Keynote speakers

• Barbara Partee (UMass Amherst)
• Peter Mariën (Vrije Universiteit Brussel)
• Suzanne Beeke (UCL)

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32nd Annual Linguistics Conference
Introduction

Dear TABU Dag 2011 participant,

We are very happy to welcome you to the 32nd anniversary of the TABU Dag conference at the University of Groningen, The Netherlands! We would like to celebrate this linguistic event with a long tradition together with you. Therefore, we created a very interesting programme covering various areas of linguistic research.

TABU Dag is one of the longest running linguistics conferences in the Netherlands. It is a fairly large linguistics conference and generally attracts about 100 researchers from the Netherlands and the rest of the world. It is a symposium known for being welcoming to (post)graduate students as well as senior researchers. TABU Dag provides a scientific platform for researchers from all fields of linguistics to present and discuss their current work and get inspired by keynote speakers.

In this booklet you can find all abstracts of accepted oral and poster presentations that are listed in alphabetical order of the authors. Furthermore, the booklet contains abstracts by our keynote speakers: Barbara H. Partee, Suzanne Beeke and Peter Mariën.

We are grateful to our sponsors and the Centre for Language and Cognition Groningen for making this event possible.

We wish you a very enjoyable and successful conference.

The TaBu Dag 2011 organisers

Laura S. Bos, Nanna Haug Hilton, Pavel Rudnev, Oscar Strik and Nynke van der Vliet
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Keynote abstracts

The History of Formal Semantics and Pragmatics: Influences from and to Linguistics and Philosophy

Barbara H. Partee (UMass Amherst)

Formal semantics and pragmatics as they have developed over the last 40+ years have been shaped by fruitful interdisciplinary collaboration among linguists, philosophers, and logicians, among others, and in turn have had noticeable effects on developments in syntax, philosophy of language, computational linguistics, and cognitive science.

In this talk I’ll reflect on developments in semantics in linguistics and philosophy starting in the 1960’s and the growth of formal semantics and formal pragmatics (Partee & Hendriks 1997). I’ll touch in passing on innovations and “big ideas” that have shaped the development of formal semantics and its relation to syntax, to pragmatics, and to the philosophy of language over the decades. And I’ll describe some of the ways that advances and debates in formal semantics and pragmatics have been and are connected with foundational issues in linguistic theory, philosophy, and cognitive science (Partee 2005, 2009).

Since this conference is in the Netherlands, I’ll particularly reflect on the role played in these developments by Dutch linguists, philosophers, logicians, and computer scientists in the venerable “informatica” tradition that traces back to the combination of interests of the great Hans Beth, is reflected in the unique “Gamut” textbook and the Amsterdam Colloquia, and continues with such institutions as FoLLI, JoLLI, and ESSLLI.

Neurolinguistics and Conversation Analysis: Integrating the evidence

Suzanne Beeke (University College London)

Neurolinguistic research has done much to characterise the nature of language impairments that arise as a result of disorders such as aphasia. However, studies tend to base their insights on the analysis of task-based data, and it is common for even spontaneous speech samples to be elicited, via semi-structured interaction with a researcher or clinical professional. This is problematic if we believe that spontaneous speech analysis is an important research method. Research has shown that dialogues of a so-called “institutional” nature (such as those instigated by professionals with an agenda) can be differentiated from truly spontaneous interactions on linguistic features such as utterance length and word selection (Drew & Heritage 1992). In recent years a qualitative, data-driven methodology Conversation Analysis (CA) has provided us with a way to explore the characteristics of spontaneous speech between peers. CA is a systematic procedure for the analysis of recorded, naturally occurring talk produced in everyday human interaction. The principal aim is to discover how speakers understand and respond to each other via turns at talk, and how such turns are organized into sequences of interaction (Schegloff 2007).

What insights can the analysis of everyday conversation offer us? Recently, CA
studies of aphasia have concluded that some aphasic language behaviours, far from arising as a direct result of brain damage, may be motivated by the drive to produce an utterance during a conversational turn (Heeschen & Schegloff, 2003; Beeke et al 2007). I will explore this idea by presenting data and findings from the study of conversations of people with non-fluent aphasia. The evidence will be reviewed with respect to two key characteristics of non-fluent aphasic language: telegraphic speech and stereotyped utterances. I will discuss how some utterances, which on the surface appear to be straightforwardly telegrammatic, can be shown to be appropriate grammatical forms for the interactional context in which they are produced. Additionally, I will show how stereotyped phrases which are often dismissed as having little communicative value can be used in conversation to convey meaning and perform social action.

Cerebellar Neurocognition: a New Avenue in Cognitive and Behavioural Neuroscience

Peter Mariën (Vrije Universiteit Brussel)

Traditional neurological tenets posit that the cerebellum coordinates skilled voluntary movements and controls motor tone, posture, and gait. However, neuroanatomical, clinical, and neuroimaging studies conducted over the past decades have convincingly shown that the cerebellum is also crucially implicated in a broad variety of cognitive and affective processes such as language, memory, visuospatial skills, executive functions, thought modulation, and emotional regulation of behaviour and affect. In this contribution an introductory overview is presented of the recently acknowledged concept of “cerebellar neurocognition” with special emphasis on the role of the cerebellum in motor and non-motor language functions.

Many studies have shown that cerebellar involvement in motor speech disorders is not limited to (ataxic) dysarthria but also encompasses mutism and apraxia of speech. At the non-motor level, a variety of linguistic disturbances have been identified after cerebellar lesions such as expressive agrammatism, semantic retrieval deficits, syntactic comprehension difficulties, depressed phonological verbal fluency and even frontal (dynamic) aphasia. Recently, studies on apraxic agraphia and dyslexia have indicated that the cerebellum may also be implicated in the written language network.

In agreement with the findings indicating a topographical organization of the cerebellar structures involved in language pathology the concept of a “lateralized linguistic cerebellum” is briefly discussed. Rather than being the neuroanatomical seat of cognitive and linguistic processes, the cerebellum may be considered to modulate cognitive functions through the feedforward loop of the cortico-ponto-cerebellar system and the feedback loop of the cerebello-thalamo-cortical pathways.
Accepted abstracts

The processing of time reference in individuals with broca’s aphasia

Tom Abuom and Roelien Bastiaanse
*University of Groningen*

Time reference through verb forms and aspectual/lexical adverbs is a problem to monolinguals with broca’s aphasia in several languages. Cross-linguistic data (see Bastiaanse 2008; Jonkers & De Bruin 2009 for Dutch; Yarbay Duman & Bastiaanse 2009 for Turkish; Anjarningsih et al. 2009 for Indonesian and Chinese) show precisely reference to the past affected not only when expressed through Tense (e.g. draw) or Aspect (e.g. Has drawn) but also through Aspectual/lexical adverbs (for non Tense languages such as Chinese and Indonesian). However, as far as we know, no data have been reported on time reference problems in bilinguals with broca’s aphasia. The question is whether time reference problems, especially reference to the past, extend to bilinguals with broca’s aphasia, and whether there is a similar pattern in both languages. The two languages, Swahili and English have been used to test this theory about time reference deficit.

We therefore present a study in which we investigated the processing of time reference in two languages of bilinguals with broca’s aphasia: Swahili (a Bantu language, highly agglutinative structure, spoken in Africa) and English. Six agrammatic speakers and six normal controls participated in this study. Reference to the past, present and future conditions were examined through production and comprehension tasks in both languages. We used a sentence-completion paradigm with prompting to elicit the intended verb form for production task and a picture-sentence matching for comprehension task.

While the normal controls made no errors at all on both tasks, the results of the aphasic individuals show worse performance on reference to the past compared to the present and the future in both comprehension and production tasks in the two languages. This pattern confirms the findings of earlier cross-linguistic studies on time reference; revealing further that time reference deficits extend to bilinguals with broca’s aphasia as well.

The PF deletion approach to ellipsis: evidence from Arabic

Nasser Al-Horais
*Qassim University*

Ellipsis has always been one of the most challenging puzzles for linguistic theory. "It remains difficult to classify, as it appears to involve phonology (due to its similarity to deaccenting), syntax (by virtue of its distribution), semantics (evidenced by its apparent licensing conditions), and pragmatics (because of the cognitive load it imposes)” (Smith 2001: 176).

Within the framework of Chomsky’s Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995, 2006, 2008), this paper aims to assemble some evidence to provide new arguments in favour of considering Bare Argument Ellipsis constructions as a PF deletion procedure preceded by a movement operation. The PF-deletion approach to ellipsis, advocated by Ross (1969), Sag (1976), Hankamer & Sag (1976), Chomsky & Lasnik (1995), Heim &
Kratzer (1998), Depiante (2000), Merchant (2001, 2003, 2004) inter alia, consider all elliptical environments as an interface phenomenon, involving a fully derived syntactic structure which is deleted in PF, and therefore is not pronounced. Having adopted this approach, this leads the paper to argue contra the second approach which also defines ellipsis as an interface phenomenon. However, it is not at PF as a deletion procedure as claimed by the first approach, but at LF as a covert movement (e.g. Bare Argument Ellipsis, Reinhart 1991), or as a reconstruction operation (e.g. VP-ellipsis, Williams 1977).

