Plenary Presentations
Presuppositions are traditionally argued to be able to project from under the scope of operators such as negation. Moreover, if they are not part of the common ground, they can be accommodated by hearers. Consequently, out of the blue, an utterance like “I haven’t given up smoking” seems preferentially to convey that the speaker has smoked in the past and still does so. However, these projected presuppositions can still be denied coherently by the speaker: in the above example, the continuation “…because I never started in the first place” seems felicitous.

This uncertainty creates a potential dilemma for hearers. How should a presupposition-triggering utterance be understood? Or, assuming that we’re generally competent in recovering the meaning that the speaker intended, how do we disambiguate?

In this talk I discuss two aspects of this question which we can attempt to answer by experimental means. First, I consider how the type of presupposition trigger might influence projection behaviour, and illustrate this with data from English and Spanish that suggests the possibility of substantial variation between triggers. Secondly, I look at the role of context, and explore whether this imposes constraints on how presupposition triggers can be used – and in particular, when, and why, it is ever felicitous to use a trigger if the corresponding presupposition is not true.

I conclude by attempting to relate this to ‘rational’ approaches to implicature, in which the enrichments of an utterance’s meaning depend upon which other utterances would have been possible under the specific circumstances, rather than merely available in the system. I sketch an account of presupposition projection from this point of view and consider how it could be explored experimentally.
 AGAINST GRADUAL PHONOLOGIZATION

The conventional wisdom regarding phonologization is that it progresses as a sequence of gradual reanalyses: natural acoustic, physiological and perceptual phenomena are reanalyzed as gradient coarticulatory processes, which are then reanalyzed as categorical phonological processes (Ohala, 1981; Bermúdez-Otero, 2007). I argue that this model of gradual and gradient reanalyses is not well supported by available data on sound change in progress. In fact, based on analyses of the rate of change of multiple vowel variants, and in investigations of mismatches between the predictions based on phonetic versus phonological grounds, it appears that new phonological processes enter the grammar at the onset of phonetic changes, rather than as later stage reanalyses of phonetic changes in progress.

Drawing data from the Philadelphia Neighborhood Corpus (Labov and Rosenfelder, 2011), I find that some robust phonetic effects are never phonologized across the 20th century, like the effect of following nasals on the MOUTH vowel, which promote fronting and raising (see Figure 1). These two variants of MOUTH move in lock-step across the entire 20th century. In another example, the raising and fronting of pre-consonantal FACE appears to be phonologized on grounds which disregard phonetic favorability (see Figure 2). At the turn of the 20th century, the most promoting context for FACE raising is a following lateral, yet this context never undergoes the change, with pre-consonantal FACE actually crossing over it.

![Figure 1. The non-phonologization of following nasals on MOUTH](image)

On the basis of statistical analyses of these and other examples, I argue that phonetic precursors are only weak predictors of phonologization, and that instead categorical phonological phenomena enter the grammar while their phonetic correlates are weak or non-existent.
Figure 2. The Phonologization of FACE raising, disregarding phonetic favorability.

References
A quantitative approach to information structural research

The fundamental goal of this talk is to demonstrate that quantitative data from parsed corpora provides a unique and crucial resource in exploring questions of information structure and the syntax-pragmatics interface. As a case study, I will present a comparative and diachronic study of the information structure of passive constructions, drawing data from parsed corpora of Icelandic (Wallenberg et al. 2011), English (Kroch et al. 2004; Kroch and Taylor 2000; Taylor et al. 2003) and German (Light 2011). In addition to the complete corpora available, I use data from parsed samples of three parallel New Testament translations. Because parallel verses of the New Testament can be assumed to have the same discourse goals, we can consider the different choices made in each language for a single utterance. The corpora in question are not annotated for information structural categories, and indeed, recent work suggests that information structural annotation is inconsistent and will require a deeper theoretical understanding of the categories in question (Bech 2013; Cook 2013). Instead, I will show how we may use corpus data for research on information structure without relying on information structural annotation.

Many people share the intuition that the notion “subject” is, at least in part, an information structural one, particularly because subjects frequently appear at the left edge of a clause, which is thought to be associated with given/topical information (cf. Vallduvi 1992). This idea raises interesting questions about the role of the passive construction in the discourse, and how the passive may be used to manipulate information structure by promoting an internal argument to subject.

Seoane (2006) and Los (2009) propose that in English, the passive construction is used more extensively than in the other Germanic languages in order to compensate for the lack of unmarked object topicalization found in languages with verb-seconding (V2). While it appears that the increase in the use of the passive correlates with the loss of V2 word orders in the history of English, quantitative evidence from our corpora undermines proposals like Seoane’s and Los’s. As we will see, V2 languages employ passivization at a lower frequency because they may accomplish the same information structural and discourse goals using other means, but object topicalization is not one of those means.

The talk will discuss both comparative and diachronic aspects of use of the passive in Germanic. In addition to comparing the occurrence of the passive construction across English, Icelandic, and German, I will compare Old, Middle and Modern English. I will consider how access to multiple parsed corpora can allow us to generate and test complex and sensitive predictions in order to investigate a theoretical hypothesis within the field of information structure.
Social change and sound change in Scottish Gaelic

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This paper examines language variation and change in a context of rapid and extensive social change. I examine the case of Scottish Gaelic, a minority language of Scotland, which is undergoing simultaneous obsolescence and revitalisation. In particular, I concentrate on young fluent speakers of Scottish Gaelic. Data from 39 speakers in three groups are presented: older speakers in the Isle of Lewis, a Gaelic heartland area in north-west Scotland; adolescent Gaelic-speakers in Lewis learning the language in immersion schooling; and adolescent Gaelic-speakers in immersion schooling in Glasgow, an urban centre where Gaelic has not traditionally been spoken as a widespread community language.

The sociolinguistic analysis examines potential language changes, explores patterns of linguistic variation, and uncovers the role that Gaelic plays in identity formation for each of the participants. In order to gain an insight into the role of Gaelic in different speakers lives, I report on ethnographic studies carried out in Lewis and in Glasgow. The phonetic analysis then explores patterns of variation in the production of laterals, vowels, and tone and intonation.

The results indicate large differences between the speech of older and adolescent speakers in Lewis, while differences between young speakers in Lewis and Glasgow suggest that Glasgow Gaelic is developing as a phonetically and socially distinct variety of the language. For example, older speakers in Lewis speak Gaelic as a partial tone language, unlike young people in Lewis and in Glasgow. Differences are also present between young people in Lewis and in Glasgow, such as in the acoustics of the vowel [u], the production of the lateral system, and intonation patterns.

The developments detailed in this paper are the result of a complex interaction between the internal sound structure of Gaelic, language contact with varieties of English, and differing conceptions of the self. All of these factors are conditioned by the status of Gaelic as a minority endangered and revitalised language. In exploring these avenues, I advance an account of language variation and change and apply it to a context of minority language obsolescence and revitalisation.
Oral Presentations
Verb-stranding VP Ellipsis in Arabic

This study provides an overview of the syntax of verb-stranding VP ellipsis in Libyan Arabic. VP ellipsis is not as pervasive as other ellipsis phenomena such as sluicing, gapping and stripping. However, recent studies have revealed that VP ellipsis exists widely, though under different requirements. For instance, some verb-raising languages, e.g. Hebrew, Portuguese, Farsi, etc exhibit a type of VP ellipsis referred to as verb stranding VP ellipsis in which the internal arguments of the verb go missing, while the main verb raises to T before the entire vP layer gets deleted at PF. This verb-stranding VP ellipsis has been analysed as VP ellipsis in several languages, including Hungarian (Lipták 2012), Farsi (Toosarvandani 2009), Hebrew (Doron 1999, Goldberg 2005), Portuguese (Cyrino & Matos 2002) and Finnish (Holmberg 2001).

Libyan Arabic lacks standard VP-ellipsis which is typically licensed by an overt finite auxiliary preceding the elided material, as in (1). However, as a verb-raising language, some cases of putative verb-stranding VP-ellipsis licensed by a stranded verb arise in the language, as illustrated in (2)-(4). Such cases of ellipsis, however, seem indistinguishable from null object and/or individual constituent drop constructions, which also involve a stranded verb and null material.

(1) Sara was reading a novel and Manuel was too.’

(2) A: šrē sayyara? B: ēh, šrē.
bought.3MS car yes, bought.3MS
‘Did he buy a car?’ ‘Yes, he did.’

(3) Ali yədafəš fi l-ažār kul šahār ṭōtta Sara tədfəš.
Ali pay.3MS in the-rent every month and too Sara pay.3FS
‘Ali pays the rent every month, and Sara does too.’

(4) Ali ḥaddə l-žamʃə, lakən anē ma-ʃədēt-š.
Ali went.3MS to- the-university but I NEG-went.1MS-NEG
‘Ali went to the university, but I didn’t.’

As seen in (2)-(4), the putative verb-stranding VP ellipsis involves the deletion of all internal verb arguments and vP-related material. This implies that these can be cases of VP ellipsis, null objects or individual constituent drop yielding a null vP. Initial findings show that the putative verb-stranding VP ellipsis should not be analysed as VP ellipsis as it is in Farsi (Toosarvandani 2009), Hebrew (Doron 1999, Goldberg 2005) and Finnish (Holmberg 2001). Rather, it should be reducible to null objects and/or individual argument drop. This is because, unlike VP ellipsis, the putative verb-stranding VP ellipsis is subject to definiteness restrictions, and it also differs from VP ellipsis with respect to the deletion of vP related material such as locative and benefactive PPs and vP adverbs.

(Key words: VP ellipsis, verb stranding VP ellipsis, null objects, constituent drop, PF)
Non-final Superheavy Syllables in Najdi Arabic (NA)

Superheavy syllables in most modern Arabic dialects, including NA, cannot occupy non-final positions due to a well-motivated restriction on the distribution of these syllables which consequently bans them from being in non-final position, according to Ingham (1994), Jarrah (1993) and Al-Mohanna (1994). According to Al-Mohanna (1994), epenthesis is used to prevent these syllables from occurring in non-final positions. This is seen when the superheavy syllables in either nouns or verbs are suffixed with consonant-initial affixes; e.g., /galb-ha/ → [galbah] ‘her heart’ or /beet-hum/ → /beethum/’their house’ (Ingham 1994).

However, Broselow (1992) and Watson (2007) state that a non-final superheavy syllable of the form CVVC can be avoided by mora sharing rather than epenthesis, especially when this syllable is suffixed with a consonant-initial affix. Broselow (1992) introduces Adjunction-to-Mora which a mora dominates two segments, as in (1) below:

1) Adjunction-to-Mora (Broselow 1992: 14-15)

Watson (2007) formulates the Adjunction-to-mora rule as a mora sharing in which two segments are dominated by one mora. She reports that some dialects, like Moroccan, permit mora sharing in order to avoid a trimoraic syllables and affiliate a semisyllable to a syllable node; e.g., /baa.bµ.lµ-.ha/ → [baa²a³b.ha] 'her door'. Likewise, she argues that if affix is vowel-initial, then there is no need for such an epenthetic vowel because this affix in particular will be the nucleus of a newly created syllable and the last segment of the non-final CVVC or CVCC syllables will be occupied as the onset of a newly created syllable. What this means is that these syllables will no longer be in non-final positions:

2) a. /beet.ah/ → [bee.tah] ‘his house’ (CVVC. VC→ CVV.CVC)
   b. /ʃift.ah/ → [ʃif.tah] ‘you saw him.’ (CVCC. VC → CVC.CVC)

   However, mora sharing is blocked in the case where non-final superheavy syllable of the form CVVC is associated with a dative suffix, /l/ or /b/, which is followed by an object suffix, either consonant or vowel-initial. Therefore, it is necessary to permit vowel epenthesis in order to affiliate semisyllables that are triggered by both a non-final syllable and a dative to syllable nodes. This statement is borne out by examples in (3) below:

3) a. /gil.tµ.lµ-.ah/ → [gil.ti.lah] ‘I said to him’
   b. /ʃiftµ.tµ.bµ-.ah/ → [ʃifti.bah] ‘I saw with it’
   c. /gil.tµ.bµ-.ah/ → [gil.ti.bah] ‘I said with it’
   d. /raa.hµ.lµ-.ha/ → [raa.hi.lah] 'he went to her'

This paper will shed light on how non-final superheavy syllables, CVVC and CVCC, are treated in NA, especially when they are associated with consonant and vowel-initial
affixes. In other words, non-final superheavy syllables, CVVC and CVCC, are shown in this paper as a motivator for a vowel epenthesis when they are associated with a dative plus a consonant-initial affix. Furthermore, the difference between CVCC and CVVC regarding mora sharing is demonstrated as well; hence, like Moroccan Arabic, in NA, a non-final superheavy syllable CVVC is avoided by a mora sharing when this syllable is suffixed with a consonant-initial affix, while a CVCC motivates a vowel epenthesis when it is associated with a consonant-initial affix, unless if a final consonant cluster is labeled as a geminate. To put it simply, I refer to Watson’s (2007) analysis of non-final superheavy syllables and found that a non-final CVVC has a similar treatment in NA through the permission of mora sharing to avoid non-final a non-final superheavy syllable, especially when it is preceded by a consonant-initial affix. Also, mora sharing can be implemented to a non-final superheavy syllable in which a final consonant cluster is a geminate cluster (Farwaneh 1995 & McCarthy 2007). However, unlike Moroccan Arabic, this process cannot be implemented to the same non-final superheavy syllable when it is preceded by a dative suffix plus a consonant-initial affix. Also, a geminate becomes inalterable when it is followed by a dative suffix plus a consonant-initial affix, whereas a vowel epenthesis is used in this case alternatively. No mora sharing is found in the non-final CVCC in which the final consonant cluster is not a geminate in NA, compared to Moroccan Arabic. The entire cases of non-final superheavy syllables will be accounted for using OT constraints in the rankings that are listed below:

4) ONS>>MAX>> SYLLBIN>>O-CONTIG, DEP >>*SHARED-µ>>*CODA

ONS>>MAX>>*COMPLEX<CODA, ALIGN(SH)σ >>O-CONTIG, DEP >>*CODA

ONS>>MAX>>*COMPLEX<CODA<ALIGN(SH)σ>>ALIGN-Hd-LEFT>>O-CONTIG, DEP>>*CODA
Investigating Aspectual/ temporal interpretations in L2 English by Saudi Arabic speakers

A number of L2 studies have mainly focused on whether L2 learners can acquire target-like functional categories and features. These studies have tended to observe the surface realization of functional morphology. However, it has become clear that surface manifestation is not necessarily a good indication of L2 abstract knowledge (Lardiere, 2000; Prévost & White, 2000). Therefore, investigation of L2 learners’ knowledge by observing the semantic consequences of functional categories and related features is of great significance. Hawkins (2009:220) pointed out that recent studies investigating learners’ interpretations associated with functional category distinctions are heading into a promising direction of inquiry. Accordingly, this study extends this line of inquiry by examining temporal and aspectual contrasts in English by Saudi-Arabic speakers.

