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Research into vocative exclamatives (VocE) is based on the traditional grammar of Standard Arabic which considers the structure of VocEs to be similar to that of vocatives due to use of the vocative particle (yā "O") (Sibawayh 1977), first published in the 6th century, (Ryding 2005, and Hassan 2010). The problem with this traditional view lies in the fact that it only accounts for vocative exclamatives in terms of their similarity to vocatives. However, their underlying structure and derivation have not been given much attention. Therefore, this paper examines the syntactic structure and the derivation of verbless vocative exclamatives (VocE) in Gulf Arabic providing an analysis of the data within the Minimalist Framework (Chomsky 1995). It also sheds light on the main differences between their structure and that of vocatives in terms of word order, definiteness and functional features.

I argue that vocative exclamatives are derived via ellipsis and that and the VocE particle (yā "O") marks the sentence as a vocative exclamative. I propose that Focus is a condition of the ellipsis process and this ellipsis is licensed because of the Focus properties.

1. yā ħallat-ha!
   O-cuteness-her
   "How cute she is!"

2. yā sašādat-ī!
   O-happiness-mine
   "How happy I am!"

Each of the VocEs in (1) and (2) has the following syntactic structure:
- A pragmatic marker called a VocE particle, which is placed in the head of the VocE.
- This particle is followed by a FocP with which is merged to create a VocEP.
- FocP appears in the structure of the vocative exclamative due to its necessity in hosting the DP prior to the ellipsis operation of the TP.
- A possessive pronoun is attached to the Focused noun in a "construct state", that is, two nouns are linked together to specify a possessive relationship (Brustad 2000).

I argue that the vocative exclamative in (1) is derived from the following sentence, and that its underlying structure can be represented as in (4):

3. ʔatašajab min ħallat-ha
   exclaim about cuteness-her
   "I exclaim about her cuteness."

4. [VocEP [VocE yā] [FocP [DPi ħallat-ha] [TP[T’T’][vP[v’][v][VP[ʔatašajab][PP[P min][ti…”]]]]]]

The relationship between Focus and ellipsis has been the interest of recent researchers (Rooth 1992, Winkler and Schwabe 2003, and Winkler 2005). This paper focuses on this relationship particularly in vocative exclamatives in Gulf Arabic. The type of ellipsis that a vocative exclamative undergoes is found to be a deletion of fully projected elements, which include a VP and a PP. I, hence, propose that the existence of these underlying elements is justified by the necessity of the underlying P (min "about") to select the DP that moves to the Spec of the FocP, and the underlying V (ʔatašajab "exclaim") to mark the VocE with the present tense. The VP and the PP are then deleted after the insertion of the VocE particle, which maintains their meaning.

The analysis has found that the structure of VocEs and vocatives are distinct. Vocatives (Voc) disallow the use of the definite article, while VocEs allow having it as in the following:

5. yā að-ðakī! [VocE]
   O the-smart
   How smart you are!

6. *yā al-walad. [Voc]
   O the-boy
   Boy!

The interpersonal feature [i-p] and the second person feature [2p] associated with the Voc particle are another distinct property of VocEs, which do not exist in VocEs. These functional features are what trigger the derivation of vocatives rather than the relation between Focus and ellipsis.
The Production of Arabic Words by English-Speaking Learners
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The acquisition of English stress by Arabic-speaking learners has received a considerable research over the past decades (Aziz 1981; Anani 1989; Suleiman 1993; Youssef and Mazurkewich 1998; Jleiyal 2004; Altamman 2006; among others). However, as far as I know, no work has yet been conducted with respect to the stress patterns of English-speaking learners of Arabic in classroom or naturalistic setting. The focus was slightly laid on syllable acquisition by English-speaking learners (Broselow 1978).

It has been argued that Arabic stress pattern is largely predictable (Watson 2007; Hellmuth 2013). However, several dialects differ from the assumed predictable pattern of stress (Watson 2011). For example, stress in Libyan Arabic (LA) may occur finally as in /buxal/ greedy, /mahal/ shop, /ta'ri:x/ history and /lu'Tala/ floor; prefinally as in /mu'handis/ engineer, /jib'am/ old man, and /muriʃ/ glass or initially as in /'ma'dirsa/ school and /'Ta'laba/ students. This implies that LA is not fully predictable; therefore, this study first inspired by the researcher’s observation regarding the mastery of (LA) stress by English speaking Learners and by the urge of other researchers to investigate the acquisition of languages other than English. The production of some selected patterns is examined.

Data are collected from 15 English-speaking participants who acquired LA in naturalistic setting (through living abroad and communication with local people without classroom instruction). The participants were required to take a picture-naming task. The data is analyzed statistically and linguistically using an optimality-theoretic approach.

The results show that (1) English-speaking learners make generalisation about the syllable that should attract stress based on the weight of the syllable as found in Face’s work (2005) in acquiring Spanish by English speakers and in Taylor’s work (2011a. 2011b) in acquiring Japanese by English speakers. (2) Learners use grammatical category as cue to assign stress; probably the latter is an effect of their L1. These findings suggest that identification of factors that may affect the production of L2 stress can be used to increase the learners’ opportunities to improve their production of L2.
Orthographic reflections of (ing): A Twitter-based corpus study
George Bailey, University of Manchester

This paper employs innovative corpus methodology to investigate orthographic reflections of the phonological variable (ing); specifically, it seeks to determine whether or not the non-standard <-in> spelling shows the same grammatical and regional patterning as the corresponding spoken variant /in/. The study draws data from microblogging site Twitter to construct a corpus consisting of 2,000,000 ‘tweets’ from North America and the United Kingdom, fully tagged for part-of-speech and geotagged with latitude/longitude coordinates.

The final dataset includes over 500,000 tokens of (ing). Frequencies of -in (represented orthographically as <-in> and <-in’>) are normalised by region (UK) and state (US), and plotted visually using polygonal boundary files in R to produce maps colour-coded by -in frequency. The results seem to suggest regional patterning that is largely reflective of (ing)’s phonological variation; that is, in the UK, -in is more prominent in the North West of England and particularly in Scotland, and in the US it is favoured in the southern states (see Labov 2001). The statistical significance of this result is confirmed in Rbrul multivariate analysis (Johnson 2009), with the polarity of each state’s log-odds showing a particularly clear regional dichotomy.

Evidence for the nominal-verbal continuum is also present, with nouns and adjectives showing comparably low rates of -in, and slightly higher frequencies found for verbs. The influence of lexical frequency is also investigated, taking frequency counts along the Zipf-scale (van Heuven et al. 2014) from the SUBTLEX-UK corpus. An effect of token frequency, though previously rejected for the phonological variable (Abramowicz 2007), appears here in a counter-intuitive direction; there is an indication that it is the less frequent words, usually computer-mediated ‘online slang’ terms such as nuttin, pimpin and frickin, that are more subject to g-dropping.

This study reveal fairly strong parallels between (ing)’s variation at the grapheme and phoneme level, prompting a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between non-standard orthography and the phonological processes that motivate it. It also makes a methodological contribution in assessing the viability of Twitter in corpus-creation; this social media platform proves to be a rich source of natural language data for corpus-based variationist studies, and its geographic metadata can facilitate investigations of regional stratification at an unprecedented level of detail and efficiency.
**Introduction.** The purpose of this paper is to present an integrated theory of split intransitivity and thematic roles, primarily though not exclusively in regard to English. By “split intransitivity” I refer to phenomena purported to relate to the two-way division of intransitives of Perlmutter’s (1978) Unaccusative Hypothesis – i.e. to “unaccusativity”. The following English examples illustrate such intransitive splits:

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

Mainstream generative work following Burzio (1986) has understood unaccusativity in terms of structural positions, with intransitive arguments associated with one of two possible deep-structure/first-merge positions.