These new arguments in favour of a version of the first approach come from investigating the role of the Arabic negative marker laysa in Bare Argument Ellipsis constructions.

Two different strategies used by laysa with Bare Argument Ellipsis constructions are distinguished. The first one is that of negating the remnant by merging laysa with the coordinator particle wa which conveys the meaning but in English. The second one is via laysa alone without being merged with wa. The two strategies are spelt out in the following example.

(1) ahmad-u raʔa xalid-an (wa) laysa zaid-an.
   Ahmad-Nom saw.3ms Khalid-Acc (and) neg Zaid-Acc
   “Ahmad saw Kalid, (but) not Zaid.”

The most strong evidence is that negation with laysa is always sentential, in which strongly supports that Bare Argument Ellipsis is a PF reduction of a full clause:

(2) ahmad-u raʔa xalid-an laysa zaid-an ahmad-u raʔa.
   Ahmad saw.3ms Khalid-Acc neg Zaid-Acc Ahmad-Nom saw

Handling non-contiguity in grammar and discourse

Trevor Benjamin
University of Groningen

The default in both grammar and in discourse is for functionally related items to occur in close proximity (see `the principle of contiguity’ in Haspelmath 2008; ‘preference for contiguity’ in Sacks (1987)). Adjectives, for instance, tend to occur contiguously with the nouns they modify, and clarification questions with the talk which needs clarifying. For a variety of reasons, however, items can be separated from their functional targets. This talk examines two phenomena in which speakers seemingly use grammar to signal such non-contiguity. First, at the grammar internal level, I examine `double case marking’ in Walpiri. The grammar of Walpiri allows adjectives to be separated from the nouns they modify (Hale 1973, Croft 2001). When they are contiguous, case is (typically) marked only once, on the nominal phrase as a whole. When they are non-contiguous, however, cases is (typically) marked on both elements. Compare the following sentences, each glossable as ‘the big dog bit me’

(3) Tjaŋtu wiriŋki ʧ-tji yalku-ŋu
   Dog big-ERG (AUX)-me bite-PAST
Next, at the level of discourse, I examine grammatical variation in the design of understanding checks (i.e. polar clarification questions) in English. While understanding checks regularly occur as 'bare' phrasal or clausal units, they are sometimes embedded in a ‘you mean’ clause. I show that the latter is used almost exclusively when the understanding check is separated from the talk it targets for clarification. Compare the following two data extracts:

(4) Tjanątu-ŋku ñi-tji yaluku-ŋu wiri-ŋki
Dog-ERG (AUX)-me bite-PAST big-ERG

In both phenomena, ‘extra’ grammar is added to an item which is formally separated from its functional target. I argue that this non-minimal design signals a ‘violation’ of the contiguity default (via a manner implicature, Levinson 2000). This can aid recipients in functionally connecting these sequentially separated items. This Neo-Gricean account predicts that across languages and phenomena non-contiguous items will have more (or at least no less) structure than contiguous items.

Mountains of Text. Corpus linguistic Analysis of Alpine Literature from the AAC

Hanno Biber
Institute for corpus linguistics and text technology

The AAC—Austrian Academy Corpus—has collected also Alpine texts of various kinds from the time between 1848 and 1989. This paper will present a research initiative where the AAC will integrate Alpine texts for corpus linguistic research of such a thematic subcorpus, in which the discourse about mountain, that is determined by historical, sociological, cultural and other factors, can be analyzed from various
perspectives. Alpine club yearbooks, literature, journals and other related heritage
documents will be prepared for analysis. The AAC is a German language corpus of
texts from various linguistic domains with around 500 million tokens, operated by the
Institute for Corpus Linguistics and Text Technology at the Austrian Academy of Sci-
ences. The question is how corpus research methods based upon a multidisciplinary
combination of corpus linguistics and cultural studies can be applied to gain insights
into the textual representations of historical collections, in particular Alpine texts.

“Quantitative corpus linguistics has proved to be a valuable technique in many do-
mains of philological, sociological and historical research. The digitized and linguist-
ically annotated corpus is therefore an interesting source for studies in many fields
and facilitates the investigation of changing patterns of language use, and how these
reflect underlying cultural shifts.” (Volk, M. et al.: “Challenges in building a multi-
lingual Alpine heritage corpus”, LREC 2010) The AAC will go beyond a quantitative
approach and integrate text studies into its research. The methodology of corpus
based text research is determined by corpus linguistic, lexicographic and analytical
procedures. The language in significant Alpine texts of certain historical periods will
be of interest. The historical condition of Austria during the Habsburg monarchy
with its cultural and linguistic diversity and the situation at the time of National
socialism have to be taken into consideration as historical changes with significant
influences on the language. A special emphasis will be given to the culturally pro-
ductive relation between the metropolis Vienna and its surrounding Alpine regions.

Cognitive and linguistic systems underlying discourse and commu-
nication: a case study on Alzheimer’s Disease

Lenisa Brandão, Fatima Galiana Castelló, Lucas Bietti

Attempts to approximate discourse analysis and neuropsychology methodologies
are recent and necessary for the development of knowledge about the role of different
cognitive functions in discourse models. This paper is meant to make this connec-
tion available to clinical researchers dedicated to the study of human communication.
The approach used places discourse deficits and strategies as central cues to the un-
derstanding of pragmatic abilities of people with dementia of the Alzheimer’s type.
Language users employ discourse strategies to coordinate, negotiate and synchronize
common ground between interlocutors, as well as to make strategic inferences about
other people’s representations. These strategic inferences about interlocutors’ men-
tal states are guided by a subjective representation of the communicative interaction
that is defined as context models.

Context models enable interlocutors to construct and appropriately re-adapt dis-
course during the course of communicative interactions. Memory systems, attention,
abstraction and planning capacities are responsible for constructing and updating
context models throughout communicative interactions. These cognitive capacities
are compromised in AD. Therefore, discourse deficits in AD may prevent the access
and use of such kind of strategies, and thus the construction and update of context
models in order to keep track of relevant changes in the ongoing interaction.

A socio-cognitive model of discourse and context is exposed to support both, the
methodology that outlines the patient’s conversation, and the design of conversational speech, aimed at facilitating effective communication between partners. Our description of discourse variables uses examples taken from a corpus of communicative interactions between one of the researchers and people with AD. We highlight the merits of discourse analysis to characterize the profile of cognitive and linguistic abilities which are affected and preserved in people with dementia, particularly Alzheimer’s disease.

A Study on the Efficiency of the “Google Translate” Translation Program

Sinan Çakır
Hacettepe University

In this study, the efficiency of the Google Translate translation program was examined. It provides translations among 57 different languages. Yet, the efficiency of this program only on providing translations from English to Turkish was taken into consideration in this study. The use of this program on other languages was kept out of the study.

A text consists of 10 sentences was selected from Daily News newspaper and translated into Turkish by Google Translate. 25 participants were asked to post-edit these translations while 25 others were asked to make direct translations from the original text. Four raters assessed the success of the direct translations, the machine translations and the post-edited versions of the machine translations in a scale 1 to 10 for both accuracy and fluency.

In the analysis of the results, it was seen that while the direct translations by human translators got 78.4% ratings, the post-edited translations were assessed to be 75.7% successful, which means that there is not a remarkable difference between the success of two processes. The duration of two processes appeared to be similar as well: in average 34.30 minutes and 37.25 minutes respectively. For the validity of the study, a new application was carried out three months later. The participants who had been asked to make direct translations from the original text were required to post-edit the same text this time. These translations got 79.6% ratings in average, which is rather similar to the first results.

The results of the study suggest that post editing process neither increases the quality of the translations, nor decreases the duration of the process. Direct translations from the original text are equally successful to post-editings.

Vocabulary development and input outside the classroom: a dynamic perspective

Hui Ping Chan, Wander Lowie and Kees De Bot
University of Groningen

There is a growing awareness that input outside the classroom may strongly affect second language development. Learners watch English movies, play English online games and use English in social network media. Input outside the classroom
provides learners various channels to be exposed to English, which may lead to more successful language learning. The purpose of our study is to quantify how influential input outside the classroom is. We use a mathematical model to depict the characteristics of how input outside the classroom influences second language development.

Our study measures the success of second language vocabulary learning. In addition to formmeaning associations, our study intends to incorporate a higher level of vocabulary learning, operationalized as word associations and word collocations, which represent the learner’s capability to recognize and produce synonyms and to provide the most appropriate word in a given context. Vocabulary assessment focusing on word association and word collocation tells us how well learners accommodate vocabulary in the context.