Arabic has a perfective/imperfective contrast whereas English distinguishes between past/non-past (Comrie, 1976). Therefore, Saudi L2 learners of English have to move from one way of representing the aspectual / temporal contrast into another different representation. Aspectual/ temporal syntactic and semantic content is assumed to be the same between the two languages but they differ in their overt morphological realizations which are language-specific (Fassi Fehri, 2004). Therefore, the two languages share the same underlying representation (involving the formal features associated with the distinctions), but they are different in the morphological configuration which determines which aspectual/temporal meaning is selected.

Slabakova (2008) argued that functional morphology constitutes a relative difficulty for adult L2 acquisition and it is the bottleneck in particular mapping L2 morphemes to their related target meanings. Two different tasks were administered: an Acceptability Judgment task and a Gap-Filling task. The study was carefully designed to provide converging evidence about whether L2 interpretations are learnable or problems arise at the morphological level. They also will precisely test the predictive power of existing L2 theories by examining whether Saudi-speaking learners of English can acquire knowledge of temporal/aspectual meanings of morphological forms.
The argument structure of Welsh impersonal constructions

The functional similarity of the Welsh impersonal (1) to a traditional passive frequently causes the construction to be analyzed as passive (Awbery 1976).

(1) rhybuddi-wyd y plant (gan y dyn) warn-PAST.IMPS ART children (by ART man) ‘the children were warned (by the man)’ (Awbery 1976)

Either object promotion or agent suppression/deletion or a combination of both could be interpreted in (1). The agent argument is identically expressible as an adjunct and the first argument following the verb may be interpreted as subject, although this is in question (Fife 1985).

The impersonal construction’s greatest departure from the traditional domain of the passive voice is in its use with both unergative (2) and unaccusative (3) verbs, even suppressing a verb’s sole argument:

(2) rhed-ir yno run-PRES.IMPS there ‘people run there / you run there’ (Fife 1985)

(3) cwympir yn aml yma fall-PRES.IMPS ADV often here ‘people often trip (and fall) here’

In fact, Welsh impersonalization seems almost unrestricted with regards to verb selection. The behaviour of impersonals has investigated extensively since Perlmutter (1978)’s Unaccusative Hypothesis, though to date no framework has satisfactorily accounted for the functional differences of the impersonal and a canonical passive. This account provides a language-internal description with this goal in mind.

This paper investigates the language internal processes or rules of this impersonal construction. Research into restrictions on the Welsh impersonal has revealed that there are indeed limits to the argument types an impersonal verb can take. The results stem from the analysis of around a hundred verbs, of which only stative readings of a subtype of measure verbs (4) and inchoative readings of alternating verbs were identified as ungrammatical in the impersonal:

(4) *costi-wyd deg-punt (gan y CD) cost-PAST.IMPS ten-pounds (by ART CD) *were cost(ed) ten pounds (of a CD)

Pinning down what constitutes a suitable argument for the impersonal verb has therefore provided a testable lower limit to the argument types for Welsh verbs: that is, it provides insight into what is treated as a full argument. The Welsh data aids the theory of passives in differentiating the argument structure of true passives from other valency-reducing mechanisms.


On Left Branch Extraction and Postposing of Determiners in Bosnian

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to support the universality of Abney's (1987) DP Hypothesis. It is standardly assumed that in languages without articles the noun phrases are NPs not DPs. Even though Bosnian does not have articles it has demonstratives and indefinite determines and in this paper I claim that those elements occupy the head D position, hence the noun phrases in Bosnian do project a DP layer above NP. In this paper I challenge one of the strongest arguments against the DP-analysis of Bosnian nominal expressions, which comes from the phenomenon of Left Branch Extraction, by adopting a Copy and Delete analysis which successfully explains the grammaticality of (1b) without violating LBE.

(1)  
   a. *That he saw [t_i, car] (English)  
   b. Ta_i je vidio [t_i, kola] (Bosnian)

The second part of this paper deals with the apparent postposing of determiners within the stylistically marked noun phrases suggesting that they are in fact adjectives rather than determiners. I argue against this claim and posit a new analysis by which the head D has an edge feature [EF] in stylistically marked constructions in Bosnian which triggers the movement of the complement of D to the specifier position (Spec DP) which, in accordance with the Copy and Delete analysis, explains for the grammaticality of (2). This analysis proves that determiners in Bosnian are not adjectives and that they have a fixed position within noun phrases.

(2)  
   a. ove
       these
   teške
       heavy
   misli
       thoughts
   b. teške
       heavy
   misli
       thoughts
   ove
       these
   c. teške
       heavy
   ove
       these
   misli
       thoughts
   d. misli
       thoughts
   ove
       these
   teške
       heavy
Localities in passives: variation in NW British English and its consequences

It is widely reported that American and ‘Standard British’ English only permit passivisation of the goal argument of a double object construction (DOC), yet most dialects of Northwest British English (BrE) permit passivisation of both the theme and goal.

1. a. **She** was given it.  **Goal passivisation**  
   b. **It** was given her.  **Theme passivisation**

   This is unexpected under standard views of locality (Rizzi 1990 et seq.). Previous work argues that the availability of theme movement to an outer specifier of the goal in the form of Theme-Goal Ditransitives (TGD) (2b) is a prerequisite for theme passivisation (TP) (Anagnostopoulou 2003, Haddican 2010). This short movement obviates the locality problem.

2. a. I gave her **it**.  **DOC**  
   b. I gave **it** her.  **TGD** (NW BrE)

   The apparent dependence of TP on TGD is attested in the Manchester (Haddican 2010), Ormskirk (Myler 2013/p.c.), S. Lancashire (Siewerska and Hollman 2007), N.Wales and Southport varieties of Northwest (NW) BrE. However, in these dialects TP is restricted to pronominals. New data show that TP of full DPs with full DP goals are accepted in Liverpool BrE (3). Consistent with the feeding account, TGD with full DPs are also accepted in Liverpool BrE (4). However, unlike previously studied varieties, Liverpool BrE exhibits other restrictions, including obligatory pronominal shift (5a) and a restriction against indefinite theme DPs in TGD (6a) (as might be expected in a Germanic language). Yet in these contexts TP is nonetheless available (5b, 6b).

3. a. **The book** was given John by Mary.  
   b. **The package** was sent John by Mary.

4. a. I gave **the book** the teacher.  
   b. John sent **the package** the school.

5. a. *I gave the book **her**.  
   b. **The book** was given her.

6. a. **??I sent a package** the school.  
   b. **A package** was sent the school.

(5-6) suggest that the structural approach advocated in previous work is insufficient for the Liverpool variety. Instead, and in contrast to the Manchester dialect in which TGD and TP derive from DOC (Haddican 2010), Liverpool TP derive from prepositional datives (PD) with a null preposition; (4) is thus only an apparent TGD, and no intervention effect arise in (3). A PD account is a consequence of the extensive preposition-drop (p-drop) available in Liverpool: unlike other NW dialects, Liverpool BrE permits preposition drop (p-drop) of to and at with non-directional verbs, with *straight*-modification (a classic diagnostic of PPs), and in contexts where the verb and indirect object are not adjacent including nominalisations. I propose that the extensive p-drop in the dialect follows from the innovation of a new Case feature. This null Case is available to license the Goal of ditransitive verbs.

A null preposition PD analysis correctly predicts the distribution of TGD and TP in Liverpool BrE. For example, TP with a null preposition is available wherever TP of PDs is possible, including with non-recipient and inanimate goals. This is not true of other NW dialects. Further, it correctly predicts that Liverpool speakers accept latinate verbs (‘donate’), manner of communication verbs (‘whisper’), and verbs of continuous parting force (‘lift’) in PDs, TGDs, and TPs, but – crucially – not in DOCs. In Manchester (Haddican 2010:2428), as well in the other NW varieties so far investigated, TGD pattern with diagnostics for DOCs.

The Liverpool language data indicates that the availability of A-movement follows from the distribution of Case- and φ-features across functional heads (see also Haddican and Holmberg 2012), and the absence of intervention effects must be independent of structural conditions such as phases (*pace* e.g. Anagnostopoulou 2003, McGinnis 1998 etc.). There are also implications for language change. The Liverpool data described above is from speakers under 30. Liverpool speakers aged over 60 restrict TGD and TP to pronominals (the pattern found in the other NW dialects); crucially, they do not exhibit extensive p-drop either. This offers further support that the regional variation in the availability in A-movement is dependent on Case, rather than structural locality.
Expressing possession with have and be: a view from Flemish

The focus of this paper is Flemish 'event possessives' (1-2), whose matrix subjects are interpreted as being affected by the event expressed in the embedded clause. Assuming Broekhuis & Cornips's (1994) theory on Dutch case assignment, (2) is unexpected: it has a nominative matrix subject instead of the predicted dative:

(1) We hebben(het)nog gehad dat onze valiezen plots openscheurden
    We have (it) PRT had that our suitcases suddenly open-ripped
(2) We zijn(*het)nog geweest dat onze valiezen plots openscheurden
    We.NOM are (*it) PRT been that our suitcases suddenly open-ripped

‘We’ve had it happen to us that our suitcases suddenly ripped open.’

I will argue that the matrix subject in (1-2) has a possessor relation to the event in the embedded clause and that it occupies the same relation to the clausal domain as that observed in the Flemish External Possessor pattern (Haegeman and Danckaert 2011):

(3) Het is jammer dat [Pieter] dan net [zijn stoel] omver gevallen was
    It is too bad that Pieter then just his chair over fallen was
‘It is too bad that Pieter’s chair had fallen over just then.’

The possessor in this pattern does not reside in a DP-internal position, but occupies a higher position in the clause (see also: Deal (2011; 2013; 2013)).

Dutch hebben assigns accusative case, zijn assigns dative case.

In line with the analysis of 'have' as 'be' + preposition/case (Benveniste (1966), Kayne (1993), den Dikken (1997)), and on the basis of the alternation between the possessive datives with 'zijn' (4), and the interpretively equivalent with 'hebben' (5), Broekhuis & Cornips (1994) argue that Dutch 'hebben' and 'zijn' ('have' and 'be') assign accusative and dative case respectively; 'hebben' is an undative verb whose nominative subject is an underlying dative indirect object.

(4) Hem is de fietsband lek
    Him is the bike tire punctured
    [HemDAT.IO [is [SC de fietsband lek]]]
(5) Hij heeft de fietsband lek
    He has the bike tire punctured
    [HijNOM.S [had [SC de fietsband lek]]]

Flemish event possessives (EPs) (1-2).
As expected with undatives, the matrix subject with Flemish 'hebben'-EP (1) is nominative. For some speakers, 'hebben'-EP is compatible with a pronominal direct object 'het' ('it'), while 'zijn'-EP is not (1-2). Following Broekhuis & Cornips’s proposal that undative hebben is an accusative case assigner, I analyse the pronoun 'het' as an accusative direct object coreferential with the extraposed embedded that-clause.

(6) [WeNOM[hebben[(hetACC.i)][nog gehad[dat[onze valiezeni]plotsopenscheurden]]]]
As 'zijn' is incapable of assigning accusative case (Broekhuis & Cornips), the ungrammaticality of 'het' with 'zijn'-EP (2) is predicted. However, the question arises why the matrix subject in the Flemish 'zijn'-EP is not dative but is assigned the (structurally higher) nominative. I will argue that the Flemish 'zijn'-EP does not require dative case because the argument is an affected event possessor (as shown by the ‘ban on the dead possessor’ diagnostic). This forces it into a higher clausal applicative position (Kim (2011; 2012), Pylkkänen (2000; 2002), Rivero (2009), Rivero & Arregui (2010)). The availability of such a higher position in Flemish is independently motivated on the basis of the Flemish External Possessor pattern (3) in which the possessor (here 'Pieter') does not occupy a DP internal position next to the possessee (here 'zijn stoel') but is separated from it by an adjunct and which (crucially) also carries an affectedness reading.
Abstract for the Manchester New Researchers Forum in Linguistics

Title: Diachronic and typological perspective on the subject marker o in Caac (New Caledonia)

This presentation will examine the development of the subject marker o in Caac, an Austronesian language spoken in the far north of New Caledonia.

Present-Day Caac is an accusative language which manifests an optional subject marker o. This marker supplanted the morpheme we which used to precede animate subjects. This presentation will analyze the similarities and differences between we and o in the light of the evolution of Caac, and from a comparative perspective, by looking at Caac subject marking system in relation to the systems documented in the Northern New Caledonian languages. The analysis of Caac is based on a corpus of tales collected by the missionaries in the second half of the 19th century, a research conducted by the linguist Jim Hollyman in the 1960s (Hollyman 1999; Hollyman & Mwêau, 1999) and my corpus of Caac data resulting from eight months of fieldwork done between 2010 and 2013.