**Data.** Systematic consideration of a large number of English intransitives in regard to purported unaccusativity diagnostics (e.g. suffix -er, out-prefixation, prenominal past participles, for hours, the resultative construction, the causative alternation and others) suggests, however, that it is appropriate to identify more than two basic classes. Rather, multiple classes arise based on the interaction of different features ([initiation], [state], [change] and [inherent telicity]):

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

Table 1. Summary of major classes of intransitives.

I also provide some supporting data for the role of a similar set of features in regard to split intransitive phenomena cross-linguistically, focusing on auxiliary selection and case/agreement splits.

**Analysis.** I adopt an approach to thematic roles with similarities to that of Ramchand (2008) and argue that the structures proposed can also explain split intransitive behaviours. Specifically, I argue that the various features discussed correspond to argument-licensing/theta-assigning functional heads: Initiation, State, Change and Telic. I also provide separate evidence for a Control head. I show that the different classes of verbs identified by each unaccusativity diagnostic and cross-linguistic variation in “unaccusative” behaviours can be attributed to sensitivity to different heads in different instances. I demonstrate that the same heads can also be used to capture the thematic properties of transitive verbs.

The analysis thus retains the insight that intransitive verbs can be divided into classes based on variation in the structural positions of their arguments. However, it posits more than just the two classes traditionally assumed and therefore allows more precise explanation of the patterns and variation observed as well as integration into a broader theory of thematic/event structure.
Ironic and Jin Ping Mei

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My dissertation on Jin Ping Mei (金瓶梅 or The Plum in the Golden Vase), an anonymous novel of sixteenth century China, combines literary theory with research from pragmatics. Since Jin Ping Mei, infamous for its strong sexual content, has a propensity to depict reversals and double meanings, I chose irony as a rhetorical device to focus my analysis; however, are these really “ironic”? Drawing on Dan Sperber and Deidre Wilson’s relevance theory, the definition of irony I use rather defines irony by a cognitive mechanism than as a particular style of language, so types of language can be considered ironic which do not conform to the classical definition of irony i.e. “saying what is contrary to what is meant”. The classical definition is useful insofar as it recognizes that irony’s surface and intended meanings are different; it has since informed a wide range of understandings of irony. However, the classical definition describes the apparent result of irony but does not provide a reason why one should wish to use it. Thus it is problematic that scholars should, for example, speak of irony without qualifying what distinguishes it from other rhetorical devices whose surface meaning is not intended to be taken “literally”, such as allusion or metaphor.

To address this problem, I outline how a cognitive theory of irony, the “echoic theory”, can ground a consistent definition of “narrative irony”. According to this theory, irony is echoic and dissociative: irony echoes “a thought (e.g. a belief, an intention, a norm-based expectation) attributed to an individual, a group, or to people in general”, and is dissociative because it expresses “a mocking, sceptical or critical attitude to this thought” (Wilson and Sperber, 2012). Thus ironical language is not used for its literal propositional value, but as a vehicle to express a dissociative attitude to an echoed thought. This theory has been primarily discussed in relation to speech acts, where the data are more easily isolated and analysed. Nevertheless, it corresponds well to the representative and expressive functions of narrative (Currie, 2007). That is to say, the idea that ironical language conveys rather a dissociative attitude than propositional meaning is similar to the idea that narrative represents events, and expresses an attitude towards them. Indeed, the contents of the narrative are used not only as propositions to relate a story, but also as vehicles to persuade the reader of an attitude. Therefore, I define “narrative irony” as a rhetorical device where language conveys not only story content, but also expresses a dissociative attitude, which echoes a motivation for dissociation from the story. This concept of narrative irony begins to explore the potential for the application of the echoic theory of irony beyond speech acts by recognizing its commonalities with the persuasive and non-propositional functions of narrative. This combined literary and linguistic approach thus contributes to the emerging field of “pragmatic literary stylistics” (Chapman and Clark, 2014).

On the basis of this concept of narrative irony, I argue that the author employs a strongly ironic style throughout Jin Ping Mei. From its earliest circulation to today, Jin Ping Mei has been largely misunderstood due to its interpretation either as a work of pornography or a moralistic allegory, promoting Neo-Confucianism, Buddhism, or syncretically Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism (the “Three Teachings” of China). However, pornographic and moral interpretations alike cherry-pick their evidence from depictions of sexuality or references to these teachings, and fail to consider the rest of the text. My interpretation of Jin Ping Mei is based on a close reading, which informs a synoptic analysis. My thesis addresses the disputed interpretation of this novel, arguing that the author shows the limits of both morality and sexuality through irony, whereby dissociative attitudes are expressed to the literal content of the novel at the levels of language, structure, and form. I discuss the implications of applying the echoic theory of irony to a completely different time and culture to the one in which the echoic theory of irony was originated, and suggest the scope for future research on irony, especially in the Chinese context.
English /t/ is well-known for its phonetic variability (Buizza & Plug 2012). This study of five British English accents shows that /t/ is the least variable word-initially, which corresponds to our understanding of prosodically strong and weak positions (Docherty 1995: 258; Smith 2002). However, depending on the analytical approach – emphasising intra-dialectological or inter-dialectological variability – this variability either increases as the position gets weaker: word-initial ‘CVC < word-final ‘CVCV’ or not: word-initial ‘CVC ’word-medial ‘CVVC’ (Docherty 1995: 258); or not: word-initial ‘CVC < word-medial ‘CVVC’ or word-final ‘CVC’. This implies either that prosodic strength can be accent specific or that different analyses lead to different strength hierarchies.

The first view to assess the degree of variability by prosodic condition is an intra- dialectological one. The second is an inter-dialectological one. Two dimensions of variability are taken into consideration here: whether the features apply optionally or obligatorily and the range of the articulatory gestures (at this stage limited to glottal abduction and glottal adduction).

Five speakers were analysed, originating from Aberystwyth (female = f), Bangor (f), Manchester (male), Kent (f) and Birmingham (f). They were between 20-25 years old. For each speaker, 33-66 tokens of interest, produced in a carrier sentence, were obtained. This yielded 180 tokens in total. The analyses focusing on the type of application focused on the presence of post-aspiration, pre-aspiration, affrication, spirantisation, glottal reinforcement, and glottal replacement in three prosodic contexts: word-initially (tatt, tatter), word-medially (tatter), and word-finally (tat). The analyses focusing on the type of glottal gestures have not included affrication and spirantisation because of problems to be discussed.