Additionally, this study will combine both product-oriented (quantitative) and process-oriented studies (qualitative) methodologies, which can gain us insight into how learners develop their vocabulary. 100 Taiwanese learners of English will be measured at three points in time over a period of six months, divided into a low-input group and a high-input group. From each group, 5 learners will be followed intensively at weekly intervals.

Our study aims at highlighting the importance of input outside the classroom on vocabulary development. Besides, studying vocabulary development using word association and collocation both quantitatively and qualitatively from a dynamic perspective will strengthen the multi-dimensional characteristics of vocabulary learning and sheds light on an innovative dynamic perspective of vocabulary development.

Plurals and definiteness

Charlie Claessen
Utrecht University/UiL-OTS

It has long been thought that singular nominals refer only to atoms, and plural nominals only to sums. However, examples like (7) show that in certain contexts, the plural has an inclusive reading, where it can be used to refer to atoms.

(7) There are no cookies left. (i.e. there is not even one cookie left)

In the debate revolving around the semantic markedness of plurals, the focus lies on examples like (8). The plural is used not just in (exclusive sum-)cases where every boy has more than one sister, but also in mixed reference cases where some boys have more sisters, while others have only one sister (inclusive plural), since the definite singular cannot be used to refer to these mixed situations.

(8) Every boy invited his sisters.

I have conducted a study that looks at cases of mixed reference, and compares singular and plural nominals with respect to definiteness and indefiniteness. For definites, only the plural should be used to refer to mixed situations, since the definite singular has an atomicity requirement. For indefinites, however, both the singular and the plural are applicable. In different situations of mixed reference pictures, I gave participants the choice between a singular and a plural answer. It turns out that there is
a natural preference for plurals over singulars, specifically present in definites: non-mixed situations with only singular pictures yield overwhelmingly singular answers, but as soon as only one plural is added to the situation, the amount of singular answers drops significantly. When more than one plural item is present, regardless of whether the amount of plurals equals or exceeds the amount of singulars, the rate of singular answers drops even more. I conclude that the singular/plural ratio of a situation influences the inclusive/exclusive distribution of the plural.

The distribution of obstruent voicing in Afrikaans

Andries Coetzee
University of Michigan

Afrikaans, like Dutch, is a final-devoicing language. Afrikaans therefore has paradigms that alternate in the voicing of root-final obstruents (9a), and also non-alternating paradigms (9b).

(9)

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<tr>
<td>b. /vap/</td>
<td>[væp]</td>
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This is usually analyzed as a surface restriction rather than a morpheme structure constraint (MSC): Afrikaans doesn’t allow word-final voiced obstruents on the surface, but voiced obstruents can appear freely in morpheme-final position. However, I will show that the distribution of obstruent voicing in Afrikaans is also restricted at the morphemic level. Specifically:

(10) In C1VC2-morphemes, C2 can be a voiced obstruent iff C1 is not a viable voicing-sponsor.

[voice] can therefore only appear on a morpheme-final obstruent if there is no other place in the morpheme where [voice] can be realized. In C1VC2-morphemes:

(11) C2 can be a voiced obstruent iff:

- C1 is already voiced (a sonorant or another voiced obstruent) and therefore not a possible voicing-sponsor – cf. /rob/ and /bod/ in (9a).
- C1 is a voiceless obstruent without a voiced counterpart in Afrikaans, and therefore not a possible voicing-sponsor – since Afrikaans lacks a voiced alveolar fricative, /sæd/ is an example.

C2 cannot be a voiced obstruent if C1 is a voiceless obstruent with a voiced counterpart in Afrikaans:

- /pæd/ and /tæb/ are impossible, since Afrikaans has voiced labial and alveolar plosives so that /p, t/ are potential voicing-sponsors.

This pattern is confirmed in a corpus of all Afrikaans C1VC2-morphemes.
Restrictions like these are problematic for a grammatical model like OT that doesn’t allow MSC’s (cf. "Richness of the Base"). I will discuss the challenge of these data for OT, and propose an analysis in which the MSC is recast in terms of OOCorrespondence constraints. Since these constraints are surface-level constraints, this removes the restriction from the level of morphemes so that the principle of “Richness of the Base” can be retained.

Compensatory cortical activation during reading of sentences in Parkinson’s disease patients compared to healthy subjects: An event related fMRI study

Katrien S.F. Colman, Laurie A. Stowe, Roelien Bastiaanse

Introduction. Parkinson’s disease (PD) is a common degenerative neurological disease mainly characterized by motor symptoms. However, cognitive impairments have frequently been observed, even in early PD (Muslimović, et al., 2005). Additionally, processing of complex non-canonical syntactic structures is vulnerable in individuals with PD (see for review Colman 2011) and PD patients show diminished response to grammatically violated sentences (Kotz et al. 2003, Friederici et al. 2003).

In the event-related fMRI-study reported here we evaluated, whether PD-patients activated the same network as healthy control (HC) subjects during the reading of sentences. Increased activation of other brain areas than the striatum may help patients with PD to maintain task performance (Grossman et al. 2003). Therefore compensatory cortical activation was expected in the PD group as compared to the HC group.

Methods. Fifteen idiopathic PD patients and fifteen HC subjects participated. In the experimental conditions, the grammaticality of sentences (no-violation, subject-verb-agreement violation vs. argument-structure violation) and the syntactic complexity (active vs. passive) was varied. We also developed a visual control condition consisting of Consonant-Strings. In this abstract we focus on the results of the whole brain analyses only, since compensatory activations are relevant here.

Results. Our intergroup analysis contradicted the expectation of compensatory cortical activation Grossman et al. (2003). However, PD patients showed significant increased activation for passive versus active sentences in the left medial/superior frontal gyrus (see Fig. 1).

Discussion and conclusion. Three possible explanations for the activation in the left medial/superior frontal area during the processing of passive sentences will be discussed. PD patients might rely on working memory, lexical semantics or higher-level semantic processes involved in evaluation of plausibility to compensate for the lack of activation seen in the HC subjects when dealing with non-canonical passive sentences.
Production of pronouns and reflexives by agrammatic French-Dutch bilingual speakers

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This study focused on the production of pronouns and reflexives in French-Dutch bilingual agrammatism. In French, the production of a pronoun or reflexive requires a movement operation which moves the pronoun to a preverbal position. In Dutch, no such movement operation is required and thus the basic word order is preserved. Earlier studies have shown that the deficits in agrammatic speech production are strongly related to syntax and to problems with sentences in which structural elements are not in their base position, as predicted by the Derived Order Problem Hypothesis (DOP-H) (e.g. Bastiaanse & van Zonneveld 1998, Bastiaanse & Thompson 2003). In addition, recent studies have shown that pronominal reference assignment is selectively impaired in agrammatic comprehension, with a greater impairment in pronoun interpretation—which requires discourse-linking—than in reflexive interpretation (e.g. Ruigendijk et al. 2005). No previous research has formulated any hypothesis on the effect of reference assignment on pronoun production. A sentence-completion task was developed to test the predictions of the DOP-H for pronoun production in French-Dutch bilingual speakers and to assess the ability to assign reference to pronouns versus reflexives. The results revealed that agrammatic speakers scored equally well in French and Dutch. This result does not support the predictions of the DOP-H. However, it is argued that a neurolinguistic approach to bilingualism can account for this finding (Paradis 2004). Furthermore, the results showed that pronouns were significantly more difficult than reflexives, parallel to the results of earlier comprehension studies. It is argued that both in production and comprehension agrammatic speakers exhibit difficulties with establishing referential dependencies on the interface between syntax-discourse. The observed difficulties
with discourse-linking are explained as a result of a slow syntax and a lack of processing resources in agrammatic Broca’s aphasia.

Beyond Bookreading: The Home Language and Literacy Environment of At-risk Toddlers in the Netherlands

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It is well known that a stimulating home environment can promote children’s language and literacy development (Dickinson, Payne et al. 1994). This study examined parental language and literacy behaviors among families of at-risk toddlers (average age 37 months) in a rural area in the Netherlands. Parents (n=321) filled out a questionnaire containing around 80 items on demographics, literacy behaviors, and language use. Children’s receptive vocabulary was assessed using the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT).

Around 60% of parents had attended some community college while approximately 21% had attended college. Almost a quarter of the mothers reported to be a homemaker while 56% had a part-time job (vs. 7% working fulltime). More than a third of the children had fewer than 25 books at home. Most parents reported reading daily to their children (72%) and this usually happened before children went to bed. Almost half of all parents reported talking daily to their children about books while around 40% talked about TV programs and friends on a daily basis. Singing songs with young children was a popular activity as more than 50% of parents reported to do so on a daily basis. Making music or reciting nursery rhymes were less popular activities among parents.