In mainland New Caledonia, Northern and Southern languages are typologically opposed in terms of word order and case-marking. While southernmost languages display SVO word order and an accusative system, northernmost languages are more conservative and exhibit a VOS word order and (morphological) ergativity (Moyse-Faurie & Ozanne-Rivierre, 1983:114, 123-125; Bril, 2002:144). Between these two types, one can observe a range of subject marking systems differing in form and use (Moyse-Faurie & Ozanne-Rivierre, 1983:113-114, 123). We will examine Caac marker o with respect to the subject marking systems attested in four neighbouring (Northern) languages (Jawe, Yuanga, Nyêlâyu and Nêlêmwa1), all probably originating in the collapse of ergative systems in this linguistic area, except for Nêlêmwa. The study on Caac subject markers is a step towards a more complete description of the evolution of subject marking in New Caledonian languages and towards a better understanding of their diversity.

References:


**Abbreviations:**

DEF = definite
F = feminine
M = masculine
N = neutral
SPEC = specifier
= = clitic
ON THE ROOT INFINITIVE ANALOGUE IN EARLY GREEK – A STUDY OF DATA FROM A NEW CHILD GREEK CORPUS

Previous literature on Root Infinitives (henceforth RI) equivalent in child Greek showed that there is a non-finite stage in early Greek, equivalent to the RI stage observed in other languages, despite the fact that Greek does not have an infinitive and is a null subject language with rich agreement (Hoekstra and Hyams 1995; Hoekstra and Hyams 1998; Varlokosta, Vainikka et al. 1998; Varlokosta, Vainikka et al. 1998; Hyams 2001; Hyams 2002; Varlokosta 2002).

This study draws from previous research in an attempt to examine the use of finite and non-finite verbal forms in early Greek and elucidate the status of RIs through a series of analyses of two new, Greek speaking children’s data. It also aims to provide evidence for the use of such non-finite forms and to what extent those can be considered as a separate stage in the development of language.

The question is: do children use non-finite (bare) verbal forms in main contexts in their early speech production and if yes is this evidence for two stages in the acquisition of early Greek? The prediction for this question is that children's speech develops in two stages: during the first stage, children use a non-finite non-adult verbal form in incorrect contexts while during stage two these non-finite non-adult like forms are reduced and soon disappear.

Based on these questions, the study explores the production of finite and non-finite verbs in early Greek data, building on previous analyses for RIs. These analyses investigate the status of the modal particles, aspect and telicity, 3sg-suffix, and past tense. It also considers evidence for the presence of developmental stages and in what stage the children's speech development can be positioned.

The results suggest that there are only few instances of such forms, which are mostly used with a modal meaning. Both children's non-adult forms occur only for a very short period at around the age of 2; therefore by the age of 2;5 both children outgrow the use of these forms. This corresponds to Stage II (MLU: 2 – 2.5) in Brown’s classification (Brown 1973). The children's speech presents a very low rate of incorrect use of verbal morphology and consequently there is no other evidence to suggest the presence of an optional infinitive stage. Therefore, there is no firm evidence for the presence of two stages in the development of their speech production.
Reminding: Help or hindrance?

The exploration of speech acts has formed the basis for a signification amount of academic study in the field of linguistics since Austin’s perennial lectures (Austin, 1962). Research has focused on several aspects of speech acts: both their classification (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1976; Bach & Harnish, 1979) as well as their linguistic realisation. Politeness theory (Brown & Levinson, 1987) has extensively explored the potential side effects of performing speech acts and has indexed an array of strategies to soften potentially face-threatening acts. Other theorists, such as Culpeper (1996), have looked at strategies aiming to threaten others, that is to say, utterances which aim to be impolite. Politeness theory and Speech Act theory have been useful in the field of Second Language Acquisition to study differences between the preferred linguistic strategies of learner and native speaker populations when realising a speech act (i.e., Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984), for example, refusing an invitation in various social settings. The results of these studies have shown that different strategies are favoured by different language communities which can result, among other things, in inadvertent offense towards one of the parties involved in the communication situation. However, study of strategies of linguistic realisation of speech acts provides only a partial image of these acts. Less research has considered how to represent speech acts semantically (i.e., Wierzbicka, 1987). In a world where cross-cultural communication is growing rapidly, there is frequent potential for miscommunication and misunderstanding when it comes to speech acts. How are these speech acts semantically represented by various linguistic communities? What values are culturally associated with them? Why can a given act be threatening in one context and reassuring in another?

This paper seeks to explore these questions using the example of the illocutionary act of reminding in English and in French. First, a brief introduction to the theoretical framework, Galatanu’s *Semantics of Argumentative Possibilities* (Galatanu, 1999, 2002, 2009, 2012) will be presented. This theoretical framework adopts a modal approach towards language according to which in each utterance, speakers express their attitudes towards the content of the utterance. Meaning is understood to have both relatively static and dynamic levels of representation, providing a means to take in to account cultural values.

Next, the process which has been used to successfully describe a number of illocutionary acts in French (for a detailed list see Cozma, 2012, p. 2) as well as cross-linguistically in the case of French-Romanian (Galatanu et al., 2010) and French-Mandarin (Xio, 2013) will be outlined.

Following these theoretical considerations, the semantic representations of reminding in English and French will be discussed. Similarities and differences between these two acts based on the results of a preliminary study of native speakers of the two languages will be examined, such as the content of a reminder and acceptable social relationships for reminding.

This paper will conclude with a discussion of the cultural values associated with this act in English and French focusing on the contexts when this act is predicted to be threatening and, conversely, reassuring. This information can serve the basis for deepened cross-cultural understanding.

Works Cited:


Syntactic and Semantic Accounts of Ellipsis Identity: Towards a New Synthesis

Following Merchant (2001), I take ellipsis constructions to involve silent syntactic structure. Consider (1), an instance of *sluicing* (Ross, 1969):

(1) [Mary was dancing with someone intimately last night]₁, but I'm not sure who <Mary was dancing intimately with t last night>ₑ

(1) is analysed as involving movement of the remnant who followed by clausal ellipsis of E. Much debate in the literature has concerned the correct formulation of the identity relation (R), holding between E and a salient antecedent A. Accounts of R fall into two camps: (i) Syntactic identity and (ii) Semantic identity. A descriptively adequate R derives all and only the attested <A, E> pairs. It will be argued, however, that syntactic accounts undergenerate and semantic accounts overgenerate.

First, I consider syntactic identity, taking Fiengo & May's (1994) notion of a *reconstruction* for concreteness. In its favour, syntactic identity derives Merchant's (2001) *form-identity generalisations* and the impossibility of voice-mismatches under clausal ellipsis (Merchant, 2013). I will argue (following Barros, Elliott & Thoms, 2013) that one major flaw is apparent island insensitivity under sluicing. Consider the following:

(2) [They want to hire someone [who speaks a Balkan language]]𝑖, but I don't know which

(3) *...which <they want to hire someone [who speaks t]>ₑ

(4) ...which <they should speak t>ₑ

In (2), the correlate someone is embedded inside of a relative clause (an island). Under syntactic identity, an island-internal correlate implies island-violating movement of the remnant, as in (3). The island insensitivity of (2), I propose, diagnoses the presence of a non-isomorphic source (4), since (3) is independently ruled out. (4) is unavailable under syntactic identity.

Moving on to semantic identity, I shall present a modified version of e-GIVENness (Merchant, 2001), a truth-conditional identity condition mediated via Schwarchild's (1999) focus-semantics. I shall argue in favour on the basis of parallels between restrictions on focus alternatives, and restrictions on ellipsis identity. Consider:

(5) [John finished his [+MASC] homework]₁, and Mary did <finish her [+FEM] homework> too.

(6) Only Mary finished her [+FEM] homework.

(5) demonstrates the insensitivity of R to gender-feature mismatch between A and E. Similarly, the presupposition triggered by [+FEM] (Heim, 2008) in (6) does not restrict the computation of focus alternatives, since (6) is false in a situation where, e.g. Bill finished his homework. This receives a natural explanation under e-GIVENness. I will go on to describe a major flaw of e-GIVENness: As a result of allowing non-isomorphic sources, Merchant's form-identity generalisations are rendered mysterious.

In the final section of the talk, I will sketch a new formulation of R in the spirit of Rooth's (1992) dual-identity condition, incorporating both a semantic component (e-GIVENness) and a *violable* syntactic component. I shall implement this via *accommodation* (following van Craenenbroeck, 2012), subject to an economy condition. The more E deviates syntactically from A, the more costly E is to accommodate. This will be shown to prevent semantic identity from over-generating. Merchant's (2001) case-matching generalisation is derived by making the featural-reflex of morphological case present on the trace of the remnant. This will be shown to have interesting repercussions - mismatches in abstract case, but not morphological case, are allowed, correctly predicting that in languages without morphological case, Merchant's (2001) preposition-stranding generalisation may be circumvented via the presence of a cleft source.

In conclusion, a dual identity condition incorporating violable syntactic identity will be argued to be empirically superior to existing accounts of ellipsis identity.
Island Evasion Explains Variability in Island Repair

In this paper we show that clausal islands exhibit “repair by ellipsis” (Bošković 2011) much more readily than non-clausal islands. We argue that such asymmetries are best explained by the variable availability of independently motivated “evasion strategies”.

'Repair' in non-repair contexts. Following Merchant (2004), we derive contrastive fragments (CFRs), via movement of the fragment plus clausal ellipsis. Merchant argues that CFRs do not exhibit repair; as shown for because-islands in (1-2).

(1) A: Did Ben leave the party because \textit{Abby} wouldn’t dance with him? B: *No, \textit{Beth}.
(2) Ben left the party because someone wouldn’t dance with him, but I can’t remember who.

We challenge this generalization: because-islands are significantly improved with object-extraction (3); Many apparent relative clause island violations are grammatical (4); Others are consistently rejected (5).

(3) A: Did they leave because you offended \textit{Mary}? B: ?No, \textit{Sarah}
(4) A: Did they hire someone who works on \textit{French}? B: No, \textit{German}.
(5) A: Do you work on the same language that \textit{John} works on? B: *No, \textit{Bill}.

Temmerman argues that Dutch shows repair with CFRs. However, non-clausal islands like definite DP islands (7) are not repaired, just as in English (8).

(6) A: Zijn ze weggegaan omdat \textit{jij} \textit{BEN} gekust heb? B: Nee, \textit{Karel}
are they left because you \textit{BEN} kissed have No, \textit{Charlie}
(7) A: Heb je \textit{die} nieuwe kerel van \textit{FRANKRIJK} ontmoet? B: *Nee, \textit{Italië}
have you that new guy from \textit{France} met No Italy
(8) A: Did you give Mary's picture of PRINCE to John? B: ?*No, \textit{ELVIS}.

Contra Temmerman, we show that there is no cross-linguistic asymmetry with respect to 'repair' in CFRs, but rather an asymmetry between island-types.

Non-repair in 'repair' contexts. While Merchant (2001) has argued that sluicing can repair Left-Branch (LB) islands on the basis of examples like (9), we show that repair fails with a non-predicative remnant (10).

(9) John bought a big car, but I don’t know how big \textit{(he bought a \textit{t car})} (Merchant’s analysis)
(10) *John wants to hire a hard worker, but I don’t know how hard. (interpreted as “diligent worker”)\)

Non-isomorphic sources We propose that LB-sluices are only possible with “predicative sources”, i.e. \textit{how big it was} for (9); since \textit{hard} cannot be predicative, it must undergo island-violating movement in (10). We conclude that (i) LB islands are not repaired, and (ii) non-isomorphic sources must be available. With indefinite subject relatives like (4), we posit (11) as its source (as in Merchant 2001: ch.4). We propose that (5) is bad since it doesn’t allow for such a “short source”.

(11) A: Did they hire someone, who works on \textit{French}? B: No \textit{German he works on.}

Double clausal ellipsis. Finally we consider because-islands (1,3,6). We propose that these islands allow for \textit{double clausal ellipsis} (DCE), as schematised in (12) for (3B).

(12) \textit{No, [CP [CP SARAH, [C because [TP I offended ti]], [TP they left ti]], [TP they left ti]]}

Crucially, DCE is only possible with clausal islands.

Conclusion and outlook. We conclude by pointing out that cross-linguistic generalizations about repair collapse to generalizations over kinds of islands. Second, non-repair is attested across construction types, and it occurs whenever we run out of evasion strategies; we propose that this is because repair is \textit{always} an illusion.
The status of objects in Serial Verb Constructions in Mandarin Chinese

ABSTRACT The sequence of verbs in Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) functions as a syntactic whole in a clause (Aikhenvald, 2006; Durie, 1997). A single set of arguments is therefore required in an SVC. This characteristic gives rise to the question how the arguments of the component verbs are coded as the arguments of the construction. In this paper I will discuss the status of objects in SVCs in Mandarin Chinese, and the potential role of the passive construction as an object diagnostic.

Passivization as a syntactic process usually, but not always (Shibatani, 2006), promotes the object in a monotransitive clause as the subject. But which object argument is the object of a given SVC where all the verbs are transitive, and each transitive verb occurs with all of its arguments? This question is reflected most obviously when each component verb and its arguments can undergo passivization individually, while there is only one object argument passivizable for the entire construction. Making use of the passivization diagnostics, this paper will illustrate the argument structures in a few types of SVCs in Mandarin Chinese with regard to the argument structure of each component verb. The results of the passivization diagnostics show that there is only one passivizable argument in SVCs with two transitive verbs. The findings also show that the SVC as a whole not only places syntactic constraints on the arguments contributed by each lexical verb in the SVC, but also places constraints on the semantic roles of the realized arguments in the construction. This paper raises a more general question of what exactly characterizes the notion of Object in the grammar of a given language.