The following patterns emerge for the five accents, which are arranged from the most glottally adducting to the most glottally abducting accents (optional application is indicated with brackets):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Birmingham</th>
<th>Manchester</th>
<th>Kent</th>
<th>Bangor</th>
<th>Aberystwyth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tat</td>
<td>[tʰə]</td>
<td>[tʰə(ʔ)ə]</td>
<td>[tʰə]</td>
<td>[tʰə(h)ə]</td>
<td>[tʰə(s)ə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a. [tʰəə]</td>
<td>[tʰə(ʔ)ə]</td>
<td>[tʰə]</td>
<td>[tʰə(h)ə]</td>
<td>[tʰə(s)ə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. [tʰə(ʔ)ə]</td>
<td>[tʰə(ʔ)ə]</td>
<td>[tʰə]</td>
<td>[tʰə(h)ə]</td>
<td>[tʰə(s)ə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All accents show an obligatorily affricated post-aspirated [tʰ] in the word-initial position. The word-initial /t/ is therefore very stable intra- and inter-dialectologically.

Regarding the type of application, intra-dialectologically the word-final position is less variable than the word-medial position in Birmingham and Kent. However, the word-medial position is less variable than the word-final position in Aberystwyth and Bangor. Manchester exhibits a comparable degree of variability across the two positions. Inter-dialectologically, each position exhibits the same amount of optional features. Concerning the type of glottal features by position, intra-dialectologically Aberystwyth and Bangor are the least variable, with glottal abduction found in all positions. Birmingham /t/ is generally associated with glottal adduction, but glottal adduction alternates with abduction word-medially. Manchester and Kent /t/ is accompanied with glottal adduction word-finally and with glottal abduction word-medially. Inter-dialectologically, Birmingham is the only accent with glottal variability found in the word-medial, i.e. the weakest, position. Inter-dialectologically, the word-medial position is less variable than the word-final position, the former of which is mostly connected with glottal abducting gestures.
Towards a Categorial Analysis of Lexical Controlled Subjects in Pro-drop Languages

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Typically control structures, as exemplified in (1) below, do not contain an overt subject.

1. The doctor condescended to examine John. (Davies & Dubinsky 2004: 24)

Since GC assumes an only level of syntactic representation (surface structure) that is compositionally–interpreted, the lack of a syntactic superficial subject in typical control structures like (1) implies the lack of semantic subject. Thus, from a GC perspective, controlled complements do not denote a proposition, but a property. By adopting the Property Theory, CG avoids the issue of re-use of the semantic resource: the denotation of the controlled matrix constituent is not re-used as a resource for the interpretation of the embedded clause (cf. Chierchia 1985; Dowty 1985).

Therefore, the occurrence of lexical controlled subjects in some pro-drop languages, as exemplified by the Portuguese and Spanish sentences in (2) and (3) respectively, seems to be problematic for the semantic and syntactic categorial analysis. In this paper, we sketch a categorial analysis for control structures with overt pronominal subjects along the lines of Jacobson (1996, 1999).

2. Pedro quer ele chegar cedo. (Guimarães & Mendes 2013: 177)
   ‘Peter wants he.NOM arrive.INF early.’

3. Juan prometió a su profesor hacer él los deberes. (Herberck 2011)
   ‘John promised to his teacher do.INF he.NOM the homework.’

In order to handle lexical, necessarily coreferential subjects in some pro-drop languages from a categorial perspective, we propose to use the operator | to categorize a pronoun and the combinator G—as exposed in (4) below by using Jäger’s (2005) notation– proposed by Jacobson (1999) for her analysis of bound pronoun and ellipsis of VP.

4. Combinator G:

   \[
   \begin{array}{ll}
   A/B & A\setminus B \\
   (A\setminus C)/(B\setminus C) & (A\setminus C)/(B\setminus C) \\
   \end{array}
   \]

We assume that controlled pronouns do not denote an individual of type \( e \) and so, their syntactic category cannot be \( np \). Informally, an overt controlled pronoun works as \( np \) in presence of another \( np \). We assume the category \( np\setminus np \) denoting the identity function \( \lambda x.x \) over individuals to categorize embedded nominative pronouns like \( ele/ elé ‘he’ \) in an infinitival complement. Given that the lexical pronoun does not denote an individual, the subject gap in the complement predicate is not saturated. Thus, in our proposal infinitival complements denote a property despite of the presence of an overt pronoun in these pro-drop languages. We also assume the category \( (np\setminus s)/(s\setminus np) \) for the control matrix verb. By assuming it, instead of the simpler one \( (np\setminus s)/(s\setminus s) \), we preclude the derivation of an ungrammatical infinitival complement sentence with a proper name of category \( np \) denoting an entity \( e \) in the subject position.

Since several theories have been proposed in Generative Grammar in order to explain the occurrence of lexical –necessarily coreferential– subjects in infinitival complements, we finally compare our proposal with the generative Landau’s theory (2014) which also assumes the Property Theory. We show that our analysis is simpler than the generative one, and that it does not depend either on movement or any form of the contraction (deletion) rule.
Negative tags in British English are highly variable in form but can be categorised into three groups, illustrated below: (1) full forms, e.g. *didn’t*, *isn’t*; (2) reduced forms where the original tag has undergone phonetic attrition, e.g. *dint*, *int*; (3) coalesced forms (e.g. *dunnit*, *innit*), where the verb and pronoun are fused as a single unit. These variant types represent three steps in a chronological process of reduction, where coalesced tags are the most recent innovations (Krug 1998; Andersen 2001; Pichler 2013). Many previous studies of tags have focused solely on *innit*, which in certain varieties of English (especially in London) is undergoing grammaticalisation (Andersen 2001; Cheshire *et al.* 2005) – a process characterised by phonetic reduction and fusion, semantic bleaching and shifts in function (Hopper & Traugott 2003). My paper examines variation within the negative tag system as a whole in three British dialects to investigate whether the distribution and functions of these variant types suggest ongoing change and, if so, whether it is advancing consistently across geographical space.

(1) It’s a bit sad, *isn’t* it?
(2) Cause it’s a dead old building, *int* it?
(3) That’s a bit daft, *innit*?

Over 1,000 negative tags were extracted from vernacular speech corpora from Glasgow, Scotland (1997, 2003), Tyneside, NE England (2007-11) and Salford, NW England (2011-12). Although in some varieties of English, tags frequently appear in non-paradigmatic environments (Andersen 2001), e.g. *they put a stop to everything int it?*, such examples comprise only 5.5% of my data. Nevertheless, the choice of reduced/coalesced variants as opposed to full variants is constrained by linguistic factors. A mixed effects logistic regression using the lme4 package in R shows that verb type is a significant predictor of the use of reduced/coalesced variants over full forms – BE tags favour these variants the most. This is likely a consequence of these tags’ high frequency, which renders them more susceptible to reduction (Bybee & Hopper 2001). The most significant factor of all, however, is locality. The model distinguishes between Tyneside on the one hand (with low usage of reduced/coalesced variants, at 28.3%) and Glasgow and Salford on the other hand (each with high percentages of reduced/coalesced forms – 80.3% and 68.9% respectively). These results suggest that Tyneside is the least advanced community in the adoption of reduced and coalesced tags. Further support for this indication of ongoing change arises from the fact that age was also a significant factor in the model, with young people using reduced/coalesced variants more than older speakers. Moreover, Tyneside exhibits the strongest social trends of any locale, as expected in ongoing change – the communities where the change appears less advanced meanwhile have much less social differentiation in the frequency of variants. As for discourse-pragmatic function, the tag tokens were coded for their conduciveness (conducive vs. non-conducive) and orientation (subjective vs. intersubjective), on the grounds that the development of non-conducive and intersubjective functions can be associated with more advanced grammaticalisation (Pichler 2013). My results show that form-function correlations are not consistent across the communities, which reflects the highly context-dependent ‘continual negotiation of meaning’ that occurs between speakers in the grammaticalisation process (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 98).