There was no significant relationship between parental education and children’s vocabulary scores (PPVT). We also did not find a relationship between literacy environment (as defined by presence of reading materials in the home and library visits) and child language scores. However, a positive and significant correlation was found between parental reading attitudes and children’s receptive vocabulary. The information gathered could help professionals and policy makers to make decisions on how to encourage parents to provide a stimulating home environment (e.g., focus on nursery rhymes or library visits).

‘The cigarette lighter says...': Fictive interaction in languages without a writing system

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Fictive interaction (Pascual 2002, 2006) is a cognitive phenomenon that reflects the structure of conversation, and is manifested in language structure and use (e.g. 'an attitude of “why bother?”', a “why bother?” attitude'). Intra-sentential fictive interaction is usually manifested in the use of direct speech. This is nontrivial, since direct speech is universal, whereas indirect speech is not (Li 1986). We suggest that
in languages without a writing system, fictive interaction is a compulsory grammatical construction, rather than a pragmatic option, as in languages with writing. In Kwaza for instance, a non-written language of Brazil, fictive interaction is the only grammatical means to present certain situations and events (van der Voort 2002):

(12) Bwa- dá?-Ø- ts?
    [It [the cigarette lighter] says: “I want to run out”]
    [It [the gas of the cigarette lighter] is about to run out]

Similarly, Korowai, a non-written Papuan language, requires the use of fictive interaction to express emotions (de Vries & van Enk 1997):

(13) Kuasél fikh fo fe-té-tofekho walé-do khe-nè ima-té-tofekho
    [They came and had a look and ‘Oh, my! in our canoes there are mirrors, fish hooks.’]
    [They saw in astonishment that in their canoes there were mirrors and fish hooks.]

In numerous non-written languages, fictive interaction is the only way to present thoughts and intentions. Consider Kombai, a Papuan language (de Vries 2010):

(14) Aifo-nene
    ["We want to go", they say]
    [They want to go]

Furthermore, fictive interaction may be required to express conditionality, causation (Güldemann & von Roncador 2002) and even grammatical tense (van der Voort 2009a,b). We will present a large literature study of fictive interaction in the grammar of non-written languages from various families. For each language, we will document: (i) the form(s) of fictive interaction; (ii) its range of semantic function; and (iii) its degree of grammaticalisation.

**Exploring the relationship between habits and skills in text messaging and spelling skills?**

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Popular beliefs holds that language use that is associated with text messaging has a negative impact on students’ spelling skills. Textisms, as text message abbreviations are called, supposedly infect spelling behaviour in the writing that is done in schools and in society at large. Research has started to address this issue lately. The limited number of studies available point out that the habit of or skill in using textisms in SMS-writing may be positively related to literacy outcomes. This paper presents another empirical investigation of the relationship between habits and skills in text messaging and spelling skills. Around 150 students from the first year of secondary education have been tested for their spelling skill and their skill in abbreviating messages (i.e. using textisms to shorten messages). Additionally, their
habits in text messaging were investigated. Both the frequency with which they send
and receive SMS-messages and their messaging style (i.e. typical density of textisms)
were measured. The results of this study shed new light on the relationship between
text messaging and spelling.

The Chunking Procedure: learnability conditions on a parametric
approach to Universal Grammar

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In the Principles and Parameters framework (PP) language acquisition is viewed
as a process of parameter valuation. A model of PP must provide the elements that
guide the learner in the process of interpreting the data in terms of linguistic evid-
ence to attain an I-language. The degree of permissible linguistic variation is the
result of different parameter settings. The goal of our study is to provide a particular
parameterization procedure.

We discuss certain macroparametric proposals (Baker 1996, 2001, 2008, Huang
2005, 2006, Snyder 2001). Beyond the usual criticism against macroparameters
based on the need for an overspecified UG (Boeckx 2011, Roberts & Holmberg 2010),
we observe that the global process required to value a macroparameter is suspicious
from the acquisition perspective since macroparameters involve very abstract and
general properties that can be realistically determined only by taking into account
a multitude of minor properties. More precisely, macroparametric schemata do not
constitute plausible learning paths, against the standard view (Baker 2001), since they
do not adhere to the following efficiency learnability conditions:

(15) Atomicity condition
Parameters must be atomic, they cannot be clusters of properties.

(16) Accessibility condition
Parameters must be set by directly inspecting phonological and morphological
properties of utterances.

Here we formulate a specific parameterization procedure that satisfies conditions (15)
and (16) by taking certain morphophonological properties of heads as unit of inquiry:

(17) Chunking Procedure
Given a head $H$ (minimal category), the learner determines whether $H$ is
$[-$bounded$]$ or $[+$bounded$]$. If $H$ is $[-$bounded$, it halts; if $H$ is $[+$bounded$, then the
learner determines whether it is $[-$syncretic$]$ or $[+$syncretic$]$ and
halts.

We highlight several advantages of (17) as for learnability and typology, and we derive
some specific intermediate parameters and macroparameters, which become mere
descriptive artifacts, thereby playing no substantial role in language growth.
The English gerund and its Spanish equivalents

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The previous contrastive studies between the English gerund and its Spanish equivalents (Alonso García, Fente Hernanz, Izquierdo, Losada Durán, Piñeiro & García) show limitations in two specific areas.

To begin with, according to our corpus data it can be corroborated that the English gerund displays a greater variety of equivalents of a varied nature. In other words, Spanish provides a wide range of equivalents to conceptualize the English gerund.

To follow, most of the previous studies provide no more than a functional characterization. However, these studies should have included both a cognitive as well as a functional characterization; we therefore consider it necessary to include a cognitive description. This description facilitates us to establish a hierarchy between the English gerund and its equivalents based on their coincidences and differences from a conceptual point of view.

Based on previous cognitive approach observations (Langacker), we argue in this paper that the English gerund is an event seen as a whole from the close perspective of the conceptualizer and interpreted as an abstract thing, therefore having a nominal profile, without temporal internal structure. The analysis of the equivalents highlights the validity of analysing the English gerund from a nominal profile. In this sense the Spanish equivalents are generally inclined to exploit the eventive reading of the English gerund from a different perspective to the conceptualizer. The use of a parallel corpus allows us to check in greater depth the cognitive relationship of the English gerund and its Spanish equivalents.

To begin with we will provide a cognitive characterization of the English gerund. To follow, we will then outline the equivalents based on their cognitive coincidences and differences in relation to English gerund.

Embedded Fragment answers in English

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Recent research suggests that English fragment answers are derived by focus-sluicing: PF-deletion of the sister of $C^o$. In English root clauses, the sister of $C^o$ is TP (Merchant 2004). An $[E_t]$ feature triggers deletion once its $[uC^*, uF]$ features have been checked. $[uC^*]$ is checked trivially upon merger of $C^o$, and $[uF]$ is checked via Agree once an [+F]-marked XP has been extracted to SpecFP, the specifier of the functional projection immediately dominating CP (18).

(18)  A:  Who did she see?
     B:  $[FP \textbf{John}_t, [CP [ E_f ] t, [TP <\text{she saw t},>]]]$.

Island-obviation is only permitted under PF-deletion when the XP targeted by ellipsis contains all the copies of island-violating remnant-movement besides the highest.
The derivation in (18) thus convincingly accounts for island-insensitivity in fragment answers, as the trace of remnant-movement in SpecCP always escapes deletion.

This account rests upon two contestable assumptions, (i) that a separate \([E]\) feature exists for fragment answers, (ii) FP-movement in English is solely a root phenomenon. This first assumption has been called into question by van Craenenbroek & Lipták (2006), who generalise the \([E]\)-feature (19).

(19)  
*The wh/sluicing correlation* (van Craenenbroek & Lipták 2006)  
The syntactic features that the \([E]\)-feature has to check in a language \(L\) are identical to the strong features a *wh*-phrase has to check in a regular constituent question in \(L\).

If the CP-domain of English is only ‘articulated’ (Rizzi 1997) in root clauses, and if FP dominates CP as in (18), then no problems arise: English obeys the wh/sluicing correlation.

Overlooked in the literature is the fact that English permits embedded fragment answers (20)–(22).

(20)  
\[ \begin{align*}  
A: & \text{ The management asked who hired Jones.} \\
B: & \text{ The *personnel department* thinks a *personnel manager*.} \\
& (\text{Ebert et al. 2003: 2})  
\end{align*} \]

(21)  
\[ \begin{align*}  
A: & \text{ Who d’you reckon’s the killer? I think \textbf{John}.} \\
B: & \text{ Really? I doubt \textbf{John}. I think \textbf{Bill}.}  
\end{align*} \]

(22)  
\[ \begin{align*}  
A: & \text{ Did John kiss Mary last night?} \\
B: & \text{ He definitely kissed \textit{someone} all right, but I don’t know whether \textit{Mary}!}  
\end{align*} \]

(22) presents a pertinent problem for Merchant’s account. Assuming that ‘whether’ is a complementizer, it appears that English embedded clauses not only project FP, but that this projection is dominated by CP, thus conforming to Rizzi’s (1997) conception of the CP-domain (23).