References
Inflection working overtime: the case of zero stems in Cuicatec

The Oto-Manguean languages of Mexico are of great interest to morphologists due to their highly complex inflectional systems, which often involve staggeringly large numbers of inflectional classes including affixal (segmental) and tonal contrasts, but at times stem alternations in these languages show unexpected complex behavior. One such language is Cuicatec, from the Mixtecan branch of Oto-Manguean, for which no previous description of its verbal inflection exists to date.

Verbal inflection in Cuicatec involves the use of both aspectual prefixes and tone alternations (1) (tone is indicated by numbers). Ongoing research on Cuicatec has recently shown that verbs belong to over 25 inflectional classes based solely on the prefixes they select and to a large number of other inflectional classes when tone is taken into account. As is typical with inflectional classes cross-linguistically, there is no apparent external motivation (phonological, syntactic, semantic or otherwise) for the different inflectional distinctions and the classes are to be seen as a purely morphological phenomenon which has no function.

![Table 1](image)

Nevertheless, a complex system such as this allows for much more excitement. After carrying out a thorough analysis of the raw data of 620 verbs taken from Anderson & Roque’s (1983) excellent dictionary of Cuicatec, we identified inflected forms of some verbs which only include the segmental phonology of the prefix, e.g. cu⁴³ ‘POT.demolish’, yi⁴³ ‘PROG.demolish’, etc. We treat such inflected forms as involving ‘zero-stems’.

Although the notion of zero-affixes is well-established (albeit controversial), as seen for example in the potential forms in (1d) and (1e), the notion of a zero-stem is extremely rare cross-linguistically (cf. Inkelas 1993 on Nimboran, Bloomfield 1939 on Menomini). In this respect, the Cuicatec data are therefore of particular theoretical interest here. In the Cuicatec examples in (2), the verb forms consist solely of the aspectual prefixes and tone alternations, but the lexical stem is not phonologically realized (except for the suppletive stems in examples (e)-(g) in the POT).

![Table 2](image)

In this paper, we describe in detail the inflectional characteristics of the inflected forms in (2) and advance a proposal of how it is possible for a system like this to be able to work. In order to show precisely this, we will first introduce the complexities of tonal patterns and the role they have as exponents of verbal inflection.
Pre-aspiration and Gemination in Aberystwyth English

This paper aims to establish whether pre-aspiration and gemination are related in Aberystwyth English in particular, and if so, what the relationship is.

Gemination can be seen as typologically marked. In comparison, this is even more so for pre-aspiration. Finding both phenomena in a language is quite rare. Two of such languages for which this combination has been documented are Icelandic and certain dialects of Italian (Stevens 2010, 2011, 2013). It has been suggested that pre-aspiration can be seen as a stage of degemination in each (Stevens 2010, 2011, 2013 for Italian; Keer 1998 for Icelandic).

Both phenomena have also been observed for Welsh and Welsh English. Pre-aspiration has been documented by Morris (2010) and relevant literature makes references to gemination in Welsh (e.g. Hannahs, forthcoming) as well as Welsh English (Wells 1982).

Three broad criteria can answer the question, only two of which will be discussed in the paper.

First, if pre-aspiration and gemination are related, which would include the possibility of degemination, this should be reflected in their distribution, i.e. prosodic, segmental, and stylistic conditionings.

Second, if pre-aspiration is a stage of degemination, both phenomena should have the same phonological function or functions (this presupposes both phenomena are phonological). They should similarly have the same sociolinguistic or perceptual function.

Third, preliminary data suggest that what is usually referred to as gemination is a variable feature of Aberystwyth English both across and within individual speakers, while pre-aspiration is found in English of all the Welsh speaking respondents who grew up in Aberystwyth in a much more consistent way. This indicates that the relationship of the two could indeed be that pre-aspiration is a stage of degemination. One of the criteria to test this scenario is thus considering the ratios of the occurrences of lengthening and pre-aspiration across different age groups. It can be expected that there would be a negative correlation between the age of the respondents and the number of the occurrences of geminates if one were replacing the other.

The results suggest that pre-aspiration and gemination are not two allophonic realisations of a single phenomenon in Aberystwyth English, although they can still be seen as related.

**Keywords**: Welsh English, pre-aspiration, gemination.
The relevance of syntactic structures for syntactic variation: the interaction of effects on the particle verb alternation

Some recent approaches to syntactic variation consider it to be the result of competition in usage between equally grammatical alternative structures (Kroch 1994, Embick 2008). Patterns of production (including corpus frequencies) and perception (including acceptability judgments) derive from various constraints on this competition. And conversely, these constraints can be identified and estimated from the facts of production and/or perception.

In production, we only see the results of the competition and therefore cannot directly assess the acceptability of the individual alternants (it’s like a baseball game: from the winners’ perspective, the outcome is a matter of their own successful hitting, while the losers interpret the same events as poor pitching).

By conducting two judgment experiments where subjects rate syntactic variants separately – in this case, the alternation in English between e.g. leave your hat on and leave on your hat – we have made it possible to observe the contextual effects on each variant, unlike previous approaches (Bresnan 2007). However, it appears that the ratings for the two variants are inversely correlated to some degree. While this could be addressed by saying language users refer to stored frequencies in processing input, we argue that this is unnecessary. If production frequencies result from understandable causes, the same factors can affect perception without the need for stored frequencies.

One of these factors is object weight, where changing e.g. your hat to your battered Trilby hat has a negative effect on the acceptability of the VOP order, and a smaller, unmotivated positive effect on the VPO order. We also find that the variation is sensitive to both the topic-hood and focus-hood of the object, independently, a result that is mispredicted by two previous approaches to these facts (Kayne 1998 and Dehé 2002).

The effect of object heaviness is likely extra-syntactic in origin, perhaps a result of increased processing difficulty in the VOP order (Lohse et al. 2005). But it could not exist without both orders being grammatical. We suggest this is due to the possibility of the particle raising to a relatively low position.

On the other hand, we propose that the topic (and focus) effects reflect syntactic movement of the object (or particle) to a topic position high in the extended projection of the particle. The data suggest that parallelisms between the extended projection of P and those of V and N may also extend to discourse projections, high in the functional sequence (Levinson 2011).

If the competition between word orders is purely post-syntactic, there should be no interaction between the effects of object weight and object topic/focus. However, if the variation develops in a less strictly modular way, we should observe a reflex of the derivational fact that if the topical object is raised, any particle movement is rendered invisible. The object weight effect should thus be diminished if the object is a topic. Our data suggest that this is the case.
Why my story can simultaneously be your story - English possessive constructions at the semantics/pragmatics interface

English possessive constructions such as John’s book and my car are thought to be context-sensitive in that the ‘s is semantically underspecified, receiving its propositional content only in context (i.a. Barker 1995, Rosenbach 2002). What is more, given the right context, the ‘s in, say, John’s pen can be instantiated by relations as imaginative as ‘the pen John found in the gutter’ or ‘the pen John accidentally left near the monkey cage in Chester zoo’, and so forth. Given this interpretive flexibility, formal semantic treatments of the possessive construction are in agreement that the ‘s minimally expresses a relation, \( R \), between the entities denoted by the two nouns, but this is already where the commonalities end.

What has been a matter of contention between Partee (1983/1997) and Vikner & Jensen (2002) is where this \( R \) comes from: according to Partee, the genitive phrase combines with nouns of two different types, namely relational nouns of type \(<e, <e,t>>\) and non-relational/sortal nouns of type \(<e,t>\). In the case of relational nouns, \( R \) is computed on the basis of the semantics of the head noun (e.g. John’s mother, where mother directly provides the kinship relation), whereas possessive constructions containing non-relational head nouns require contextual support (e.g. John’s picture, which allows for authorship, theme and possession relations) and are thus interpreted pragmatically. As such, the distinction between relational and non-relational nouns is in line with the distinction between what Partee dubs ‘lexical’ (semantic) and ‘extrinsic’ (pragmatic) interpretations respectively.

This conception of how the meaning of possessive constructions is determined is challenged by Vikner & Jensen (2002), who propose a considerable reduction of the pragmatic component: according to their analysis, both relational and non-relational nouns receive lexical interpretations, with non-relational nouns undergoing a relational type shift when they combine with a possessive phrase. Such lexical interpretations are thought to be derived from their qualia structure (Pustejovsky 1991, 1995), a formal template “attached to” lexical entries of nouns which specifies their constitution, purpose, etc.

In this talk, I will scrutinise the above claims via a corpus analysis of a number of possessive constructions containing the head noun story to see whether the predictions made by formal semantic accounts could be translated into a theory of salient interpretations. In particular, I will look at the mechanisms underlying the interpretation of ambiguous possessives like John’s story (‘the story written by John’ vs. ‘the story about John’) and the extent to which relational interpretations are derived pragmatically or semantically. I will propose a third kind that is neither entirely semantic nor entirely pragmatic but is essentially a compromise of both interpretational mechanisms, availing itself of the head noun’s encoded lexical information but subsequently relying on contextual information to resolve the ambiguity. This in turn raises problems for any neat taxonomisation of salient possessive interpretations along the lines of ‘relationality’ and/or defaultness.
Is it the size, or how you use it? Comparing the effects of subject length and predictability on contraction

Background: English auxiliary contraction (e.g., *John is here ~ John's here*) is a frequent instance of linguistic variation. Recent work has demonstrated that predictors of contraction include the length of an auxiliary’s subject in words (MacKenzie, 2013) and information content (predictability) of the contractible form (Frank & Jaeger, 2008). In this paper, we probe these sources of variation, comparing several measures of subject size and predictors capturing information content. We find that subject length is best expressed simply by the number of words and that predictability measures only marginally contribute additional information on top of structural factors.

Procedure: To model contraction in conversational speech, we analyzed 1995 tokens of the auxiliaries *has*, *is*, and *will* after non-pronoun subjects from the Fisher (Cieri et al., 2004), Switchboard (Godfrey et al., 1992), and Philadelphia Neighborhood (Labov & Rosenfelder, 2011) corpora, using tokens from 484 speakers. Tokens of *has* and *is* were coded as contracted if they surfaced as [z] or [s]; tokens of *will* were coded as contracted if they surfaced as [əl] (MacKenzie, 2013). Each auxiliary’s subject was coded for several size-related predictors—speaking rate, orthographic word count, prosodic word count, and syllable count—and for predictability-related predictors—probability of auxiliary given preceding word, probability given following word, and frequencies of preceding and following words. The probabilities of words in context and their frequencies were estimated using the part-of-speech tagged subsection of Switchboard contained in the Penn Treebank Release 3 (Marcus et al., 1993). Modeling was performed using mixed-effects logistic regression with fixed effects for speaker demographics (date of birth, sex, education level), speaking rate, identity of the contracted auxiliary, random intercepts for speaker and surrounding words, and random slopes grouped by speaker for subject length and predictability predictors. Model comparisons were performed using Chi-square log-likelihood ratio tests.

Results: We find that subject length significantly predicts whether an auxiliary is contracted (measured as number of orthographic words, $p = 5.69 \times 10^{-12}$). The only significant predictability-related factor is forward probability, the probability of the auxiliary given the previous word ($p = 9.45 \times 10^{-3}$); all others are non-significant ($p > 0.05$). The effect of forward probability is smaller than that of subject length; adding a single word to the subject decreases the probability of contraction by 2.67%, while doubling the forward probability increases the probability by 1.19%. Thus, the observed subject length effect cannot be reduced to information content or predictability. While predictability does play a role in contraction, it plays a smaller role than structural factors such as subject length.

Extensions: We subsequently investigate the cause of subject length effects in more detail by using residualization to examine several multicollinear predictors of length. We find that structural predictors such as number of words predict variation better than gross phonological size measures such as number of syllables. In fact, the best predictor of subject length incorporates separate measures of content and function word counts. We conclude by noting the connections between this latter finding and the units governing production planning (e.g., Ferreira, 1991).
Comparing forced-alignment techniques with British English dialect data

Tools for automatic phonemicization and alignment of speech are gaining currency in sociolinguistic research (e.g. Labov et al., 2013). These tools convert an orthographic transcription into phonemes, then automatically time-align words and phonemes to the speech signal. However, these processes rely on a standard dictionary of reference pronunciations, and the extent to which they may be used effectively with data from non-standard dialects is not yet known. In this paper, we evaluate the performance of three different forced alignment tools on data from several dialects of British English.

Our data consist of interviews with speakers representing the dialects of Essex, Manchester, Liverpool, and Received Pronunciation. All interviews were transcribed and submitted to three different forced alignment procedures: FAVE-align (Rosenfelder et al., 2011), Prosodylab-Aligner (Gorman et al., 2011), and SPPAS (Bigi, 2012). Alignment was performed using a British pronunciation dictionary (Robinson, 1997).

To evaluate aligner performance, we identified five vowels which differentiate the dialects under study: FOOT, STRUT, BATH, and TRAP, which constitute two lexical splits differentiating northern and southern England (Wells, 1982); and GOOSE, which is undergoing fronting (Harrington et al., 2008). Tokens of these five vowels in stressed position were manually segmented by the authors, and these measurements became the ‘gold standard’ against which the output of the three aligners was compared.

Overall, the systems perform well: 70% of machine-placed vowel onsets and 71% of offsets are within 20 ms of the human annotator’s placement. Figure 1 breaks down these results by dialect and by vowel for two of the aligners. Problem areas for alignment include /l/-vocalisation, glottalisation, and phoneme inventory differences; these contribute to varying performance across dialects.

