporto, 7. (+34) 886 131 274. Mexican.

Pubs and bars

Most of these are located in a neighbourhood close to the conference venue, in and around the following streets: **Churruca, Rogelio Abalde, Martin Códax, Irmandiños**, etc. For an evening drink, especially if the weather is good, make sure you don't miss the several *terrazas* all along **Montero Ríos Street**, next to Vigo marina and yacht club, and also within walking distance from the workshop venue.

Shopping

If you decide to go shopping in Vigo, you'll discover shopping areas for all tastes and budgets. Vigo offers the gleaming shop windows of **Príncipe Street** as well as typical markets where you can browse through stalls with garden produce and dig for bargains. Shopping malls have examples of the best Galician fashion and pedestrian areas are full of small shops and typical stores selling traditional crafts.

Museums

Vigo has six museums, three art foundations and several exhibition halls scattered throughout the city, although mainly in the centre. Explore Vigo's Golden Mile of Art in **Príncipe Street** and **Policarpo Sanz Street** and discover places full of inspiration and exceptional art exhibits.

Sightseeing: two unmissable walks

The Old Town

The crooked (and often steep!) streets and alleyways of Vigo's old town are a *must*. Extending from the newly urbanised **Berbés** neighbourhood, the original fishing village next to the ría, and walking uphill through narrow windy streets, you will encounter a mixture of popular charm, architecture and commerce. Be sure not to miss the **Praza da Pedra** and its market, the quaint wickerwork shops in the **Rúa dos Cesteiros**, the neoclassical Colegiata and the various historical squares: **Praza da Princesa** and **Praza da Constitución**. Behind the aesthetically questionable 60's Hotel Bahía there are several fish and seafood restaurants, and fresh oyster sales on the street take place every morning (allow us to remind you that oysters are eaten raw, and although rarely, they may cause severe intoxications). From the upper section of the town, which merges with the modem city centre, the **Porta do Sol** and its thought-provoking Sireno (male mermaid), you may like to walk along the curved (but flat!) **Elduayen Street**, which will take you round to the **Paseo de Alfonso XII**, where a breath-taking view of the ría and the Cíes Islands is usually available, weather permitting. Once you have recovered from the impression of this magnificent seascape, be sure to mark the olive tree, symbol of the city, standing to your right.

O Castro Park

If you are attracted to spectacular views, you shouldn't miss the Castro. It is the hill of hills in Vigo, but a relaxed walk up is worth the effort. The easier route is from the **Praza de España** area, along a windy street named Manuel Olivié (but if you're a good hiker, you can try the shorter and steeper stairway access from the **Praza do Rei Square**, in front of the Town Hall). The Castro is crowned by the remains of the Castle of San Sebastian and its surrounding walls, which provide the modem day visitor with an astonishing variety of viewing levels and angles just by entering the open archway to the right of the fountain and parking lot (viewed going up) and walking around the different *miradores*. The Castro is thought to have been first settled by Celts, as both archaeological evidence and its topography as a vantage point seem to confirm. The later construction of the castle is also clearly related to defence purposes.

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