(23)  
\[ \ldots \text{ but I don’t know } \left[ \text{CP } \left[ \text{CP } \ldots \left[ \text{FP } \text{Mary}, \left[ \text{TP } \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \right] \right] \right] \right] \]

I will discuss the behaviour of English embedded clauses and offer some constraints on their appearance. The issue of how to incorporate English fragment answers (both root and embedded) into the wh/sluicing correlation also be discussed. Some suggestions will be advanced but all will ultimately be abandoned.

**The man that plays hurray: Fictive interaction in semi-spontaneous speech of aphasic patients**

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This study addresses the use of fictive interaction in semi-spontaneous aphasic speech. Fictive interaction, i.e. the use of the conversation frame to model cognition, language and discourse, can be a successful communication strategy in different languages and genres (Pascual 2002, 2006). In grammar fictive interaction is mainly
manifested in the use of direct speech. Previous research has shown that aphasic speakers that use direct speech are considered the best communicators (Hengst et al. 2005).

Despite mild or severe language problems, the conceptual and communicative competences of aphasic patients remain intact (Goodwin 1995, 2003). They can still use turn-taking, intonation and gesture, aspects that turn out critical for expressing fictive interaction. Aphasic speakers may use fictive interaction as an adaptation strategy (Kolk & Heeschen 1990, Pascual & Versluis 2006). Consider the following example in which a speaker with anomic aphasia describes a line drawing:

(24) Deze is van *hee hier ben ik hoor! Zie je me nog wel?*
    [This one is *like hey here I am! Do you still see me?*]

Here, the speaker presents a non-conversational situation (i.e. acclaiming) in conversational terms. Instead of objectively describing what is depicted (e.g. "He is acclaiming"), the speaker demonstrates the scenario through a hypothetical speech event. Similarly, in (25) a Broca’s aphasic describes the same depicted character:

(25) De man *die* *hoera* speelt.
    [The man *that* *plays* *hurray.*]

In (25), the aphasic speaker produces a descriptive utterance. However, the appropriate, descriptive verb (i.e. acclaiming) is substituted by a demonstrative verb involving a deictic shift. Samples of semi-spontaneous speech from 15 aphasic speakers and 30 matched control participants were analyzed. The data were collected using non-verbal images to be described by participants. We will explore whether aphasic patients use fictive interaction significantly more frequently and for more communicative functions than controls.

The Use of Sophisticated Language in Advanced Dutch EFL Writing: A Longitudinal Study

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EFL writing tends to be less sophisticated, even at very advanced levels, than native writing. One of the reasons for this is that a more limited vocabulary forces the EFL users to make more use of paraphrase. Another reason is that EFL users are often not sufficiently aware of common collocations. Lorenz (1999) and de Haan (1999) showed that advanced German and Dutch EFL writers tend to use modified adjectives in atypical sentence functions (e.g. as subjects), or in combination with atypical nouns (as in "the UK being a rather gorgeous country"). Also, the general intensifier *very* was found to be overused by German and Dutch EFL writers. This study, part of a larger research project studying the very advanced learner of English, is a continuation and an elaboration of the abovementioned studies. It investigates the use of not only premodified adjectives, but also premodified adverbs, by advanced Dutch EFL students. More importantly, it uses longitudinal data, which makes it possible to follow individual students’ development over time. We have collected
student essays from two different cohorts of Dutch university students of English, written on various occasions. These essays were collected at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end, of their first year of study. The analysis of these essays reveals large differences in development between individual students, but at the same time we can observe general developmental patterns. Thus we see combinations like 'highly pleasant' in less mature writing, and 'highly critical' in more mature writing. Likewise, the intensifiers 'really' and 'truly' are found in complementary distribution, the latter occurring exclusively in more mature writing. We will argue that the improved ability to use a wider and more appropriate range of intensifying adverbs adds to a more sophisticated written EFL production.

**Phonemic contrasts and their psychological reality**

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In the ‘TRACE model of language comprehension’, McClelland & Elman (1986) assume that some phonemic contrasts are smaller than others. In order to confirm the psychological reality of this assumption, event-related potentials (ERPs) were recorded, focusing on two components: the Mismatch Negativity (MMN), measuring unconscious processing (Näätänen et al. 1978) and the P3, which is attention-modulated and influenced by stimulus probability, participants’ certainty and resource allocation (Duncan-Johnson & Donchin 1977, Johnson 1984).

During ERP recording, 13 participants were presented with a sequence of stimuli: one occurring in 80% of the cases and two others in 10% each (deviants). Participants were instructed to push a button upon detection of a deviant. A control condition with pure tones and a condition with auditory syllables (/pa/ vs. /ka/ & /ta/) were presented.

For the pure tones there was a difference in reaction time (1200Hz detected faster than 1050Hz), indicating a difference in certainty. The accuracy did not differ. For the auditory syllables no difference in accuracy or reaction time was found between the deviants. The ERP of the pure tones resembled classic findings (Sams et al. 1985): an MMN and a P3 were found for both deviants. The P3 was larger for the 1200Hz-deviant than the 1050Hz-deviant, due to the higher certainty for this difference (cf. behavioral results). For the syllables no classic MMN, but a later negativity (200–240ms) was found for both deviants, followed by a P3, which was larger for /ta/ than /ka/. As certainty did not differ, only resource allocation differs between both deviants and is responsible for the difference in amplitude. As predicted by the TRACE model, /ka/ requires less resources than /ta/ (evoking a smaller amplitude) because of the bigger difference to /pa/. The theoretical assumptions are therefore supported by the ERP-data and reflect the psychological reality.

**The Structure and Function of Interjections in English Aphasic Conversation: Two Case-Studies**

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Aphasia is an acquired language disorder caused by focal brain injury. It predicts specific patterns of language comprehension and production that affect lexical retrieval and grammar. The linguistic impairment of the person with aphasia (PWA) decreases the fluency of speech and makes the conveyance of information in talk more effortful. Aphasia not only affects the communicative ability of the PWA, but furthermore constitutes an issue of identity (Wilkinson et al. 2007). Interjections such as ‘yeah’, ‘oh’ and ‘well’ are an important resource to facilitate the comprehension and production of talk. They enable the participants to interpret and anticipate sequences of conversation more easily and correctly (Daly & Knapp 2002), which makes conversation more efficient and enhances intersubjectivity. Research has uncovered two important features of interjections, which are essential to the organization of turn-taking in typical conversation, namely a ‘syntactic’ and ‘pragmatic projectability’ (Beeke 2003). Structurally, interjections facilitate the organization of conversations and pragmatically, they aid in the establishment of common ground while being produced with ease and without syntactic constraints. Through their lexical brevity and simplicity they are of great interest in aphasia, especially since they are generally spared (Goodwin 1995).

Two conversations between a PWA and his spouse were analyzed to investigate the function of interjections. In contrast to prior research that related the use of interjections to passive communicators (Perkins 1995), results suggested that interjections can display passive speakers as active participants in conversation. Interjections serve to express degrees of interest and engagement in a conversation. They alone may be perceived as a sufficient contribution to the conversation to display the PWA as competent conversation partner. This ensures a smooth conversation independent of the actual contribution by the PWA. Despite the multiple meanings of interjections, they nevertheless enabled the PWA to get his message across. In sum, interjections are suggested to serve as a remedy to threats to saving face.

Understanding and producing focus-sensitive sentence

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How do we interpret focus-sensitive sentences? Sentences such as The queen only gave a hat to the boy have several readings. When verifying a sentence-situation match we either look for examples that would make the sentence true or aim to find examples that would make the sentence false: one looks for contrasts to the “hat”, the “boy” or even the “give-action”.

But which contrast set do we choose and how does the saliency of the situation influence that choice? This study analyses the eye-movement (and reaction time) of adult speakers of Dutch that perform a picture-sentence verification task and an elicited production task. Eye-tracking is an ideal method to record the looking patterns that could answer these questions.

We manipulate the different readings with pictures, as well as with stress. We expect saliency of pictures to play an important role in deciding which reading to
chose. This choice of reading should lead to distinct looking patterns in the eye-tracking data.

Stress also plays an important in disambiguation: with stress on “hat” the other readings disappear. Though stress is often a helpful clue to disambiguate, it is not a necessary one. We expect that adults overrule stress assignment to avoid mismatches and create matches. We expect this overruling to affect their own stress placement, when being asked to repeat the test sentence.

By using eye-tracking and analyzing both comprehension and production, this study makes a valuable contribution to the theory of focus assignment.