The comparative sociolinguistic approach therefore grants a unique perspective on variation and change within the negative tag system, revealing that while linguistic trends in the distribution of variants are robust, effects of discourse-pragmatic function do not necessarily conform. Consistent social trends in usage across communities show that variables are undergoing the same change, but it is the magnitude of differentiation between the social groups that reveals each community’s stage along the trajectory.
Even though it had ceased to be a native tongue during the first millenium of the common era, Latin continued to be used extensively in large parts of Europe as the language of religion and learning until deep into the eighteenth century (Burke 2004). As such, it often served as a vehicle of social projects, be they undertaken to preserve the existent state of affairs or to promote new ideas (Waquet 2001).

During most of the early modern period the territory of the present-day Croatia – land placed at the crossroads between Western and Eastern Europe and Ottoman Empire – was in the situation of a triglossia, involving the main international language (Latin), the language of a dominant political power (Italian, German, Hungarian, or Turkish, depending on region), and the local vernacular as the L-code. Towards the end of the period Latin was rapidly losing its domains of use, while the remaining varieties competed for the social prestige. In difference to the trends in the rest of Europe, the use of Latin had a crucial role in the formation of the modern Croatian nation. On the one hand, the Roman Catholic Church, to which the majority of Croats have belonged, has been the only global institution that retained Latin in its official use. On the other, Latin was the official language in Croatia until as late as 1847, and the language of school instruction until 1850 (Rapacka 2003).

Taking in account the standardisational routines in early modern Europe, as well as specific features of the language of religion (Samarin 1976), the paper will survey various types of Latin texts produced by ecclesiastical institutions among Croats and examine their impact on the social setting that eventually led to the standardisation of Croatian language in the nineteenth century. Special attention will be given to the interplay of the religious, political and linguistic factors, as well as to the types of influence exerted at different hierarchical levels of Church organisation. The analysis will aim at giving a more complete picture of the significance a dead language had in the shaping of a modern linguistic standard.
Linguistic markup and processing of transclusion in XML documents
Simon Dew, Stanley Black & Decker Innovations

In computer science, transclusion is the inclusion of an electronic document, or part of a document, in
the rendering of another document. The main document does not contain a copy of the transcluded
text, but only a reference to it. The software used to render the document obtains the transcluded
material and incorporates it into the main work [Nelson, 1981]. This presentation focuses on
transclusion in XML (Extensible Markup Language) documents [Bray, Paoli, Sperberg-McQueen, et
al., eds., 2008].

Transclusion might be divided into large scale, context-free transclusion and small scale, parametrised
transclusion. For example, using a DITA map [OASIS DITA Technical Committee, 2010] or a
DocBook assembly [DocBook Technical Committee, 2009] to include chapters or sections in a book
is large scale and context-free. Inserting a product name at multiple locations in the document is small
scale, parametrised transclusion. Small snippets of text might be transcluded in several ways: in an
XML document, an author might use XML entities, XInclude elements [Marsh, Orchard, Veillard,
ed., 2006] or DITA conref elements.

However, small scale, parametrised transclusion can have linguistic consequences. These problems
can often be avoided by careful wording and translation. In some circumstances, though, they may be
unavoidable.

Firstly, in many languages the form of the transcluded snippet might vary, depending on the syntactic
function of the term. For instance, in Swedish a definite term might need to take a different form to an
indefinite term, e.g. organisationsenhet “the organisational unit”, organisationsenheten “organisational unit”. In German, a genitive or dative term might take a different form to the usual
nominative form, e.g. Schlüsselinhaber “keyholders” (nominative), Schlüsselinhabern “keyholders” (dative).

Secondly, if the transcluded word or phrase is the head of a noun phrase, agreement may be required
in dependent words. The phonetic environment governed by the head word may demand a particular
form of a preceding determiner, e.g. English a or an. The gender, number, case and definiteness of the
head word may demand morphosyntactic agreement in dependent adjectives, determiners and relative
pronouns.

This presentation proposes a markup scheme that can be used to indicate (a) the required form (e.g.
syntactic case) of a transcluded term in an XML document; (b) the syntactic features of the
transcluded term that demand agreement in the surrounding document. It also describes a set of XSLT
transformations [Clark, editor, 1999] that can be used to select the correct form of any dependent
words in the surrounding document, using dictionaries that conform to the Text Encoding Initiative
[TEI Consortium, eds., 2014].
§1: I argue English examples like (1) exhibit control into infinitival relative clauses (IRCs).

(1) This is John’s book to read.

The genitive is readily interpreted as the IRC subject. Since such constructions have not been studied before, I consider what type of control this is, what it says about how control phenomena should be subdivided, and the sorts of problems it poses for various theories of control. Finally, I adopt and adapt Landau’s (2015) Two-Tiered Theory of Control (TTC).

§2: The genitive does not obligatorily control the IRC subject, i.e. this is Non-obligatory Control (NOC), as (2) shows ((2b) is grammatical, e.g. if John has recommended a book for others to read). However, other diagnostics suggest it is Obligatory Control (OC), e.g. long-distance control is ruled out, as in (3) and strict readings under ellipsis are impossible, as in (4) (see Landau, 2000, 2013).

(2) a. This is John’s book PRO\textsubscript{John} to read.
   b. This is John’s book PRO\textsubscript{arb} to read.

(3) Mary’s publication is John’s book PRO\textsubscript{Mary/John/arb} to read.
(4) This is John’s book PRO\textsubscript{John} to read, and that is Mary’s <book PRO\textsubscript{Mary/*John/arb} to read>.

In addition, partial control (PC) is possible (PC being a species of OC (Landau, 2000, 2013)).

(5) This is John’s pub PRO\textsubscript{John+} to gather in.

These IRCs display the structural hallmarks of PC/OC but the interpretive hallmarks of NOC. This supports recent proposals which group PC and NOC together in opposition to exhaustive control (EC), i.e. posit ‘two routes’ to control (Barrie, 2007; Landau, 2008, 2015; Sheehan, 2014; a.o.).

§3: A number of issues arise for many current theories of control. First, there is no obvious control predicate in the IRC examples - particularly challenging for semantic theories of control where a control predicate is responsible for establishing a control relation and its type (Pearson, 2013). Second, the nominal modified by the IRC (the RC head) would presumably be an intervener in an approach where control is established via movement (e.g. Hornstein, 1999), or Agree (e.g. Landau, 2000, 2013), or both (Sheehan, 2014), but it clearly is not.

§4: I propose to adopt and adapt Landau’s (2015) TTC. EC involves the control clause being directly predicated of the controller, as in (6) (so-called Predicative Control), whilst PC involves the control clause being directly predicated of a pro and then this pro being (optionally) variable bound by the controller, as in (7) (so-called Logophoric Control) (according to Landau, predication is mediated by a R(elator) (Den Dikken, 2006) and PRO moves from SpecTP to SpecFinP to create a clausal predicate).