FAVE-align’s performance slightly exceeds the other aligners’, with 74% of boundaries within 20 ms of the manual placement. However, FAVE-align uses American English acoustic models; accordingly, it requires transcriptions to be coerced into American vowel classes. We weigh its accuracy against this drawback and also compare the aligners on other metrics, such as ease of use. We conclude by addressing the effects of inaccurate alignment on automatic vowel measurement and providing recommendations for researchers working with similar data.

Figure 1. Histograms of alignment errors
Identity and Equality Comparatives: Same or different?

In the past, scalar comparatives (1), namely comparisons of the degree to which individuals rank on the natural scale associated with a gradable expression (Izvorski 2000), and identity comparatives (2), where the items compared are entities of any sort (not just degrees) and the issue is simply whether they are the same or different (Heim 1985), have been considered to be either two distinct constructions (Heim 1985) or constructions that are related in the sense that both involve free relatives: scalar comparatives involve degree free relatives and identity comparatives kind free relatives (Izvorski 2000).

(1) Mary is as tall as Helen. Scalar/Degree (Equality) Comparative
(2) Mary bought the same dress as Helen. Identity Comparative

The aim of this paper is to show that in fact these constructions are more closely related than has been assumed so far and that equality comparatives are a special case of identity comparatives. The crucial evidence comes from the analysis of previously unstudied Greek data, namely comparatives introduced by the manner correlative wh-item opos ‘as/however’:

(3) O Nikos ine idhios opos
the.D.Nom.SG Nikos.N.Nom.SG is.V.Prs.3SG same.Adj.m.Nom.SG as
o mpampas tu.
Nikos is the same as his father.

I show that opos-identity comparatives involve Ā-movement and are the same construction as manner/kind free relatives. This provides empirical support to Izvorski’s (2000) assumption that as-identity comparatives involve kind free relatives and calls for further comparison of the semantics and syntax of identity and scalar comparatives. With a cancellability test, opos-free relatives are shown to be ambiguous between a degree and a kind reading, namely between scalar and identity comparatives, if they modify a scalar predicate (4).

(4) O Nikos ine psilos opos
the.D.Nom.SG Nikos.N.Nom.SG is.V.Prs.3SG tall.Adj.m.Nom.SG as
o mpampas tu.
Nikos is tall as his father. / Nikos is as tall as his father.

This double interpretation of opos-clauses and their different entailments follow straightforwardly by an analysis whereby opos is a degree adverb base generated in the degree phrase and the opos-clause is merged ‘late’ in the comparative construction, as Bhatt and Pancheva (2004) proposed for scalar comparatives. These results indicate that the similarities between equality and identity comparatives can only be explained if equality is seen as identity between two positions on a scale and scalar comparatives as a special case of identity comparatives.
Social Perceptions of the Monophthongization of FACE in Barrow-in-Furness

The relationship between speech production and speech perception is highly complex. Thomas (2000) provides evidence that individuals have the ability to perceive phonetic differences that they may not use in their own production. In contrast, Newman (2003) shows significant correlations between production and perception. This study aims to examine this relationship further, looking at the link between the production and social perception of vowels displaying stable variation.

In Barrow-in-Furness, production data show that FACE displays stable variation, with middle-class speakers favoring upgliding diphthongal variants and working-class speakers favoring monophthongal variants (McDougall, 2012). However, results show that speakers from different socio-economic backgrounds use differing patterns of style-shifting, with middle class speakers favoring diphthongs in formal contexts and working-class speakers using monophthongs more frequently in formal contexts.

A possible hypothesis is that the difference between the two variants holds differing social meanings for speakers of different socio-economic backgrounds, acting as a stereotype for middle class speakers but as a marker (Labov, 1972) for working class speakers. An alternative hypothesis for this difference in style shifting is based on the assumption that more standardized forms carry overt prestige for middle class speakers and local variants carry covert prestige for working class speakers. While it has been found that in general, speakers tend to shift towards the overtly prestigious form in more formal speech, if a form carries significant covert prestige for one group, it should be possible for opposing style shifting for speakers with socio-economic status. Therefore, when reading from a word-list, working class speakers may use monophthongs to index localness.

The current study aims to test the first hypothesis through matched-guise experiments whereby participants hear a series of six voices each reading aloud the same passage. Two of the clips played are different guises of the same speaker, differing only in vowel quality. If there is a difference in the level of awareness for speakers of different social groups and there is a significant correlation between production and perception, it would be expected that working-class listeners would evaluate the guises differently from middle-class listeners.

The results show that all listeners perceived the differences between the two variants in the same way. Results from linear regression models showed that listeners rated the speaker higher on scales of “middle class”, “posh” and “educated”, as well as rating him as less local when using diphthongs than when using monophthongs. This indicates that the differences between the two variants are above the level of awareness for all speakers, indicating that FACE acts as a marker for speakers of all social backgrounds.

This confirms Thomas’ (2000) findings that while two groups of speakers may differ in their production of a particular variable, they can make use of the same phonetic cues in perception. While Thomas’ findings focused on relating such phonetic cues to the identification of the voicing of a consonant, findings from the current study show that such cues can also be extended to form social judgements.

These results show that speakers of both social groups assign the same values to diphthongal and monophthongal variants. This suggests that the social-class differences in style shifting are not due to a difference in awareness, but rather, an extreme display of overt and covert prestige.
Predication and Left-Dislocation in Arabic

Left-Dislocation (LD) in Arabic has often been investigated in the context of verbal predications. For instance, Aoun and Benmamoun (1998) show that object left-dislocation is common in Lebanese Arabic while Soltan (2007) investigates properties of SVO constructions and argues that, like objects, subjects in SVO constructions are left-dislocated topics. However, the question whether nominal predication employs LD on a par with verbal predication remains largely unanswered. In this paper, I show that not only is LD possible in nominal predications but it also provides sound solutions for the problems associated with equative constructions, especially the problem of identity of the so-called copula pronoun that appears between the two DPs in equatives. I propose that equatives are LD constructions that derive from basic subject-predicate clauses. I also argue that the copula pronoun is simply a subject pronoun and functions as such. The analysis I suggest is based on the PredP framework (Bowers 1993) whereby the subject pronoun and the second DP constitute the inner predicational shell, while the first DP occupies the outer Spec,TP position, and is related to the subject pronoun via syntactic binding.

First, I investigate properties of the basic DP XP type of construction in Arabic, where the DP is definite and XP may either be an indefinite DP (1a), an AP (1b), or a PP (1c). This poses the question whether Arabic allows constructions where XP is also a definite DP. Syntactically the answer should be a 'yes'. In pursuing this venue, I provide empirical evidence from various Arabic vernaculars that this is indeed the case, thereby adding to inventory of simple copular constructions a novel [DP DP] construction, where both DPs are definite (2a-b). Another important question that follows concerns analysis of nominal predications, i.e., equatives, of the form [DP PRON DP] (3a-b). I put forward the hypothesis that equatives in Arabic are LD'ed constructions that originally derive from the [DP DP] construction. This hypothesis is tested against LD constructions in verbal predications in Arabic, particularly Clitic-Left Dislocation (Aoun and Benmamoun 1998 and Aoun, Benmamoun and Choueiri 2010) (4a-b) and Subject Left-Dislocation in Soltan (2007) (5). The data presented here show that the properties associated with equative construction are almost the same as those displayed by CLD and SLD. Based on these finding, the paper develops an analysis, following recent Minimalist assumptions (Chomsky 1995 onwards), that accounts for the two types of copular construction found in Arabic.

Overall, the analysis developed here provides novel treatment for copular constructions in Arabic that divides them into two classes: the class of basic subject-predicate clauses which have the schematic structure [DP XP] and the class of LD constructions which have the schematic structure [DP PRON XP]. The analysis has crucial implications for the syntax of copular constructions in general and the study of copular (wh-)constructions in Arabic and similar languages in particular.

Keywords: predication, copular constructions, equatives, left-dislocation, pronouns, Arabic.
(1) a. Majdi muhandis  
Majdi engineer  
‘Majdi is an engineer’
b. l-bint helwa  
the-girl pretty  
‘The girl is pretty’
c. ŋali fi-l-gamṣa  
Ali in-the-university  
‘Al is in the university’

(2) a. huwwa l-muttaham  
he the-suspect  
‘He is the suspect’
b. haida l-fenneen  
this the-artist  
‘This is the artist’

(3) a. nada hiyye l-mudiira  
Nada she the-director  
‘Nada is the director’
b. ŋali huwwe l-steez  
Ali he the-teacher  
‘Ali is the teacher’

(4) a. naadia jeef-a  saami mbaarih  
Nadia saw.3ms-her Sami yesterday  
‘Nadia, Sami saw her yesterday’
b. aT-Tullab-u  u-hib-u-hum  
the-students.Nom 1s-like-them  
‘The students, I like them’

(5) Zayd-un haDara huwwa wa ŋaliyy-un  
Zayd-Nom came.3ms he and Ali-Nom  
‘Zayd, he and Ali came.

References
Investigating Translation and Explicit Instruction in SLA: A Generative View of the Acquisition of English Articles

This paper reports the findings of a classroom research experiment that explored the role of translation and the role of input on Arab learners’ acquisition of English articles. As such it fits within the body of literature on the role of translation in second language acquisition (SLA). For several decades, researchers and practitioners viewed the use of translation in the language classroom as taboo; although this claim was not based on scientific evidence (Cook, 2010). With the broadening of the contexts of SLA, Cook (2010) has proposed that future studies should empirically examine the role of translation in second language acquisition. The aim of this paper is to conduct such a study by creating an approach that combines translation and the area of generative approaches to SLA (GenSLA), which addresses how generative theory can feed into the practice of language teaching (Whong, Gil, & Marsden, 2013).

This paper contributes to the work of those GenSLA researchers who have investigated the nature of article acquisition and argued that the interface between syntax and semantics can be a source of difficulty for the acquisition of English articles (Tania Ionin, Montrul, Kim, & Philippov, 2011). Another source of errors focused on is transfer from L1; this affects Arab learners’ article use in generic contexts, which arise from genericity distinctions between Arabic and English (Sarko, 2011). This project also investigates the assertion that the misinterpretation of the semantic features of articles definiteness and specificity leads learners to assign articles on specificity factors, rather than on the definiteness factors that are the basis of article selection in the target language. Definiteness involves shared knowledge of the referent between the speaker and the hearer, whereas specificity involves knowledge of the speaker only, as illustrated below:

1. I’d like to talk to the winner of today’s race—whoever that is; I’m writing a story about this race for the newspaper
   [+definite, -specific]
2. Peter intends to marry a merchant banker—even though he doesn’t get on at all with her.
   [-definite, +specific]

(Taken from Ionin et al, 2004, p. 8-9)

The main research question informing this project relates to whether or not learners can overcome misuse of articles through participation in an intervention course, comprised of translation activities and input that comes either in the form of explicit instruction on definiteness, specificity and genericity or through listening to real conversations. Following Sharwood Smith (2004), explicit instruction refers here to teachers’ use of linguistic metalanguage, although the debate regarding instructed language teaching versus natural language use (advocated by Krashen (1982)) is ongoing.

Results from a pilot study on the use of translation activities vs. gap-fill activities led to the collection of the data. The participants were 54 Arab university students divided into four experimental groups. Each group received one type of activity (translation or gap-fill) and one type of input (explicit instruction or listening to real conversations). All the participants took a pre-test, an immediate posttest and a delayed posttest, including an article elicitation task, an acceptability Judgment task, adapted from Ionin et al (2009, 2011) and a written elicitation task designed by the researcher to elicit use of articles in various contexts. Initial analysis suggests that misuse/overuse of ‘the’ and ‘a’ can be mainly traced to the misinterpretation of the semantic features definiteness and specificity. The data also shows that explicit instruction on articles is effective, regardless of the activities used for each group.
When Less Means More: Relevance and Null subjects in English
Written Texts

English is traditionally classified as a non null subject language, and declarative sentences without an overt subject are generally considered ungrammatical. However, from text messages and emails to published diaries and literary works, null subject sentences are attested across a range of written English discourse. Examples are given in (1) – (4).

(1) Very excited about entering our 2nd phase of 10 year plan (Tweet)
(2) Walked to Westminster hall. (Pepys, 1985, p. 610)
(3) Visited the castle yesterday. Wish you were here.
(4) Must have missed one another. (personal SMS/text message)

This paper argues that, far from being exceptional, null subjects are not even surprising on a relevance-theoretic approach to utterance production and interpretation (Sperber & Wilson, 1986/95).

Three categories of null subject are identified; the informal null, the pressurized null and the ostensively vague null. Each category is ultimately driven by the balance between the hearer’s processing effort and the cognitive effects that the speaker intends him to derive, while at the same time allowing for the speaker’s abilities and preferences. In short, all uses are driven by considerations of relevance.

The main argument of this paper is that, despite the apparent wide range of motives for omitting a subject in English, and the various style, tone and poetic effects which they create, all these effects can be explained by taking a relevance theory approach to utterance interpretation.

References
THE RESUMPTIVE STRATEGY IN ROMANIAN

Romanian has obligatory resumption (A'-binding of a pronoun with a shared θ-role) in relativization, D-linked content questions and dislocations. Earlier accounts of resumption in Romanian consider it to be parasitic on clitic-doubling (A-binding of a pronoun with a shared θ-role) (Steriade 1980; Comorovski 1986; Dobrovie-Sorin 1990). I present a systematic overview of pronouns with antecedents in A- and A'-positions in Romanian which shows that in fact resumption is independent of clitic-doubling. Although there is an overlap in clitic-doubling and resumption, this comes apart in two directions: (i) some root sentences where clitic-doubling is obligatory have corresponding content questions in which the doubling pronoun is illicit, and (ii) some root sentences where clitic-doubling is illicit have corresponding A'-constructions with obligatory resumption. I illustrate the latter case in (1).