**Morphological Agreement in L2 Greek/Cypriot**

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The present study investigates morphological agreement in L2 Greek and Cypriot verbal and nominal domains by L1 Russian, Bulgarian, and Turkish speakers, with various features such as gender, case, person, and number involved, and different levels of locality (short- and longdistance dependencies, following Tsimpli et al. (2005). Russian, Bulgarian, and Greek are similar in terms of phi-feature agreement, but different from Turkish.

According to the *Missing Surface Inflection Hypothesis* (Haznedar & Schwarz 1997; Lardiere 1998; Prévost & White 2000), L2 acquisition is UG-constrained, so the operation Agree is available to L2 learners. Morphological agreement is realized postsyntactically at the PF-interface. Syntax and morphology develop independently in L2A without a straightforward mapping between them (Smith & Tsimpli 1995). It is difficult for L2 learners to access and match the morpho-phonological form with the relevant feature(s) (Lardiere 2005).

The data of this study comes from 41 oral interviews conducted in two countries, (i) Mainland Greece, with 8 Russian–Greek adults, and Cyprus, with 17 Russian–Cypriot, 8 Bulgarian–Cypriot, and 8 Turkish–Cypriot adult speakers.

The analysis of the recordings shows that gender was the most problematic feature for non-native speakers of L2 Greek and Cypriot, both in the verbal and in the nominal domain. Grammatical gender is an uninterpretable feature as it does not coincide with natural gender and lacks semantic content (Tsimpli 2004, Franceschina 2001). So L2 learners have problems with assigning gender features and gender concord.

L2 learners of Greek/Cypriot in the present study either relied on phonological agreement or used the default neuter gender. It has also been found that length of exposure to L2 influences the production of surface morphology, which is line with the findings by Gess & Herschensohn (2001), Lardiere (2005), and Tsimpli et al. (2005).

**Reconstructing language contact: preaspiration in Shetland**

Remco Knooihuizen and Anne-Mette Hermans
When speakers stop speaking their own language in favour of another, lexical, grammatical or phonological features from their original language may be retained in their version of the target language (Thomason 2001, Sasse 1992). Although these substrate features originate in L1 interference in second-language or bilingual first-language interference, they may continue to exist in the new variety even after the abandoned language has died.

Two varieties of English in the Scottish periphery originate at least partly from language shift: Highland English, with a background in Scottish Gaelic (Shuken 1984, 1985), and Insular Scots, with a substratum from now-extinct Orkney and Shetland Norn (Barnes 1998, Millar 2008, Knooihuizen 2009). Comparing the transfer of similar features in both cases may help us understand the mechanisms of shift-induced transfer. This paper focuses in particular on the transfer of a phonetic feature, preaspiration.

Preaspiration (Hansson 2001, Silverman 2003) is a well-known feature of West Scandinavian languages, including Norn, as well as of Scottish Gaelic. It has also been attested in Highland English, where the details of the phenomenon so closely map onto those in local Scottish Gaelic dialects, that Highland English preaspiration is generally accepted to be a transfer feature. In contrast, there are no traces of preaspiration in Insular Scots (Millar 2007).

We try to reconstruct the phonotactic, lexical and geographic occurrence of preaspiration in Shetland Norn, based on phonetic information from Jakobsen’s (1928) etymological dictionary containing surviving Norn lexical material in Shetland dialect collected in the 1890s. By means of multivariate analysis of the occurrence (and non-occurrence) of preaspiration in this data, we show how preaspiration was constrained in the language, and through comparison with Highland English, suggest reasons why the feature was not transferred to Insular Scots.

Licensing dative subjects in Russian embedded infinitives

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Moore & Perlmutter (1999) argue that examples like (26) are ambiguous between the (more natural) construal where the dative DP is the matrix experience and the one where it is the subject of the infinitive (which requires focus stress on this DP). They assume that under the latter construal the DP in question receives dative case from the infinitive.

(26) Važno Ivanu poji domoj.
important Ivan to go home

‘It is important for Ivan to go home’.

This view, however, is problematic for at least two reasons. First, as M&P observe, an overt dative subject is disallowed in the presence of an overt experiencer (27). M&P claim that this follows from “a general condition on control with a matrix experiencer”. This condition appears entirely stipulative.
Second, overt subjects inside infinitival complements of the kind in (26) seem to be restricted to predicates that assign dative case to their controller arguments, such as *nado* ‘necessary’, *nužno* ‘necessary’, *neobxodimo* ‘necessary’. Thus, passive variant of the subject control verb *rešit* ‘decide’, which does not assign dative case, does not readily allow for an overt dative subject of infinitive even when its agent is implicit (28).

I would like to suggest that dative is assigned to the DP by the matrix predicate thus instantiating ECM. It might appear problematic that dative, which is generally taken to be inherent case, is assigned to a non-argument. However, we might adopt Pesetsky’s (2010) proposal that dative is assigned by an abstract preposition and is therefore structural. This makes the proposal similar in spirit to Jung’s (2008) proposal concerning licensing of the dative in modal infinitivals in Russian.

Reading aloud patterns in families in the Netherlands

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It has been well documented that reading aloud is beneficial for young children’s language and literacy development (Bus, van Ijzendoorn & Pellegrini, 1995; Fletcher & Reese, 2004; Mol & Bus, 2011). Many parents report reading to their children. However, little is known about reading aloud patterns in families residing in the Netherlands.

The aim of this study was to examine reading aloud behaviors in families living in the Netherlands. We administered a questionnaire on reading aloud patterns among 444 families with children ages 0–12 years living in the Netherlands. Ninety percent of the respondents were female. Ten percent of the respondents had a university degree, 6% a VMBO degree, and 26% a MBO degree. On average, respondents were 39 years old (SD = 6, range=25–71). Approximately 50% of respondents had 2 children and a little over a quarter reported having 3 children. More than three quarters of the families spoke Dutch at home and about 10% spoke a local dialect.

More than 60% of parents reported reading daily to their children while 5% said never to engage in any bookreading. Fifty-five percent of respondents reported that fathers also read to their children. However, in most families mothers did most of the reading (64%) while only 8% of fathers did most of the reading. Most parents started reading to their children between 6–12 months (39%) while 29% started before child age 6 months. Parents had more books for their children at home than for themselves: 48% reported having more than 50 children’s books compared to 35%
having more than 50 books for adults in their house.

Next, we will examine results from data gathered among 272 children ages 8–12 on book reading behaviors. Furthermore, we will investigate the relationships between different variables such as level of education and reading frequency and book ownership.

When is a language verb-second?

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Dutch and German main clauses have the finite verb in second place (verb-second, V-to-C movement). A number of languages that do not exhibit verb-second today have been claimed to show verb-second in older stages: Old English and Old French. For Old French this has recently been disputed on the grounds that its verb-second-like behaviour is not as systematic as in Dutch or German and is information-structurally conditioned rather than purely syntactic (Rinke & Meisel 2009); for Old English, on the other hand, the failure of the verb to rise to C in all main clauses has not been regarded as grounds for such a disqualification (van Kemenade 1987).

The present paper will argue on the basis of Old English and Old High German (Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2010) that the syntactic verb-second rule in Dutch and German should be regarded as the outcome of what were originally two different verb-placement rules that had information-structural motivations: (i) V-to-C was motivated by a need to mark off foci, which would include verb-movement after question words and contrastively-focused phrases; this rule survives in Present-Day English as I-to-C movement in wh-questions and in sentences like (29a,b), with some of its functions replaced by the emergence of clefts (as in (29a′,b′)) in the 15th Century; (ii) V-to-AgrS was motivated by a need to mark off given from new information: it demarcated a domain for discourse links and topics, leading to a verb-third ordering, as in (30). Motivation (ii) connects with claims in the psycholinguistic literature that the first position in a verb-second language plays a crucial role in a typological distinction between verb-second German and non-verb-second English that goes much deeper than syntax (Carroll et al. 2004). These facts lead to new hypotheses to determine whether Old French, too, is a verb-second language.

Data (finite verb in bold):

Present-day English

(29) a. Only after I had been in the room for a few minutes did I realize that everyone was staring at me.
    a′. It was only after I had been in the room for a few minutes that I realized that everyone was staring at me
    b. *For this reason did I start with a negative comment (Internet forum)
    b′. This was why/the reason that I started with a negative comment

Old English
And seo eadiga Margareta hire handan upp aholf and hi to gode gebêd and the blessed Margaret her hands up lifted and her to God prayed and þus cwæð: On þe ic gelefa and thus spoke: On thee I believe 'And the blessed Margaret lifted up her hands and prayed to God and spoke thus: "In you I believe..."' < LS 14 (MargaretAss) 119>

Reporting and Comment Clauses in Romance

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Reporting and comment clauses constitute ways of expressing evidentiality and epistemicity. They can be parenthetically joined with an associated clause that usually represents the message that one is conveying, and can potentially be supplemented with phrases related to manner, source, goal, speaker attitude, etc. The French and Spanish examples in (31) and (32), respectively, show that much more is possible than in a simple prototypical example like 'John said':

(31) "Je ne t’aime plus", dit Marie à Antoine d’une voix brusque.
I NEG you love more said Mary to Anthony of a voice abrupt
"I don’t love you anymore", Mary said abruptly to Anthony.'