(6) [\textit{RP} [DP Controller] R [FinP PRO Fin [TP tPRO T \ldots]]] \hspace{1cm} \text{(Predicative Ctrl)}
(7) Controller \ldots [\textit{CP} [GP \ldots pro \ldots] C [FinP PRO Fin [TP tPRO T \ldots]]] \hspace{1cm} \text{(Logophoric Ctrl)}

In the case of IRCs, the RC head raises from within the IRC to the edge of the IRC. The RC head must raise to a position higher than pro, call it SpecXP, otherwise the control clause would be predicated of the RC head rather than pro.

(8) [XP [DP RC head]; X [\textit{CP} [GP \ldots pro \ldots] C [FinP PRO Fin [TP tPRO T \ldots t; \ldots]]]]

Following Kayne (1994), I take the RC (XP) to be the complement of a determiner. The genitive controller is introduced in the specifier of this determiner. From this position it variable-binds pro (underlined). I propose that it cannot variable-bind any other element according to the Bijection Principle (Koopman & Sportiche, 1982).

(9) [DP [\textit{DP Controller}] D [\textit{XP} [DP RC head]; X [\textit{CP} [GP \ldots pro \ldots] C [FinP PRO Fin [TP tPRO T \ldots t; \ldots]]]]]

Variable binding explains why the RC head does not interfere with the control relation. (9) also correctly predicts \textit{i.a.} that only prenominal genitives should be able to control into IRCs, postnominal genitives being merged pre-relativisation hence unable to variable-bind pro (this is John’s book \texttt{PROJohn} to read vs. *this is the book of John’s \texttt{PROJohn} to read).
This paper reports an acoustic examination of Dalian Mandarin T1-T4 merger, reported by Liu (2012) to be acoustically incomplete. From a character reading task by one speaker, Liu showed that Dalian Mandarin broadly merged the standard Mandarin level Tone 1 [HH] into the falling Tone 4 [HL], as the informant produced downward pitch excursions of similar size on both tones. However, newly-merged T4 was shown to have longer duration than etymological T4 across 9 monosyllabic minimal pairs. Taken at face value, this durational difference might constitute tonal near-merger (Yu, 2007), analogous to vowel near-mergers in changes-in-progress (e.g. Norwich beer/bear; Trudgill, 1974).

The present study analyses read speech data from an age-dispersed group of 15 Dalian Mandarin speakers (7F, 8M; age groups: 18-30, 40-55, 65-80). The stimuli consist of 12 pairs of disyllabic test words and 8 pairs of filler words embedded in a carrier phrase. Each pair of test words have first syllables that are segmentally identical but carry either old or new T4. The second syllable is kept constant both tonally and segmentally, and carry either T2 or T4, which does not trigger tone sandhi in a preceding syllable. A citation reading task was also kept for comparison with Lin (2012). Altogether, 1440 tokens (15 speaker * 24 words * 2 repetitions * 2 conditions (citation vs. carrier phrase)) were acoustically analysed.

Based on pilot testing, we hypothesised: 1) a reduced or neutralised duration difference between new and old T4 in connected speech; 2) distinct pitch realisations between old and new T4, only tentatively explored in Liu (2012); 3) variation among age groups, and potential correlation between degree of merger and the age of the speaker, as the merger apparently took place during the last 50 years (compare Song, 1963 to Liu, 2012).

Acoustic measures of F0 (semitones) and duration (ms) were obtained with the VoiceSauce function in MatLab. Duration and F0 slope are analysed in a linear mixed effects model in R, with task types (isolation/carrier phrase), age, gender, tonal categories and the following tone as main effects, and speaker and items as random effects. Dynamic measures of F0 were modelled with SS ANOVA (Gu, 2013), giving Bayesian 95% confidence interval along each normalised time point. Results indicate a duration difference between old and new T4 that holds among all but one speakers in citation reading. This difference disappears in connected speech, suggesting that the durational contrast on monosyllables may be the residue of a historical distinction (Rose, 2011).

As expected, new and old T4 are realised with similar but distinct pitch contours, and this distinction manifests itself in an age-dependent manner. While older speakers have a steeper falling pitch slope on old T4 than on new T4 (bottom left panel), young speakers exhibit the opposite trend (bottom right panel) in a reversal of the standard Mandarin pattern, as their Dalian new T4 (originally T1) is now closer to Mandarin T4 in having a steeper fall. Word- by-word comparison reveals the driving force behind said reversal: a subset of test words from the Dalian old T4 category are realised as almost a high level tone preceding a H target (HL-HL > H-HL). Although this coarticulatory process is well-attested in standard Mandarin (Xu, 1999), its differential application in old and new Dalian T4 lends itself to both a lexical diffusion/exemplar theoretic explanation (Yu, 2007): High-frequency words in the old T4 category are in the lexicon longer and appear more frequently before a high pitch target than the newly merged T4 words, and are thus more susceptible to contour-reduction.
The study investigates adult L2 learners’ acquisition of scalar implicatures by testing both the derivation and the suspension of the scalar implicature associated with “some of” on adult Mandarin learners of English. In the first experiment, participants were presented with a picture-sentence verification task. Their judgment towards the underinformative declarative sentences containing “some of” indicated whether they derived scalar implicatures in an upward-entailing construction which licenses scalar implicatures. In the second experiment, which is a sentence completion task, participants were tested on whether they could suspend scalar implicatures in downward-entailing constructions which do not license scalar implicatures.

While learners were essentially no different from native English speakers in deriving scalar implicatures in the first experiment, they were more likely to suspend scalar implicatures in the question condition in the second experiment compared with native English speakers. The results suggest that learners were able to acquire scalar implicatures to a native level. By carefully controlling context in the experiments, the present study also disproves the claim made by Slabakova (2010) that L2 learners were more likely to give pragmatic interpretation with scalar implicatures than native speakers. Moreover, this study reports a novel finding that the language of testing significantly predicted rates of scalar implicatures in an upward-entailing structure. The results from the experiments will be further discussed in light of the conventionalization of scalar implicatures and the learnability issues in second language acquisition of pragmatics.
Linguists have struggled to define and classify diphthongs (Catford, 1977; Gussenhoven & Jacobson, 2011; Kreidler, 2004; Lass, 1984; Ladefoged, 1982; Miret, 1998) and a range of theories accounting for their behaviour have been put forward. These theories have often used language games to explain this behaviour, which has had implications for phonological theory, in particular the representational structure of what a diphthong is. This study rejects the theory by Bagemihl (1987) and McCarthy (1982) argues in favour of Botne & Davis (2000), based on language-game based experimental evidence.

Bagemihl (1987) and McCarthy (1982) use an infix language game to explain diphthong behaviour as “autosegmental spreading of the vowel melody from the preceding vowel” (Botne & Davis, 2000: 320) or, simply put, reduplication of the vowel. This aligns with the idea that diphthongs should be represented as two segments, or two V-slots with their own timing units. Lass (1984) and Vago (1985) propose a one-to-one mapping of diphthongs between the CV-tier and the segmental tier in support of diphthongs comprising of two segments. Botne & Davis (2000) maintain that the vowels would not be complete copies. Instead, they posit that the infix forces the vowel to split into two demisyllables. The vocalic peak of the diphthong is often part of the first demisyllable (as in /æ-verg-aʊt/, ‘out’) and the imposed word “pauses” the movement towards the second target. This then agrees with Ladefoged (1982) who considers diphthongs to be a single unit (one segment) that involves movement from one place of articulation (target) to another. Under this definition, diphthongs would have an altogether different representation on the CV-tier. Bagemihl (1995) promotes the use of language games as external evidence to support theories on their matrix languages.