(1)  a. Nu *o/ ___vede niciodată marea.
    neg *her/ ___see.3S never sea=the.F
    ‘He never sees the sea.’

    b. Îi părea rău după marea pe care nu *_/o vede niciodată.
    him.Dat seemed bad after sea=the.F pe which neg *_/her see.3S never
    ‘He sorrowed after the sea which he never sees [her].’

The obligatory resumption in relative clauses such as (1b) is also seen in D-linked content questions, contrasting with lack of resumption in questions with bare interrogatives. Significantly, relative clauses and D-linked content questions also have in common the relative pronoun/ D-linked interrogative care “which”.

I argue that resumption arises in Romanian because of the nature of the D involved: care “which” has a categorial selectional feature that requires it to take a complement headed by the resumptive pronoun. I analyse resumptive pronouns in Romanian as being defective heads of category φ (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999; Déchaine & Wiltschko’s 2002; Roberts 2010). Resumption arises in (1b) because the relative pronoun care “which”, the resumptive pronoun o “her” and the noun mare “sea” form a complex-DP (2a) which starts out in the derivation as complement of the verb vede “sees”. Then φ raises to cliticise to the verb (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999). The remnant-DP raises to SpecCP and N moves up (2b), by a raising analysis of relative clauses. D-linked questions follow a similar derivation as shown in (2b), but without the last step in which N raises further.

(2)  a. [DP [D care] [φP [φ o] [N mare]]]
    which her sea

    b. [DP mare [D a [CP…[D care [φ o] [N mare]]]…[/v vede]…[DP [D care] [φP [φ o] [N mare]]]

With respect to the obligatoriness of resumption in relative clauses, Romanian patterns with Arabic. With respect to D-linked questions, Romanian and Arabic are different: here resumption is obligatory in Romanian, but only optional in Arabic. This follows from my account because in Arabic the relative pronoun is morpho-syntactically different from the D-linked interrogative. The relative pronoun patterns with Romanian in that it has a [D-φ-N] structure and requires obligatory resumption, while the D-linked interrogative is ambiguous between a [D-N] and a [D-φ-N] structure and resumption is optional.

This account of resumption in Romanian has the advantage that it does not have to rely on special categories (i.e. Steriade’s (1980) “shadow” pronouns). Further, I argue that my analysis also makes the right predictions regarding reconstruction effects in Romanian which are similar to those observed with resumption in Lebanese Arabic (Aoun et al 2001), Jordanian Arabic (Guilliot 2006; Malkawi 2009) and Iraqi Arabic (Sterian 2011).
Auxiliary ellipsis and text complexity in German

This paper shows that auxiliary ellipsis (AE) in early modern German embedded clauses does not appear to be linked to text complexity, as has previously been suggested in the literature (Admoni, 1990; Breitbarth, 2005), based on data from the GerManC corpus.

In German, there are a number of periphrastic tenses formed with the auxiliaries haben (‘to have’), sein (‘to be’) and werden (‘to become’). In early modern German, it was possible to omit these auxiliaries in embedded clauses, as can be seen in (1), where in modern German we would expect the auxiliary haben in final position:

1. nachdem ich zuvor meine Zelt und schlechtesthe Bagage hinweg geworfen, ...
  ‘After I had previously thrown away my tent and the worst of my baggage, …’

(Courasche, 1168 (c.1669) quoted in Ebert, 1986:132)

One explanation for the emergence and decline of AE is that it occurred as a result of a rise and fall in text complexity, because both AE and text complexity appear to increase and decrease along a similar time scale (Admoni, 1990; Breitbarth, 2005). A fall out from this hypothesis is that AE serves the function of marking dependency (Admoni, 1990) or pragmatic backgrounding a proposition by expressing lack of assertion (Breitbarth, 2005). Based on data from the GerManC corpus, however, I show that these theses do not hold.

If AE and text complexity are linked in the way that has been suggested, then we would expect a more complex text to contain more AE than a less complex text. However, this is not always the case. Using the middle period of the GerManC corpus (1700-1750), I show that texts of the same genre can have very similar levels of text complexity, which is measured according to hypotaxis percentage, yet vastly different levels of AE. An example of two humanities texts with similar hypotaxis percentages but different AE levels can be seen in Table 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>% hypotaxis</th>
<th>% AE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muetze</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results such as the above suggest that there is little motivation for a link between text complexity and AE, at least on the synchronic level.

Similarly, the GerManC data provide little support for the function of AE being one of pragmatic backgrounding. I determined whether dass-clauses were complements of factive or non-factive verbs, because complements of factive verbs are usually considered to be presupposed. If the pragmatic backgrounding thesis is true, we expect AE to occur in the complements of factive but not non-factive verbs. However, the GerManC data show that there is no significant correlation between presupposed propositions and AE. This suggests that AE does not have this pragmatic function.

My results thus show that there is little motivation to link text complexity with auxiliary ellipsis.
**Discontinuous chain reduction and remnant movement**

We propose an account of constraints on remnant movement (RM) in terms of a general constraint which prevents discontinuous deletion of copies in a given chain.

**Discontinuous chain reduction**: we begin by considering regular overt A'-movement chains like the one schematized in (1a). Typically, such chain are realized as in (1b), with pronunciation of the leftmost copy; however Boskovic (2002) shows that an alternative realisation like (1c) is made available in cases where (1b) is impossible. Crucially, (1d,e), where one of the intermediate copies is pronounced, are not possible.

(1) a. wh.. wh.. wh.. wh
    b. Wh.. wh.. wh.. wh.. wh.. wh
    c. Wh.. wh.. wh.. wh.. wh.. wh
    d. *wh.. wh.. wh.. wh
    e. *wh.. wh.. wh.. wh.. wh

We propose that this is due to a constraint preventing discontinuous chain reduction, where a discontinuous section of the chain is deleted; this is banned as it requires chain reduction (Nunes 2004) to apply to a discontinuous object, and the grammar doesn’t make reference to such objects (cf. constituency). We show this is also operative with chains derived by RM.

**Left vs right and RM**: first we show the constraint accounts for a pervasive difference between leftward and rightward RM: an XP can be leftward-moved if it contains a trace of extraposition (2), but not if it contains a trace of leftward movement (3). As the schematics show, only the latter involves discontinuous chain reduction.

(2) √[XP..YP..]...{w...YP...}...YP... extraposition of YP, RM of XP
(3) *[XP..YP..]...YP...{w...YP...}...leftward movement of YP, RM of XP

The prediction in (2-3) is borne out by a comparison of questions with extraposition from the wh-P (e.g. 4) with data from Japanese scrambling that motivates the “Proper Binding Condition” (PBC), where scrambling a constituent containing a trace of leftward movement is ungrammatical (Saito 1985, 2002, Hiraiwa 2003 etc).

(4) [How proud t] is John [of his achievements]? We then review Saito’s (2002) arguments that constraints on Japanese RM cannot be explained in terms of minimality (cf. Muller 1996) and Fanselow’s (2002) arguments that that many apparent cases of RM of the kind in (3) do not involve movement of YP but rather base-generation of YP in its surface position (Neeleman 1994).

**Headless fronting**: the constraints in (2)-(3) are also in effect in cases where YP is just Y, i.e. the trace is a trace of head movement. We show that this accounts for variation in German “headless fronting” (Wurmbrand 2004).

(5) *[VP Seinen Bruder an t[j], rief der Hans gestern t]
   his brother up called the Hans yesterday.
   (3), leftward moved head

(6) √[VP Alle Träume gleichzeitig t[j], kann man selten t verwirklichen.]
   all dreams at-the-same-time can one rarely realize
   (2), right-moving head

We show that headless fronting of the (5) kind is disallowed across languages, while (6) is possible in Japanese, and we show these facts don’t follow from any existing theory of RM (e.g. Saito 2002, Abels 2008). D

**Extrapolated subjects**: we then consider predicate movement in English. It is well-known that A-reconstruction for scope into moved predicates (diagnosed by object>subject scope: Hornstein 1995) is generally impossible with VP-topicalization, as in (7) (Barss 1986). However, we observe that inverse scope is possible with ‘particle preposing’ (Samko 2013), indicating a hard constraint on reconstructing into moved predicates isn’t correct.

(7) Sitting at every table, a (#different) bottle of wine (chosen especially for the group) will be. *∀>∃
(8) Sitting at every table will be a (different) bottle of wine chosen especially for the group. √∀>∃

We propose that the key difference here is the position of the subject: in (7) it is in Spec,TP, whereas in (8) it is right-peripheral, following all auxiliaries (and, we show, some adjuncts); hence we propose the subject in the latter is extraposed from Spec,TP (cf. Toda 2007). Importantly, this means that (8) is an instance of (2) and thus a legal RM structure which, we propose, permits A-reconstruction. (7), on the other hand, is on the surface an instance of (3), and should be ruled out; that is, it can’t involve true RM but some other structure. Following Thoms and Walkden (2013), we propose that languages like English resort to an alternative to true VP-preposing in such cases, with the VP base-generated in the initial position and another VP in the lower position elided under identity (what they call a “matching” structure), with no RM in sight; crucially, such a structure rules out inverse scope as it would violate Scope Parallelism (Fox 2000). The constraint on chain reduction thus restricts whether or not true VP-preposing (or whether “matching” is required) is possible; if it is possible, as in (8), there is a lower copy of the VP for the subject to reconstruct into.
The Person-Case Constraint in Old English

In this paper I investigate whether the Person-Case Constraint (PCC; Bonet 1991, 1994) holds in Old English. The PCC is a restriction on the co-occurrence of weak person markers that has been cross-linguistically widely observed. It comes in two flavours, “strong” and “weak”:

(1) **Strong PCC** (Basque, French, Greek, Kiowa …): In a combination of a weak direct object and an indirect object [clitic, agreement marker, weak pronoun], the direct object has to be 3rd person.

(2) **Weak PCC** (Catalan, Italian …): In a combination of a weak direct object and an indirect object, if there is a 3rd person it has to be the direct object. (Bonet 1991: 182; Anagnostopoulou 2008: 15–16)

The Weak PCC rules out orders like (3), and the Strong PCC additionally rules out orders like (4) (French):

(3) *Agnès me lui présentera.

(Agnès 1SG.THM 3SG.F.REC present.FUT.3SG
‘Agnès will introduce me to her.’)

(4) *Agnès me te présentera.

(Agnès 1SG.THM 2SG.REC present.FUT.3SG
‘Agnès will introduce you to me.’)

The PCC in Germanic has generally either received little attention, been assumed to be inoperative, or both (though cf. Werner 1999, Anagnostopoulou 2008). A corpus search of the YCOE (Taylor et al. 2003), however, shows the weak PCC to be at play in Old English. Data were obtained through a search for adjacent dative and accusative pronouns and then manually examined for person and case properties. The results are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>164</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Strong PCC predicts that there should be no examples at all in the orange or red shaded cells; as we can see, this is not borne out, as illustrated by (5) from the Vercelli Homilies, for instance, and 4 further examples.

(5) ṭa þe me þe sealdon

those that 1SG.THM 2SG.REC gave

‘those who gave me to you’ (coverhom,HomS_24_[ScraggVerc_1]:176.186)

The Weak PCC predicts that there should be no examples at all in the orange cells, but is mute with respect to the red cells. There is only one potential counterexample to this, from the Blickling Homilies and given in (6).

(6) þæt he of his þæm fæderlican sceate þe him to meder …

that he of his the.DAT fatherly.DAT bosom.DAT 2SG.THM 3SG.REC to mother

‘that he, from his father’s bosom, [chooses] you as his mother’ (coblick,HomU_18_[BIBhom_1]:5.29.33)

However, the manuscript is damaged at this point and the clause is incomplete, as can be seen by the absence of any verb in the Old English original. In the YCOE, þe is tagged as a second person pronoun (as it is analysed in editions), but could just as easily be the homophonous relativizing particle as seen in (5). If this example can be discounted, then there are no exceptions to the weak PCC in Old English.

Absence of evidence for counterexamples, however, is not evidence of absence, and this is a classic problem in historical syntax: on what basis can we conclude that a given construction was ungrammatical in a language with no living native speakers? The problem is exacerbated by Haspelmath’s (2004) observation that, even in languages in which the PCC does not hold, there is a tendency for recipients to be animate (and themes to be inanimate) ‘[f]or obvious semantic reasons’ (2004: 33). An alternative hypothesis is therefore that weak-PCC-violating examples, rather than being ungrammatical, are accidentally unattested because of their semantic unlikeliness. This hypothesis can be tested using basic probability: the expected probability of a weak-PCC-violating ditransitive should be the product of the probability of a 1st- or 2nd-person accusative pronoun and the probability of a 3rd-person dative pronoun. Estimating using the current dataset and excluding the problematic example (6), this expected probability is 61/163 x 5/163 = 305/26569 ≈ 0.0115. Out of 163 examples we would therefore expect to see around 1.8712 weak PCC violations, where in fact we (arguably) see none. Though very far from conclusive, this indicates that the weak PCC may have been active in Old English.

The data also support Anagnostopoulou’s (2008: 29) generalization that the weak PCC with non-clitic pronouns is linked to strict ordering of direct and indirect pronominal objects. Of the 164 examples, 160 displayed the order accusative-dative, with only 4 exhibiting dative-accusative order. This is similar to the situation in modern standard German, in which the dative-accusative order is extremely marginal and only accepted by some individuals. The paper thus contributes to our understanding of the typology of PCC effects.
Poster Presentations
Adjectival modification in English, French and Bosnian Determiner Phrase

The paper is concerned with the distribution of adjectival modification in the French, English and Bosnian Determiner Phrase. Bosnian and English are representative of languages where the prenominal position is the canonical position of an adjective in a DP. French, on the other hand, favours the postnominal use of adjectives, whilst the prenominal position is reserved only for intentional non-intersective adjectives.