[Rep-Cl]

(32) "María ya no me quiere", pensaba Antonio instintivamente.
Mary already NEG me loves thought Anthony instinctively
"Mary doesn’t love me anymore", Anthony thought instinctively.’

[Com-Cl]

Traditionally, the literature treats these construction types separately, but I argue that an important generalization can be made (cf. van Maastricht 2011). Furthermore, since the literature is based largely on data from Germanic, more cross-linguistic study is essential. In my research, I examined properties of French and Spanish reporting and comment clauses by means of two extensive grammaticality judgment tasks with native speakers. Reasoning from a universalist perspective, I hypothesized that Romance roughly has the same possibilities as Germanic in the relevant respects. The outcomes of the tests indeed support the following conclusions:

(i) Reporting and comment clauses behave on a par.
(ii) In this domain, Romance displays all basic types of construal found earlier in Germanic.
(iii) Detailed language variation can be attributed to construction-independent grammatical factors.

More specifically, I looked at various subject and verb types, argument structure, tense agreement, additional auxiliaries and adverbs, negation, subjunctive, subject-verb inversion, and the positional freedom of the parenthetical clause with respect to the matrix.

30
18 years later, neither rusty nor wobbly: a case study on foreign language non-attrition of Spanish in a German multilingual

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Second language acquisition and the processes involved in language learning have become increasingly popular research topics in the last years. However, research in the field has so far mainly focused on the processes and mechanisms of acquisition and very little has been done to see what happens once the active use of a foreign language, its acquisition or exposure to it, ceases. The notion of 'use it or lose it', to use Schmid’s (2004) words, is rather popular and theories like the Activation Threshold Hypothesis (Paradis 1993, 2004) also claim that long-term lack of use of a language leads to language attrition. This presentation reports on a case study of a German multilingual, Sonia, who has spent a year in Spain, and whose competence in Spanish does not seem to have decreased after as long as 18 years of non-use of the language. The data gathered combines free speech data, linguistic data from a C-test and psycholinguistic data from a Picture Naming experiment in addition to a number of sociolinguistic and personal background questionnaires based on Schmid (2011), Gardner (1985) and Freed et al. (2004). Sonia’s performance is compared to that of 3 groups of attriters with varying length of time elapsed since completion of their Study Abroad in Spain and a baseline group still in contact with the language, all consisting of Dutch and German Erasmus students. Strikingly, Sonia’s performance is closer to that of the baseline group not only in the C-test and the free speech data but also in the very demanding psycholinguistic task where she named the pictures with a remarkable accuracy and speed. A qualitative analysis of the personal and background factors which might have contributed to this remarkable language retention is made, outlining the importance of high initial proficiency.

The processing of “alle”: from formal semantics to Core Number system

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Does the Dutch quantifier alle recruit Core Number system (CNS), a perceptual-cognitive system for mental representations of quantities? Our research is original as it hypothesizes a non-linguistic psychological system to play a role in quantifier processing.

In formal semantics the rule of Conservativity (Barwise & Cooper 1981) is used to assess the truth of a universally quantified sentence: a sentence like (33) is true if the cardinality of the set of farmers minus the intersection between farmers and dog-feeders is zero.

(33) All farmers feed a dog.

If the relationship between the number of farmers and the number of dogs perceptually influences the processing of all, reaction time (RT) signatures characteristic
of CNS (Feigenson et al. 2004, Carey 2009) will be found in the course of semantic processing.

If processing is Conservativity-driven, (33) is verified against the set of farmers and the presence of other dogs or other kinds of dog-feeders is irrelevant. If processing is driven not only by Conservativity we hypothesize that CNS contributes to the semantic processing drawing also on what is not logically relevant in the context (e.g. other dogs). We predict CNS signatures such as the magnitude effect (Dehaene 1997) to be visible in the RT data.

18 adults took an online sentence-to-picture matching task. Answer accuracy and reaction times were recorded. The linguistic stimuli were constant ("All A do B.") while the visual context varied across three conditions (fig. 2); in each one the A-set had four levels of numerosity (2, 4, 8, 16) and two dispositions (not neat, neat). We found significant RT differences, supporting the CNS activation hypothesis, for the context, numerosity and context by numerosity factors (fig. 3).

We conclude that logically irrelevant objects are not irrelevant at CNS level and can therefore influence the time course of quantifier processing.

Figure 2: Example of the experimental materials for the sentence Alle meisjes openen een koffer ‘All girls open a suitcase’

Voice-over in documentary film and the imagined audience

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A documentary is accessible to its audience when film viewers understand and process the given information in full. Consequently, the documentary’s semiotic resources have to provide the adequate cues: in words and pictures (as well as in sound and music, however not considered here). ’Audience design’ in verbal communication (Bell 1984, 1990)) is the starting concept also for filmic discourse. Together with the ‘participation framework’ (Goffman 1976, Clark 1996), an audience-designed documentary discourse may treat the public as ’overhearers’, what Bubel (2008) has shown concerning film actors’ dialogue. In documentaries, interviews are designed for overhearers (Haan 2009), but also for ‘ overseers’, since pictures are connected with the ongoing information processing. Normally, a main source in documentaries is the voice-over (Kozloff 1988). The voice-over speaks directly to the audience,
although it cannot be seen. The audience might be Goffman’s ‘addressee’, however is now an imagined recipient. Therefore, a specific participation framework has to be developed. In this contribution, the voice-over’s role is analyzed as the provider of cues to the public in order to support the documentary’s understanding. The data are a corpus of 828 voice-over sequences. Voice-over’s invisibility while pictures are shown demands a further step in the corpus analysis: to combine the informational quality of the pictures with the speech actions realized at a certain moment. Findings show that the main category of voice-over realizations is devoted to the documentary’s structure and to the discourse structure. Often there occur explaining, specifying, and appealing to the audience’s knowledge. These voice-over parts are accompanied by content-related pictures. Most pictures specify the verbal content, increase it, serve for topic development, introduce sequences or show topics in demonstrations. In such a way, supported by voice-over and pictures, the audience may co-construct the meaning of the documentary.

**Driven by Broca**

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Inferior frontal regions have been related to sequential (word order) processing, while posterior superior temporal regions appear to support the processing of verb argument structure. Both of these processes are necessary for successful parsing of complex syntactic structures. I will present a study that was aimed at determining the primary drive to the network that supports object-cleft processing, and argue that results reflect the nature of the parsing process.

Functional and effective connectivity analyses of published fMRI subtraction paradigm data (Thompson et al. 2010) were used to investigate whether the driv-
ing input enters the network through the inferior frontal gyrus (IFG) or the posterior superior temporal cortex (pSTG). Twelve right-handed participants performed an auditory verification task, in which they were presented with sentences and concomitant visual scenes. Sentence types were (English) object clefts (OC) and subject clefts (SC). English OC constructions have a "noncanonical" word order and are syntactically more complex than SC structures.

The contrast of OC>SC revealed differential activation in left-hemisphere IFG, pSTG, premotor cortex (PM) and the anterior middle temporal gyrus (aMTG). The reverse contrast, of SC>OC, yielded no significant differential activation. Subsequent functional connectivity analysis revealed significant connectivity between aMTG-pSTG, pSTG-IFG and IFG-PM. Based on these results, 12 models were built and compared, using dynamic causal modeling (Friston et al. 2003). The model that fit the data best had driving input to IFG and modulation by OC processing of the connection from IFG to pSTG. Comparison between the two groups of models with different driving inputs showed that the models with driving input on IFG generally fit better to the data, suggesting that complex syntactic processing is primarily driven by word-order analysis, supported by inferior frontal cortex, in an interactive relation with posterior superior temporal cortex, which likely supports verb argument structure processing.

**Mastering false belief understanding: Comparing autistic and typically developing children with the use of eyetracking**

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It is well known that there is a strong relationship between Theory of Mind (ToM) development and development of language (f.i. relationship complex syntax and false-belief-understanding, see De Villiers & Pyers 2002). Mastering false beliefs is considered a cornerstone in ToM development. This means that a child is able to comprehend that a person can have a wrong belief and will also react upon this wrong belief (Astington & Baird 2005). Children with autism are slower than typically developing children in mastering false belief and also show delays and deficits in the acquisition of language (Baron-Cohen et al. 2000).