12 participants were invited to the University of Manchester to learn a “secret language”. The experiment ran on E-Prime 2.0 and consisted of two production tasks and one judgement task. In the production tasks the participants were instructed to insert verg into the middle of the syllable of a given word. If Bagemihl (1987) and McCarthy (1982) were correct, the expectation was that the diphthong would be reduplicated after the infix, due to the spreading of the vowel melody. The resulting vowel pattern was given a value: 0 = schwa-insertion; 1 = copy (reduplication); 2 = splitting and 5 = blank/incorrect. Examples are (0) /æ-verg-aʊt/ and (2) /æ-verg-aʊt/ ('out'). For the judgement task participants heard two versions of the same word and were asked to choose between schwa-insertion and reduplication.

Logistic regression was performed in R and vowel type (long, short, diphthong) was shown to be a significant factor in predicting the vowel output (p <0.01). Short vowels were reduplicated the most in both tasks, whereas diphthongs and long vowels gave a much higher percentage of schwa-insertion. Chi-square tests showed that long vowels and diphthongs behaved similarly in both tasks. Splitting could only be measured for those vowels comprising two timing units and, interestingly, although the long vowels do not contain two different vocoids, they actually produced a higher percentage of splitting.

The theory held by Bagemihl (1987) and McCarthy (1982) does not account for the apparent splitting of the diphthong and fails to explain the use of a schwa as a ‘copy’ of any sort. Reduplication implies symmetry either side of the infix, which is does not hold for Verg. Schwa-insertion also denies the possibility of splitting occurring in every instance, however its existence does not refute the theory. Hence, the results suggest how diphthongs may be better represented on the CV-tier; a one-to-one mapping (two segments) would reflect the two distinct vocoids but it would fail to capture the necessary link (movement) between the two targets that Botene & Davis (2000) and Ladefoged (1982) account for. Furthermore diphthongs and long vowels differ in their articulation yet their similar behaviour also suggests that, like long vowels (Gussenhoven & Jacobs, 2011), diphthongs may also be better defined as one segment.
Vowel nasalisation in Scottish Gaelic  
Donald Alasdair Morrison, University of Manchester

The classical modular feedforward architecture of grammar holds that grammar is modular and phonology is stratified (Pierrehumbert 2002). According to this framework, interfaces exist between the morphology and the phonology, and between the phonology and the phonetics, but crucially not between the morphology and the phonetics. An important prediction that follows from this is that phonetic processes may act only upon the output of the phonology, and should therefore be blind to lexical conditioning or morphological structure. Various challenges to the traditional model have been put forward, citing evidence of lexically or morphologically conditioned phonetics (Kawahara 2011; Steriade 2000; Bybee 2001). This study attempts to lend support to the traditional model by demonstrating that only categorical, and thus phonological, patterns of vowel nasalisation in Scottish Gaelic may interact with the lexicon or the morphology.

Scottish Gaelic, a member of the Goidelic branch of the Celtic languages, has around 60,000 speakers mostly located in northern and western Scotland. Most speakers are elderly and the number of speakers is declining rapidly. Scottish Gaelic is useful to this study because it boasts an extensive system of initial mutations by means of which we can finely control the phonological environment of a target vowel, allowing us to observe interactions between morphological alternations and patterns of vowel nasalisation.

In order to carry out this investigation, a 62-year-old native speaker of the Scottish Gaelic dialect spoken in Ness, Isle of Lewis was fitted with a nasal airflow mask and asked to read aloud from a carefully selected word list. Patterns of nasal airflow were then analysed by visual inspection in order to identify categorical and gradient patterns of nasalisation, closely following the methods of Cohn (1990).

Although the quality of much of the data obtained was not sufficient for firm conclusions to be drawn, all clear findings were consistent with the modular feedforward architecture. No clear examples were found of phonetic patterns of vowel nasalisation displaying lexical or morphological conditioning, a phenomenon forbidden under the traditional framework. However, a number of apparent patterns were found which were difficult to interpret, and which will require further investigation.

In addition, clear evidence was found of the existence of nasalised fricatives in Scottish Gaelic, lending support to the claims of various studies such as Ternes (1973). This contrasts with Brenner et al. (2011), who find that nasal airflow very rarely occurs during fricative segments in Scottish Gaelic, and the general claim that nasalised fricatives are not possible, since the oral pressure required for the articulation of a fricative should not be attainable while the velum is open (Ohala 1975; Ohala & Ohala 1993). Finally, this study makes a significant contribution to the existing body of research on a phonologically underdescribed language suffering from rapid decline.
This project studies the role of age and gender in linguistic choices. It examines children’s use of a number of socially-conditioned phonological variables in relation to linguistic prestige and accommodation.

Data collection took place in a Palestinian refugee town near the Syrian capital, Damascus, where the dominant dialect is a Bedouin variety with low prestige. Most contact with another dialect occurs with the urban dialect of Damascus – the national standard in Syria. The phonological variables of interest are presented below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Damascene</th>
<th>Bedouin</th>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Damascene</th>
<th>Bedouin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(q)</td>
<td>[ʔ]</td>
<td>[g]</td>
<td>(ð)</td>
<td>[d], [z']</td>
<td>[ð']</td>
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<td>(d')</td>
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<td>[t], [s]</td>
<td>[θ]</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>[e]</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thirty-eight boys and girls between the ages of 3–18 years were recorded for the study. In order to guarantee spontaneous speech and introduce different speakers and context, they had a picture-naming task and were interviewed by two fieldworkers with different dialects; the local dialect and the dialect of Damascus.

The study aims to establish the age at which children become aware of the sociolinguistic patterning of the above variables and examines the influence of that awareness on their linguistic behaviour. I hypothesize that children will be able to accommodate at the earliest age in the study and that girls will be more inclined towards the urban variants than boys.

For the analysis, children were divided into five age groups: 3–5 years old, 6–8 years old, 9–11 years old, 12–14 years old, and 15–17 years old. One and two-way ANOVA were used to establish the relationship between the social (age groups, gender and social context) and linguistic variables. Results show that the phonological variables had the most influence on variation. For example, (a) was very resistant to variation; participants retained their local pronunciation almost categorically at 96%. Other variables showed interesting patterns of variation depending on context, age and gender. For example, older speakers used the local variant of (ð) significantly more than younger speakers at $p = .001$. Boys used the local variant of (ð') significantly more than girls with the local interlocutor at $p = .027$. 
‘Not an ogre’: adult music learners and their teachers, a corpus-based discourse analysis

Rachel Shirley, Lancaster University

The Associated Board of the Royal School of Music report *Making Music* (2014) estimates that 34% of adults (17.2m) in the UK play an instrument, with 2.5m adults currently receiving musical tuition. Many adults report “social, cognitive, emotional, and health benefits” from participating in musical activities (Hallam et al., 2013). Despite this, adult music learning is an under-researched area, with the vast majority of music education research and training focussing on children and school music-making. Although music education research often uses text (interviews, autobiographical accounts, survey responses), linguistic analysis has not yet been used in this area. Meanwhile, the internet has become a source of support and expression for adult music learners, for example blogs and forums.