The problems we address include the factors which bring about these variations in the adjective distribution in a DP, the derivational relationship between different superficial positions of adjectival modifiers and how these differences in distribution affect the interpretation of a DP. The analysis answers these questions by revisiting older theories and trying to devise new explanations in the context of the modern theoretical perspectives in generative grammar.

The first section of the paper outlines the main assumptions of the reductionist and separationist proposals for adjective derivation, pointing out the advantages and disadvantages of assuming the derivational relationship between two different superficial positions, or discarding any such claims. We make mention of the Determiner Spreading phenomenon in Greek which is of vital significance for the model of adjective derivation that the second section of the paper proposes.

We posit that the Bosnian, English and French counterparts of adjectives which can occur in Greek DS structures are merged as part of a predicative structure. These involve all postnominal adjectives in French and very small class of adjectives in Bosnian and English. Prenominal English and Bosnian adjectives which could occur in Greek DS constructions are, too, merged as part of a clausal structure and then raised to the prenominal position. Intensional non-intersective adjectives, which resist Determiner Spreading, obligatorily occur prenominally and for them, we posit a functional category between DP and NP. Formally speaking, our analysis takes up the minimalist framework and adopts the split vP hypothesis. We conclude that our model of adjective derivation successfully tackles many theoretical challenges that other models do not.
The Flemish External Possessor

Standard Dutch has three main (nominal) ways to express a possessor: the prenominal periphrastic possessor with a doubling possessive pronoun, a genitive-like possessor and a postnominal prepositional possessor. In addition to these, West-Flemish has a type of external possessor (Haegeman & Van Koppen 2011), a structure which seems to exploit the prenominal periphrastic possessor (1a), and in which the possessor is linearly split from the possessee (1b).

1. a ‘t moest lukken dat [Emma haar velo] toen juste kapot was.
   It had-to happen that Emma her bicycle then just broken was.
   ‘It so happened that Emma’s bicycle was broken just then’

2. a Mein Bruder hat der Mami leider ihr Auto zu Schrott gefahren.
   My Brother has the mom(DAT) alas the car to scrap driven
   ‘Unfortunately my brother totaled mom’s car (totaled the car on mom).’

   b Mein Bruder hat der Mami leider das Auto zu Schrott gefahren.
   My Brother has the mom(DAT) alas her car to scrap driven
   ‘Unfortunately my brother totaled mom’s car.’

Lee-Schoenfeld (2006:104-105)

Apart from the possessor interpretation of the constituent, the external possessor also has an interpretation of affectee, which is illustrated by a ban on the dead possessor – (1b), but not (1a), is only possible if Emma is alive. This makes it seem very similar to the pattern in (2a), which Lee-Schoenfeld (2006) analyses as a dative benefactive which is coindexed with the possessive pronoun which introduces the possessive aspect.

I will argue that despite the surface similarities (presence of a possessive pronoun), the analysis of the Flemish external possessor pattern is in fact more similar to the one of (2b) than it is to (2a), Sentence (2b) is analysed by Lee-Schoenfeld as a raised possessor construction, in which the possessor DP moves for case reasons out of the possessor-possessee complex into a thematic, case-assigning A-position due to a defective D-head in the possessee DP (the definite article), which cannot assign case. I will analyse the external possessor in Flemish (1b) as essentially involving the same movement, making use of Deal’s (2013) typology of external possessors in A-positions.

Deal (2013) gives four possible analyses for external possessors (nominals syntactically encoded as arguments of the verb but semantically interpreted as the possessor of one of its co-arguments) in A-positions: A-movement to a thematic position (akin to a movement analysis of control sensu Hornstein (1999)), A-movement to an athematic position (akin to raising), use of base-generated anaphora (akin to binding) and a pattern where the possessor isn’t moved and does not gain an additional 0-role (akin to ECM, so far unobserved in natural language).

In this typology, (2a) is seen as an instance of the binding-like base-generated anaphora type of external possession, whereas (2b) is an instance of external possession akin to control. I will argue that the Flemish external possessor in (1b), unlike the German ‘equivalent’ in (2a), is not a base-generated benefactive argument which binds a possessive pronoun, but that the external possessor is generated within the possessee DP and is moved to a thematic A-position related to Pylkkänen’s (2002) high applicative phrase.
Late Second Language Processing of English Focal Stress by L1 Mandarin Speakers

Considerable research explores late second language (L2) acquisition and processing in phonology (Best et al., 1988; Guion et al., 2000; among others). However, the vast majority of this work concentrates on the segmental level, while suprasegmental/prosodic dimensions have been understudied (Baker 2010, Shyu 2007). We present pilot eye-tracking data examining the comprehension of English prosodic marking of focus by Mandarin-L1/English-L2 (N=32) sequential bilinguals (and monolingual English-L1 controls) using a match/mismatch, truth-value judgment paradigm (auditorily presented sentences and concurrently presented pictures of people/objects). The main question is how much L1-interference is present in Mandarin speakers’ processing of focal stress. While Mandarin utilizes the same strategies as English to create focal stress, one study suggests Mandarin has default direct-object focus (Shyu 2007), which affects L2-speakers’ ability to process focus. The stimuli were declaratives with ditransitive verbs (e.g., give) realizing either double-object (1a/b) or dative structures (2a/b), with prosodic-marking of focus (under the scope of only) on either the direct object (1b/2b) or the indirect object (1a/2a). Highlighted words in (1)/(2) were rendered prominent by an increase in duration (≈39ms), pitch (≈114.5db), and intensity (≈6.135hz). The picture stimuli contained two individuals (e.g., Janice and Boris), with each having either one or two objects (e.g., bulldog and/or beehive).

Steve only gave…

(1)  
a. …JANICE a bulldog last week  
b. …Janice a BULLDOG last week

(2)  
a. …a bulldog to JANICE last week  
b. …a BULLDOG to Janice last week

Prosodic marking of focus thus rendered the sentences either TRUE (e.g., b-examples above) or FALSE (a-examples) relative to the picture. These visual stimuli were presented for 1000ms, at which point the auditory presentation of the corresponding sentences began. Participants indicated whether the picture and sentence matched or not. High-proficiency nonnative participants are expected to exhibit native-like patterns, though perhaps slower, in directing visual attention (Clahsen & Felser 2006). Lower-proficiency speakers should tend to process sentences as direct-object or indirect-object focus overall, regardless of true focus, directing visual attention accordingly (Shyu 2007). Findings regarding low-proficiency speakers will show how these speakers process focal stress and, thus, how best to teach English focal stress and the associated prosody.
Mimicry Mimetics:
How Japanese ideophones copy the syntactic functions of different parts of speech

Mimetics such as zā-zā (the sound of pouring rain) and kira-kira (the visual appearance of sparkling stars) are an integral part of the Japanese language. Whereas English onomatopoeia such as CRASH!BOOM!BANG! are predominantly used by young speakers or in graphic novels, there is no such stigma attached to their Japanese equivalents. But despite the large vocabulary of mimetic expressions and their relatively high frequency in everyday speech, analyses of their grammatical properties have only recently come into focus. So far, there seems to be no consensus about the grammatical usage of mimetics in Japanese and L2 learners are often confused by contradicting statements in dictionaries and textbooks. The aim of this paper is to give an overview of the grammatical properties of Japanese mimetics and define their syntactic roles in comparison to different parts of speech.

Mimetics in Japanese can function as nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Since the stem of words such as kira-kira cannot be altered, they are marked by particles such as no (genitive marker), na (adjective marker), ni (adverbial marker) or to (quotation marker). In colloquial speech, particles may also be omitted, which sometimes results in the syntactic position being the only indicator of the syntactic function. The following two examples show the usage of the mimetic expression fuwa-fuwa (fluffy) in comparison to a nominal adjective (keiyōdōshi):

(1) fuwa-fuwa na futon  (2) kiraku na futon
  fluffy-ADJ naï futon        comfortable-ADJ na futon
  ‘a fluffy futon (bed)’      ‘a comfortable futon (bed)’

In these examples, fuwa-fuwa is copying the syntactic properties of kiraku, a nominal adjective. Fuwa-fuwa may also function as a noun, verb or adverb if combined with the corresponding particles in other syntactic positions.

However, empirical data shows that not all mimetics are used with all particles and in all syntactic positions. There seems to be great variation between speech registers and individual speakers. Moreover, some mimetics can be combined with certain particles in idiomatic contexts, but would be used differently in spontaneous speech. A survey conducted with native speakers in Tokyo in August 2012 also revealed differences in the usage of mimetics by certain age groups, which may hint at an ongoing grammatical change. The aim of this paper is to define existing grammatical boundaries of Japanese mimetics in comparison to different parts of speech and trace their changing usage in recent years.

References:


What does Manchester tell us about the denotation of Nouns?

Kracht (2002) claims that nominals belong to the set of entities that denote objects, but there is a subset that can also denote locations, for example toponyms like Manchester. Dench (1995) refers to them as inherently locational nominals and adds two more cases: compass terms, i.e., the four points of the horizon, and locational adverbs, which indicate direction of movement or relative position and are related to compass terms. In this paper I will pinpoint some syntactic and semantic problems ‘double-duty’ nouns have. Then I will offer a reanalysis of inherently locational nominals which will favor a separation of locations and objects in natural language, suggesting that nouns can neither idiosyncratically nor optionally have spatial interpretations.

Problem 1: If we assume that toponyms always denote place (as inherently locational) then we should not be able to explain their distribution in configurations that resist locative interpretations, as in (1a&b), which are both perfectly acceptable.

Problem 2: If we allow toponyms to double as place- and object-denoting entities, the first logical consequence would be an ambiguity. Nonetheless, no ambiguity arises in (2), nor in any other language to my knowledge. On the other hand, the interpretations of Manchester in (2) are contingent on the syntactic structures they are found in, since nothing else disambiguates Manchester in (2a&b) from Manchester in (2c)—note that I do not consider this a case of polysemy.

Problem 3: If inherently locational nominals can be interpreted as locations, they should be able to show up in positions that license only locatives (in other words PPs, since locatives are by definition PPs). However, Manchester has a space interpretation only as the object of a directional (2a) or a locative preposition (2b), but not as a bare noun in the complement position of the verbs in (3), hence the ungrammaticality.

Problem 4: Dench (1995) draws his examples from Martuthunira, a morphologically rich Austronesian language. All of them have an overt case-marking element as a suffix (4). The English equivalents of those locational adverbs e.g., left, back, north clearly lack any sort of overt case-marking, yet they can convey space autonomously. Phrases like left of the road or north of the house, however, offer strong evidence for their underlying syntactic nature because they can undergo Locative Inversion with stative verbs (5)—just like their P-overt counterpart (6). This suggests that they are PPs (and not APs which resist LI) that start out as the predicate of a small clause and then raise, triggering inversion of the verb and its theme (Hoekstra&Mulder 1990). So the LI examples in (5) show that locational adverbs, although stripped of any case-markers, exhibit syntactic properties exclusively ascribed to PPs, whence I assume their locative interpretation stems.

A closer analysis of the above considerations, along with syntactic diagnostics (LI, wh-extractions, substitution) that tested positive for the presence of a PP structure, lead me believe that nouns (and locational adverbs) denote places only when they are in the complement of a (unpronounced) locative preposition, which is ultimately responsible for their spatial interpretation. In the absence of P-elements (including case markers), nouns always denote objects. Such an analysis provides a uniform syntactic account that explains all the different interpretations of Manchester in (1−3), while ridding the need for an appeal to lexical knowledge or polysemy, which would not respect the principles of conceptual economy.
(1)  a. Manchester {annoes/surprised} me. [object]  
b. Manchester organised the largest Games ever. [object]  

(2)  a. I went to [DP Manchester]. [place]  
b. He lives in [DP Manchester]. [place]  
c. They painted [DP Manchester] white. [object]

(3)  *He {lives/died/stopped} Manchester. [place]

(4)  MARTUTHUNIRA:  
  a. wartantu LOCATIVE (expresses static Location)  
     ‘in the north’  
  b. wartantari ALLATIVE (expresses Goal oriented Paths)  
     ‘away from the north’  
  c. wartantarni CENTRIPETAL (expresses Goal oriented Paths)  
     ‘away from the ‘north’ and towards the speaker’

(5)  a. [Just north of the house] stands a crenellated gate house.  
    [http://www.nationalregister.sc.gov/charleston/S10817710002/index.htm]  

(6)  [Just to the north of the Cathedral] stands a bronze statue of Queen Victoria.  
    [http://www.oldnewcastle.org.uk/cathedral-church-st-nicholas]

References
The extent to which comprehenders take context into account when processing syntactic and semantic information is a long standing question in the field of psycholinguistics. This paper argues that comprehenders take a considerable amount of discourse context into account while processing language at the sentence level. I present evidence that supports the claim that when reading causal verbs, comprehenders make use of pragmatic information while processing these sentences. This conflicts with current research that claims discourse level information to be irrelevant when processing causality at the sentence level (Hartshorne 2013). The particular area of the debate investigated in this paper focuses on the behaviour of Implicit Causality (IC) verbs. IC verbs are defined as containing “within [their] meaning an inherent feature of causation that is accessible for subsequent mention without prior introduction” (Rohde 2008:69) and include verbs like lecture, blame, congratulate, and praise. It has been shown by Kehler et al. (2008) that, in the presence of IC verbs, comprehenders will overcome the subject reference bias in English (Crawley 1995) and refer to the object of the stimuli sentence when producing a continuation. Additionally, Kehler et al. (2008) showed that in a Discourse Coherence framework comprehenders are triggered by IC verbs to expect an explanation, and consequently to provide one in their sentence continuations. This was tested with stimuli like (1), which includes both an IC verb and an explanation-bearing NP.

1) During a business conference, the manager Sheila lectured the texting intern Kevin. ___________________________________________

In this example, my hypothesis suggests that providing the information that the intern, Kevin, is texting, is sufficient to account for the ‘lecturing’ act. This paper predicts that, when faced with sentences that contain an IC verb and an NP that fulfills the explanation expectation like (1), comprehenders will be free to refer to the subject bias with an increased frequency. Furthermore, this paper also hypothesizes that, when the expectation is fulfilled by the NP, comprehenders will no longer be motivated to provide an explanation in their continuation.

By providing an explanation in the form of a complex NP, the addition of discourse level information changes both the coreference patterns and the pragmatic content of sentence continuations that follow IC verbs. Previous work has argued that causality is encoded in the lexical entry of the IC verb class, and is not influenced by pragmatic inferencing of any kind. This paper makes a theoretical claim that disputes this lexical entry argument. Specifically, this paper proposes that discourse level information plays a significant role in the processing of Implicit Causality verbs, as evidenced by the presence and behaviour of explanation relations in IC contexts.

References:


The acquisition of English as an additional language by children with heritage languages in Germany

Language contact phenomena play an important role in the development of global varieties of English. In urban European contexts, it is not only the majority language that comes into contact with English, but also the languages spoken by migrants from a variety of different countries (see e.g. Wilton and De Houwer 2011). Therefore, investigating English as an L3 in bilingual families with migration backgrounds can give us insight not only into the status of both their L1 and L2, but also show us how English in Europe is developing with regard to the changing population across Europe.

In addition, with English in such a pre-eminent position on a global scale, learning English is one of the key factors for access to (and success in) higher education in European contexts (cf. Seidlhofer 2011). Consequently, investigating how English is acquired in bilingual families with migration backgrounds can also shed light onto educational and sociolinguistic issues as well as issues of language policy and planning.

Traditional models of transfer typically try to capture the interference of an L1 in the acquisition process of an L2, and many studies have investigated such transfer effects. By contrast, the study of transfer effects of previously acquired languages on additional languages (e.g. L3) is still the subject of much debate. In the field of L3-acquisition, which has emerged over the last 15 years, there are three main transfer hypotheses: a) non-transfer-hypotheses, b) positions that favor either L1 or L2 as the main source of transfer, and c) positions arguing that both L1 and L2 have an influence on additional languages (Rothman 2011: 109-111). Today, L3 acquisition is viewed as a process in its own right, and not just as a special case of L2 acquisition (García-Mayo 2012: 138).

My dissertation project aims to investigate the language development of children with migration backgrounds who live in Hamburg and are currently learning English as a foreign language in school. With data collected from bilingual Russian-German, Turkish-German, and Vietnamese-German children, both the quality and the quantity of transfer effects will be evaluated. The linguistic features investigated are word order, subject-verb-agreement, articles, and tense/aspect marking. Moreover, consequences for English language teaching in school will be identified.

In the course of the project this dissertation is part of, 160 12- and 16-year old test subjects, distributed equally according to language cluster and age, were interviewed. In addition to the main cohorts, additional cohorts of L1 speakers of Turkish, Russian, and Vietnamese with English as an L2 are currently being interviewed.

So far it seems to be the case that both L1 and L2 have an influence on L3, but that these effects depend on the phenomenon investigated and the language pairs involved.
On A Syntactic Analysis of Gei and its Historical Development

Gei is a morpheme which has a very long history (it starts appearing in Mandarin literature around B.C. 221) and still frequently occurs in Modern Mandarin languages. It is perhaps one of the most complicated morphemes in Mandarin due to its long evolvement. Basically, gei means ‘give’ when it is used as a verb (same with English give). However, Mandarin gei perhaps has more things to talk about than English give. Firstly, Mandarin verb gei has two meaning--‘supply’ and ‘give’. Secondly, it shows the tendency of dual lexical class--verbal use and prepositional use at the same time. Moreover, when it is used as a preposition, it has different meanings—recipient, benefactive, malefactive, allative. This paper will give a unified syntactic analysis involving four verb gei constructions and show a historical development of prepositional gei. Evidences to support the syntactic analysis and the historical development come from historical data covered 2000 years.

The analysis of verb gei constructions is performed under the Lexical Decomposition Hypothesis (McCawley, 1969; Dowty, 1979; Jackendoff, 1990; Huang, 1996; Hale and Keyser, 1994) and VP shell (Larson, 1988). It was assumed that gei is decomposed as two components: ‘CAUSE’ and ‘have’.

The synchronic data will show and predict the change of gei from a verb to preposition, which is firmly supported by diachronic data. The diachronic data will also show a relatively clear historical development of the different meanings of prepositional gei.
Political apologies in news interview settings

The phenomenon of the political apology is frequently deemed worthy of discussion in news interviews. Following an offence, interviewers often seek apologies from their interviewees, or ask them whether they believe an apology is needed from a third party. Moreover, apologies which have been made by the politician prior to the interview are often discussed. The news interview, then, is a good source of data for research into political apologies and it will be exploited in this paper.

I will first discuss how apologies in broadcast interviews differ from those found in quotidian conversation. I will show that uptake – that is to say a response to an apology – is largely absent in news interviews, which is likely explained by the desire on the part of the journalist to remain impartial. Where uptake does exist, it does not take the preferred form found in everyday conversation of suggesting that an apology is not needed, but instead sees the interviewer questioning the satisfactoriness of the apology.

I will also show how requests by broadcasters that a politician perform an apology are either fulfilled or denied. Refusals to apologise are dispreferred, as demonstrated by frequent pauses and hesitations and by the fact that the interviewee invariably explains why s/he will not apologise. Fulfilment of a request to apologise is not necessarily straightforward, however, since politicians are frequently careful to delimit exactly what it is that they are apologising for, and this may not match the apology which was requested by the interviewer. A number of case studies will be discussed to highlight these features.

The next section of the paper will involve a discussion of utterances which have apology form carrying out different activities or functions. In particular, I will discuss how utterances which are Generalised Conversation Implicatures carrying the force of the speech act of apology are used instead as markers of dissent. I will explore how some of these utterances may be categorised as ‘verbal formula mismatches’ (Culpeper, 2011:174ff) where a usually polite expression sets up the expectation of conviviality which is then violated by an impolite utterance or behaviour. Examples such as ‘I’m sorry but you are wrong’ and ‘I’m sorry you really aren’t getting this’ have been found in the corpus and the existence of these apology-form tokens performing other actions may suggest a cline of pragmatalisation – this will be discussed further in this paper.

The final section of this talk will explore the metapragmatic comment surrounding apologies by participants in news interviews. I will explore how interviewers and interviewees talk about the importance of factors such as who performs the apology, how it is carried out and what it contains during news interviews. These metapragmatic acts may establish new (probably transient) norms for carrying out an apology (see Hübler & Bublitz 2007).

References
Making sense of a mess: dialect contact and koinéisation in a highly fluid migrant speech community

The linguistic consequences of lifestyle migration have attracted little study to date. Recent emigration waves of British and Northern European citizens to Spain provide a unique setup to research what is happening to English in this highly fluid community of different ethnic groups with lots of mixing of diverse dialects, but no target dialect variety. The informants are children aged 8 and teenagers aged 16-18 from 3 broad ethnic groups, Anglophone, northern European and Spanish.

Dialect contact research to date has usually focussed upon two distinct varieties coming together in a mixing situation with eventual stability. This speech community is fluid and turbulent. People are joining and leaving the community constantly. The study aims to show that despite previous research claims, that the process of koinéisation takes two or three generations (see Kerswill and Williams 2000; Trudgill 1986, 2004), processes of koinéisation can be demonstrated in a shorter time span, as shown in the speech community in the present study.

Social factors which have been shown to influence new dialect formation have an impact upon /t/-variation in this rather unique speech community. The social variables examined here are age, gender and social network. The findings suggest that socially-constrained glottalisation trends currently prevalent in parts of the UK, with females leading in the use of [?] are also at work in this small speech community despite the many diverse varieties present. As Fox (2007) found in her research of a mixed language and dialect situation in Hackney, friendship groups play a key role in linguistic variation here. The impact of levels of contact between Anglos and non-Anglos is clearly observable with Non-Anglos displaying very similar linguistic behaviour to Anglos if they mix in the same social network, and distinct linguistic behaviour if they do not.

Despite all the messy conditions and diversity of the speech community, evidence of koinéisation processes exist. This is important for future research that seeks to explore koinéisation as it is actually happening.
**Contextual patterns of /l/-darkening in accents of English**

The phenomenon of /l/-darkening, whereby /l/ is produced with a delayed tongue-tip gesture, has been a subject of linguistic interest due to the remarkable amount of contextual variation found cross-dialectally. Although it is said that light [l] occurs in onsets (e.g. *light*) and dark [\(\ddot{l}\)] in codas (e.g. *dull*; Halle & Mohanan 1985), many studies report variation in different morphosyntactic environments. Table 1 summarises some previous findings of /l/-darkening patterns in British and American varieties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>light</th>
<th>yellow</th>
<th>heal-ing</th>
<th>heal it</th>
<th>heal</th>
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<tr>
<td>RP</td>
<td>[l]</td>
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<td>Am. Eng. 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Am. Eng. 2</td>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>[h]</td>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>[l]</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Am.) Eng. 3</td>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>[h]</td>
<td>[h]</td>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>[l]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: /l/-darkening in different environments. Adapted from Bermúdez-Otero (2007)

Beyond this variation in morphosyntactic conditioning, some dialects, such as Manchester English, have been reported to show no allophonic distinction between light and dark /l/ (Cruttenden 2008; Kelly & Local 1986), whilst others are said to exhibit a three-way distinction between light, dark and vocalised /l/, forming a lenition trajectory across different environments: 1 > [l] > [\(\ddot{l}\)] (Bermúdez-Otero 2007). However, such reports are yet to be vindicated by instrumental articulatory evidence.

This paper presents ultrasound data collected to test dialectal and contextual descriptions of English /l/-darkening. Speakers of various varieties of English were recorded producing /l/ in five contexts corresponding to the headings in Table 1. RP (Figure 1) shows the pattern of /l/-darkening reported by Cruttenden (2008), with [l] only in non-prevocalic position: the backed tongue body, reduced tongue-tip gesture, and retracted tongue root typical of [l] are found in prepausal *heal* only. The American speaker shows similarities across contexts, but statistical tests show significant differences between *leap/helium* tokens and *heal-ing/heal it* tokens, with an added effect on tongue-root-backing in phrase-final *heal*, which I argue is evidence of American English 2 in the table (all statistical tests performed with AAA’s t-test function; Wrench 2007). The Mancunian data (Figure 3) may appear to corroborate claims of no allophonic distinction, however, the data show that phrase-final /l/ in this variety have marginal but significant tongue root backing compared with other contexts, much like RP.

Ultrasound data from different dialects provide hitherto absent instrumental evidence for different distributions of /l/-darkening, documenting an earlier stages of a well-reported sound change. Moreover, the fact that the varieties show similarities in terms of distribution, but wide-ranging differences in terms of realisation raises important questions about the abstract nature of allophonic categories.
Effects of three grammatical features on the acquisition of Topic constructions in Mandarin Chinese by English speakers

Since the claim that a default logic structure of Chinese sentence is topic-comment (Chao 1968) and that Chinese is a topic-prominent language (Li and Thompson 1976, 1981) have been made, Topic Constructions (TC) in Mandarin Chinese have been intensively investigated within a number of theoretical frameworks, such as: structualist-generative approach, formal-semantic approach and functional-typological approach (Hu and Pan 2008, 2009; Huang, Li and Li 2009; Shi 2000; Xu 2000 among others). However, little agreement has been reached on the issues of what grammatical role a Topic plays, in what way the Topic is related to the Comment and what means are used cross-linguistically for distinguishing various types of Topic - for instance, in what way Chinese-style Topic is different from English-style Topic - and so on. Accordingly, TCs with distinctive characteristics have not been precisely classified, though a number of specific examples have been intensively discussed. Furthermore, as Topic is a basic notion in information structure (e.g. Krifka 2007; Lambrecht 1996; etc.), it is reasonable to expect key findings if TC are also investigated in terms of information packaging. However, previous study on Chinese TC failed to take sufficient consideration of this aspect. Aside from the weakness in theoretical research, little effort has been made to demonstrate the developmental stages of L2 acquisition of different types of TC; neither does investigating the triggers of difficulties in acquiring different TC types (e.g. Cao et al. 2006; Yuan 1995). Another limitation is an absence of experimental data on L2 learners’ production (performance) of the target construction, aside from a lack of data on their competence as an effective interlocutor in terms of information exchanging.

Aiming to address the above issues, the current study firstly re-examines the grammatical features of Topic and secondly experimentally investigates three cues to the acquisition of TC in Mandarin, namely: word order (SVO versus OSV), syntactic gap (gap versus non-gap) and semantic relationship between Topic and Comment (Topic-with-verb relationship versus Topic-with-whohe-Comment relationship).

In Study 1, by conducting a grammaticality judgement experiment, I investigated how English speaking learners - beginning learners and advanced learners – comprehended different types of Topic in Mandarin when the aforementioned three cues were neutralised. L2 learners comprehended SVO-typed TC significantly better than that in SOV-typed ones, gap related TC significantly better than non-gap related ones and TC with topic-with-verb relationship significantly better than that with topic-with-whole-comment relationship.

In Study 2, I tested those learners’ ability in producing target constructions by making sentences with given words which were listed in a random order. Participants demonstrate significantly better performance in producing OSV-typed TC than the SVO-typed. However, their performance in producing gap-related ones was not clearly distinct from non-gap-related ones. Neither was topic-with-verb relationship from topic-with-whole-comment relationship. These findings confirmed the hypothesis of L1 transfer.