This poster describes the outcomes of part of a project using corpus-based discourse analysis to investigate discourses of adult music learners in online texts. I briefly cover the ethical considerations involved in using the online data and the approaches taken to this. Using corpus searches (concordances and collocates) as a starting point, I combine various discourse analysis techniques including analysing adjective usage, the use of intensifiers and mitigators, metaphorical language and ‘verbal processes’ (Halliday, 2004) to investigate how adult learners describe their experiences of and relationships with music teachers. I find that adult music learners express their needs for support, patience and guidance from teachers, and also a sense that they want to impress and please them. A variety of emotional responses to music learning and teacher relationships, from ‘low level’ to intense, is revealed in patterns around the use of emotion terms and their association with intensifiers and mitigators. The issue of control in the student/teacher relationship appears frequently - evident in passivisation, the types of verbal process implied, and in metaphors of force, injury, war and religion – and there are contrasting discourses around whether teacher control is welcome or unwelcome.

These findings have the potential to inform music educators, influencing the way individual teachers work with adults, and the guidance given by organisations who offer music education training. They may also be useful to music exam boards when considering how to meet the needs of adult learners, and to community music organisations who are seeking to engage with and support adults. The study also confirms the potential of corpus-based discourse analysis (which is increasingly being used outside linguistics) in the realm of music education.
This study examines “possible” modal adverbs from a functional perspective, focusing mainly on the two synonymous adverbs: *maybe* and *perhaps*. As is well-known, these expressions fall into the same semantic category and express a speaker’s judgment about the possibility of a proposition (Greenbaum 1969; Hoye 1997; Biber et al. 1999; Huddleston and Pullum 2002; Swan 2005). The present study approaches the target adverbs both synchronically and diachronically, which justified the employment of different types of corpora at different stages of this study. One step toward revealing clear-cut functional differences between modal adverbs is to analyze a wide range of data from natural contexts, obtained from a larger corpus. Another step is to capture the dynamic features of the modal adverbs through an analysis of data from three other corpora of contemporary English.

After extracting usage data from the British National Corpus (BNC), this study explores the following factors by analyzing the target adverbs in both speech and writing: (i) the kind of modal verb used in the same clause, (ii) the kind of NP chosen as the subject in *maybe*/*perhaps* clauses, (iii) the parenthetical use of *maybe* and *perhaps*, and (iv) the position occupied by the target adverbs in a clause. In order to explore the dynamic status of the target expressions in contemporary English, data were also extracted from the Diachronic Corpus of Present-Day Spoken English (DCPSE) from the 1950s to 1990s as well as the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus of British English (LOB) and the Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English (FLOB) for the years 1961 and 1991, respectively.

Based on the quantitative analysis of the data from the BNC, LOB, FLOB, and DCPSE, three important implications follow. First, *perhaps* is a more addressee/reader-oriented and grammaticalized item than *maybe* in both speech and writing. Second, *maybe* has a preference for more speaker/writer-oriented, subjective use than *perhaps*, especially in writing. Third, the further development in the meanings of *maybe* and *perhaps* is a case of increased subjectification, whereas it is more noticeable that *maybe* is further advanced than *perhaps* in the process of subjectification (cf. Traugott 1989; Traugott and Dasher 2002; Brinton 2008; Traugott 2010).

By analyzing these two types of data, the results demonstrate that the target adverbs conveying the same degree of possibility have pragmatic and discursive differences, and the factors influencing the use of these adverbs are strongly associated with highly subjective parameters. In addition, I suggest that they can be distinguished on the basis of speed in the path of the language change. These results lay out the foundation for the development of clear usage guidelines for *maybe* and *perhaps*.
Managing criticisms in US-based and Taiwan-based reality talent contests:  
a cross-linguistic comparison  
Chihsia Tang, National Kaohsiung University of Applied Sciences

This research studied how English and Chinese speakers encode their criticisms in the media discourse, aiming to explore the correlation between the speakers’ applications of pragmalinguistic strategies and their sociocultural orientations. Criticisms analyzed in the present study were collected from evaluative communications elicited from the US-based talent competition Project Runway and the Taiwan-based talent competition Super Designer. The current analysis of the face attack act referred to Brown and Levinson’s politeness framework and face notion. The results showed different frequencies of criticizing strategies and redressive devices in the English and Chinese sub-corpora. In addition, the findings also manifested some cross-language variations in pragmalinguistic representation of the same criticizing strategy. The discrepancies were discussed from the perspective of context orientation of the American and Taiwanese societies, evidencing the strong linkage between the speakers’ communication patterns and the cultural norms of their social networks.
On the acquisition of Spanish copular verbs ser and estar in an L2

Patricia Vazquez-Lopez, University of Greenwich

This work accounts for the acquisition pathway of alternation in a second language (L2). That is, the acquisition of different elements that occur within identical syntactic constructions but conveying a difference in meaning. This issue will be addressed by examining the acquisition of the Spanish copulas ser and estar (both corresponding to the English copula be) with adjectival clauses. Following Fernández Leborans (1999), Escandell and Leonetti (2002), Arche (2006), Marin (2010), Arche et al. (2014) among others, I treat ser and estar as the lexical exponents of the Individual Level (IL) /Stage Level (SL) distinction (Carlson 1977).

To illustrate, Julia es feliz ‘Julia is SER happy’ and Julia está feliz ‘Julia is ESTAR happy’ constitute minimal pairs where only the copula changes. That is, with ser the happiness is understood as classificatory characteristic of the individual (i.e., Julia is a happy person; a IL predicate), with estar the property is understood to hold of the individual on a particular occasion (e.g., Julia is happy because her boss has promoted her; an SL predicate). The difficulty for adult English-speaking learners of Spanish is that they have to identify what factors determine the copula selection on each occasion. Additionally, as not all adjectival clauses are compatible with both copulas, this study compares the acquisition of dual adjectives with those adjectives that exclusively combine with one copula (i.e., ser-adjectives and estar-adjectives). The two copulas are not interchangeable in Martín es famoso ‘Martín is SER famous’ and in Martín está furioso ‘Martín is ESTAR furious’.

In this presentation I include the preliminary results of a pilot study with English-speaking L2 learners and a native control group of monolingual Spanish speakers (Peninsular dialect). This work assesses whether the difficulty in an L2 is rooted in a syntactic (i.e., if the less complex copula is acquired earlier or not) or in a discoursive acquisitional deficit. Unlike previous L2 studies based on semi-spontaneous data (VanPatten 1985, Briscoe 1995, Geeslin 1999, Geeslin 2003), this study consists of four elicitation tasks with 30 adjectives (6 ser-adjectives, 6 estar-adjectives and 18 dual-adjectives) that test the oral production and written comprehension of copular clauses.
Alongside the analytic passive, as in (1), Welsh has synthetic impersonal verb forms, as in (2). Both constructions have been treated as passives in the literature (Awbery, 1976; Shibatani, 1985).

(1) cafodd neidr ei gweld
   get:PST.3SG snake POSS.3SG see
   ‘a snake was seen’

(2) gwel-wyd neidr
   see-PST.IMPS snake
   ‘a snake was seen’

Yet the two constructions have differing properties: in particular, the impersonal’s properties differ according to whether the impersonalized verb is transitive or intransitive. When the verb is intransitive, the suppressed subject must be interpreted as indefinite and animate (cf. Blevins 2003); hence the unlicensed interpretation of an inanimate argument in (3). When the verb is transitive, there is no such requirement, and the suppressed subject may be specified using a by-phrase.

(3) disgynnir
   fall:PRS.IMPS
   ‘People habitually fall’
   but #trees habitually fall

We show that these facts can be captured by the theory of voice alternations in Alexiadou & Doron (2012) (A&D). Working within a Minimalist framework in which the syntax and semantics of argument structure are derived by successively combining lexical roots with functional heads, A&D propose that there are two non-active voice heads available cross-linguistically: passive (π) and middle (µ). According to their analysis, the middle head µ requires the subsequent insertion of the external-argument-introducing head ν while blocking the syntactic argument position itself. A passive-like structure derived using µ is referred to as mediopassive. If µ is merged with an intransitive verbal root, an implicit ‘agentive’ (human, indefinite) argument is introduced, since part of their hypothesis is that ‘an argument not required by the root is an agent’ (A&D 2012, 23). If merged with a transitive root, the external argument selected by the root may or may not be agentive, but must not be realized syntactically as an argument (i.e. it must be absent or realized as a by-phrase). The basic structure proposed by A&D is given in (5). A mediopassive derivation should allow causer (non-agent) by-phrases according to A&D (2012, 14), and this is borne out for Welsh by (6).

(5) [\text{[VP \sqrt{\text{ROOT}}[arg]]}]

(6) dychryn-wyd Waldo gan
    scare-PST.IMPS Waldo by
    gyhuddiad Gandhi
    MUT\backslash accusation Gandhi
    ‘Waldo was shocked by Gandhi’s accusation’

This derives the basic alternation in behaviour between transitive and intransitive impersonals in Welsh, and brings the data into line with facts reported for other languages such as Greek and Hebrew. However, the Welsh facts also raise a number of issues for A&D’s approach. First, in Greek and Hebrew the middle voice morphology is used to realize not only the mediopassive but also anticasatives and dispositional middles; this is not the case for the Welsh impersonal. Secondly, A&D predict that the existence of a passive form should block the formation of a mediopassive (2012, 11), but again this is not the case in Welsh, as the coexistence of (1) and (2) shows. In the paper we will discuss how the theory could be modified to overcome these problems.
"The Reflecting God": Representing truths, ideologies and interpreted worlds in discourse with verba sentiendi

Lexi Webster, Lancaster University

Verba sentiendi and, more broadly, modality are widely acknowledged within linguistics to be representative of the attitude of a speaker towards his/her proposition(s) (e.g., Simpson, 1993). I seek to take this notion further, suggesting that modality (primarily, verba sentiendi) can be considered representative of a speaker/author’s attitude towards reality. This paper combines the concept of ideology (e.g., Culler, 1973; Wodak and Meyer, 2009) with that of cognitive models (Lakoff, 1987) in an attempt at providing a theory for the effect of verba sentiendi on denoting ideologies in discourse and on representing an awareness of differing interpreted worlds. I suggest that the strength of modality (e.g., high/low modality) indicated in specific verba sentiendi is representative of specificities in attitudes towards the discourse (i.e. ‘know’, ‘think’ and ‘feel’ are all representative of different, and gradable, attitudes and worldviews). Additionally, I argue that the use of verba sentiendi in direct conjunction with personal pronouns is indicative of (and enables the separation of) differing cognitive models, is representative of an awareness of such differences, and measures the individual’s ideological worldview against the perceived worldview of the majority.

The data, which provide the base analysis in support of these theoretical claims, are from discourses of transgender. The quasi-political and ideological nature of (trans)gender as a social construct and discourse facilitates a clear distinction between ideological zeitgeist and individual (or minority) cognitive model. However, I suggest that the theorised effects of verba sentiendi will be present and distinguishable in most discourse practice in which there is clear opposition between differing cognitive models. The theory and its application has implications in sociolinguistic and critical discourse analysis, insofar as there is the possibility to examine stance, ideology and (perceived) social actor relations via the discursive analysis of verba sentiendi.
Mothers’ lexical repetitions to initiate repair of the child’s previous turn

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Repetitions to repair are used by parents and teachers to communicate their stance towards what the child said in the previous turn (Macbeth, 2004; Tarplee, 2010). These repetitions can be used to initiate correction for form and lexical choice, to reject a contribution, to clarify, etc. (Macbeth, 2004; Tarplee, 1996, 2010). Literature shows that these repetitions are not only used to deal with troubles in hearing, speaking and understanding (Schegloff, 2000; Tarplee, 1996) but also to give pedagogical feedback to children and learners (Tarplee, 2010; Macbeth, 2004, Schegloff et al., 1977). However, what seems to be a clear delimitation, in reality is more complex, especially when dealing with child’s understanding of the mother’s lexical repetition.

While studies have tried to shed some light on the sequential and phonetic differences between repair initiation and affirmation in adult-child interactions (e.g., Tarplee, 1996, 2010; Macbeth, 2004), none have taken into consideration misunderstandings caused by children not being able to distinguish the action done by the mother’s lexical repetition.

Following the CA methodological approach, and taking into consideration the analytic importance of the next turn and sequential implicature, this paper aims to analyze how the participants of the talk negotiate the actions done by repetition in the conversation, phonetically and sequentially. The data used in this study derive from naturally occurring one-hour playtime interactions between five mothers and their respective children (mean age 2,5) in households where Brazilian Portuguese is spoken.

Preliminary results show that while the repetitions are meant in a three-way distinction, the children seem to treat the repetitions as two different ones. A distinction is made between: (a) mothers’ repetitions understood by the child as repair initiations; (b) mothers’ turns used to correct, which are understood as confirmation requests; (c) repetitions that are used to show astonishment.
Idioms, fixed expressions whose overall meaning is not deducible from their constituents, have always been of great interest to linguists. Idiom categorization, fixedness, figurativeness, and other aspects have been studied to varying degree across disciplines and in different languages (cf. Gibbs with colleagues 1991, Glucksberg 2001, Knappe 2004, Kunin 1996, and Moon 1998, to name just a few). The majority of studies so far have examined the structural changes of idioms, that is, their flexibility and/or fixedness, idiom comprehension, and the motivation for idiom meaning, rather than their meaning variation, preserving their canonical form. In particular, the semantic stability of idiomatic expressions has rarely been questioned. The hypothesis of the current research is that English idioms are capable of meaning change over time, as is the case with other lexemes.

The purpose of the presentation is to briefly outline the existing views on idiomatic expressions, identifying the gap in the existing research. In addition, the methodology developed to trace meaning variation in English idioms is discussed, including, information on the sample selection, and the sources used. I propose to start examining idioms that have multiple meanings, i.e. polysemous idioms. Polysemy, according to some studies, is regarded as an indicator of meaning change taking place within a word or lexeme; in other words, the multiplicity of meanings is synchronically regarded as polysemy, and diachronically is regarded as a meaning change in process. Therefore, polysemous idioms can act as the most representative case for the meaning variation an idiom may undergo over time.

Within the methodology section of the presentation, I discuss the difficulties involved in conducting current research, such as, the availability of modern and historical English language corpora with untagged idioms and idioms that vary in structure, online and printed databases, for idiom extraction and comparison, as well as corpus-based analysis for the attestation of meaning differences. I argue that an idiom is exposed to certain semantic shifts and several methods in combination should be applied for searching the selected sample at different periods, which will be demonstrated on the case study of the idiom *no love lost.*