In this study, I focus on mastering false beliefs in autistic and typically developing (TD) children. Specifically, I investigated the role of language in ToM performance. Children were tested on both a verbal and a low-verbal ToM task. Furthermore, I used eyetracking during the low verbal ToM task to investigate looking behavior during participation in this task. This online method measures when, where and how long a child focused on an object/person, in addition to her score on the task. Based on the known delays in acquisition of language and ToM development, I hypothesized that:

1. Autistic children are better at low verbal false belief tasks than verbal false belief tasks.
2. Autistic children show a different eye gaze pattern than TD children in false belief tasks.
In total 40 autistic children between ages 6.0 and 12.0 and a matched control group participated in this experiment.

This study stands out in two ways. First, the use of both a verbal and a low verbal task make it possible to more precisely investigate the effect of language on ToM performance. Second, the use of eyetracking can give more insight into where children look for detailed information when trying to resolve a false belief task.

The Semantics of the Partitive Number Phrase

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We study the semantics of partitive numerals. Our data includes Spanish expressions as the ones illustrated by la mitad 'the half', una tercera parte 'a third part', dos tercios 'two thirds'.

Partitive numerals are proportional quantifiers that denote the concept of rational number. Partitive numerals are a heterogeneous grammatical class: they are categorized as lexical or functional categories and may be encoded as A, N, NP, DP, V, Adv, morphemes. But in spite of such a diversity in grammatical category, some of the features of partitive numerals are cross-linguistically shared. A large number of languages belonging to both written and oral traditions have some expression for "part" or "half", even if they do not have any further partitive numerals. Those expressions denote natural fractions whose meaning is grasped by a natural sense for partitivity.

Our proposal. Partitive numerals denote an inherently operational concept, which nevertheless can be computed by different algorithms. We propose that the variety of linguistic expressions categorize some of the algorithms used to compute the concept of rational number denoted by partitive numerals.

We present a model for the semantic composition of partitive numerals that represents such a computational meaning.

We differentiate two ontological domains, which are affected by different kind of operations: the domain of numbers and the domain described by the category that denotes the restrictor. The semantic operations that compose the meaning of partitive numerals are a division and a multiplicative function. We take the meaning 'part', which is the minimal semantic feature shared by partitive numerals as the head of a Partitive Number Phrase, which conveys the result of a division function. In our model, the meaning for la tercera parte 'the third part', or onceavo 'eleventh' in siete onceavos 'seven elevenths' is:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[la tercera parte]} &= \lambda x. \exists \Phi . \exists f < [x \subseteq \Phi \wedge 3 - f < (x) = [3, p]] \\
\text{[-av]} &= \lambda x. \exists \mu [\mu_{\text{part}}(x) \wedge |x| = 1] \\
\text{[once-av-o]} &= \lambda x. \exists \Phi [x \subseteq \Phi \wedge |\Phi| = 11 \wedge \mu_{\text{part}}(x) \wedge |x| = 1]
\end{align*}
\]

Conditions on (obligatory) clitic doubling in Bulgarian

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Although clitic doubling (CD) is one of the most salient features of the Balkan Sprachbund, it is unevenly distributed and triggered by distinct conditions across the languages of the expansion area. For Bulgarian, it has generally been agreed that there exist three environments for obligatory CD (cf. Franks & Rudin 2004, Jaeger & Gerassimova 2002, Jaeger 2003 a.o.): (I) when the associate is an oblique subject, as in (37); (II) when it is a topic, as in (38); and (III) when wh-movement appears to violate Superiority, as in (39).

Krapova & Cinque (2008) consider word order to be irrelevant for the occurrence of genuine CD in Bulgarian. It is rather the choice of predicate and the obligatoriness of the doubling clitic that distinguish CD constructions. Under this analysis only (35) exemplifies proper CD.

In the present paper I explore the interaction of the range of possible word orders and direct object clitic doubling in Bulgarian, discussing contexts of optional vs. obligatory clitic doubling and establishing a relationship between choice of syntactic structure and CD rather than predicate choice only. I show that not all of the expected predicates induce obligatory CD irrespective of the construction used (cf. (40a) vs. (40b), (41a) vs. (41b)). Instead of singling out one particular environment, e.g. the type of CD with psych and physical perception predicates, as suggested by Krapova & Cinque (2008), I propose a classification of various CD environments, conditioned by distinct factors, accounting for the realisation of different types of a uniform phenomenon: Object identification (cf. (42)); Topic marking (cf. (43)); Oblique subjects conditioned on word order (cf. (44a) vs. (44b)). This classification allows to account for differently conditioned occurrences of CD in Bulgarian, e.g. for structure- and predicate-triggered environments.

**Examples**

(37) Ivan *(go)* särbi râkata.
Ivan *him*itches arm<br>‘Ivan’s arm is itching.’

(38) Marija nikoj ne *(ja)* obića.
Maria nobody not *her*loves<br>‘Nobody loves Maria.’

(39) Kogo *koj* *(go)* natupa?
whom who *him*beat<br>‘Who beat whom?’

(40) a. Omrâzna *(i)* da gleda televizia (na Marija).
        got tired her to watch TV (to Maria)
    ‘Maria got tired of watching TV.’

   b. Televiziata/Gledaneto na televizia (i) omrâzna bârz na
TV to quickly got quickly
    ‘TV/Watching TV quickly got Maria tired.’

(41) a. Na Ivan *(mu)* dosažda pesenta.
        to Ivan *him*bothers song<br>‘Ivan’s arm is itching.’
‘Ivan is bothered by the song.’

b. Pesenta (mu) dosažda na Ivan.
song\textsubscript{def} him\textsubscript{CLACC} bothers to Ivan
‘The song bothers Ivan.’

(42) Učitelkata *(ja) narisuva deteto.
teacher\textsubscript{def} her\textsubscript{CLACC} drew child\textsubscript{def}
‘The child drew the teacher.’

(43) Deteto *(gi) nakasa knigite.
child\textsubscript{def} them\textsubscript{CLACC} tore books\textsubscript{def}
‘The child tore the books.’

(44) a. Decata često *(gi) boliat ušite prez zimata.
children\textsubscript{def} often them\textsubscript{CLACC} hurt ears\textsubscript{def} during winter\textsubscript{def}
‘The ears often hurt children in winter.’

b. Ušite često (gi) boliat decata prez zimata.
ears\textsubscript{def} often them\textsubscript{CLACC} hurt children\textsubscript{def} during winter\textsubscript{def}
‘The ears often hurt children in winter.’

Syntactic Subjects in Russian Aphasic Speech

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This study is among the first ones to enhance understanding of the way in which referential system functions in Russian aphasics (twenty-two participants) in comparison to non-brain-damaged individuals (fifteen participants). It addresses the distribution of subject types in oral spontaneous narratives elicited with a wordless picture book. Moreover, unlike the previous research, that engage mostly data from nonfluent aphasic speakers of non-pro-drop Germanic languages (De Roo 2003), this study uses narrative data of both nonfluent and fluent aphasic individuals of optional pro-drop Russian. Thus, corresponding crossgroup comparisons are to show whether the patterns of realizations and omissions of grammatical subjects vary across languages and aphasia types.

Nonfluent aphasics show excessive use of zero subjects (41% vs. 35% of all finite clauses in control samples) and avoidance of pronouns (10% vs. 23%). Such tendency is consistent with non-pro-drop languages. The fluent group, however, demonstrates similar to normal patterns with quite high percentages of zero and pronominal subjects (35% and 25% respectively vs. 34% and 23% in the control group). See Fig. 4.

Thus, by using zero subjects aphasic speakers cope with processing load reduction (Kolk 1995), as it requires neither overt morphological marking, nor phonological spell-out. Pronouns, however, demand an extra grammatical operation of substitution of a noun for a pronoun and, thus, present difficulty for nonfluent individuals.

Whereas in non-pro-drop languages grammatical constraints are fulfilled (zero subjects are Topic and I-Drops), in Russian unjustified ellipsis is sometimes used. The report will address the types and contexts of zero subjects use in Russian aphasic speech and their compatibility with those of healthy participants.
On the Heuristic and Explanatory Power of The Kruszewski–Kuryłowicz Rule

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Named after two great Polish linguists who discovered it—Mikołaj Habdank Kruszewski and Jerzy Kuryłowicz, the rule is worded variously. M. Kruszewski formulated it as follows: "... The wider the usage of the word is, the less content it contains" [Kruszewski 1998: 206]. According to Je. Kuryłowicz, "... the more generalized (poorer) the content of a sign is, the wider its sphere of usage by speakers; the more special (richer) the content is, the narrower the sphere of its not only internal usage (inside the system) but also external one (in the linguistic community) is" [Kuryłowicz 1962: 19]. Cf. other versions [Nikolaeva 1990: 535, Berezin 1998: 15, Mel’chuk 1998: 17].

In Stepanov (1990: 44) it is pointed out that the Kruszewski–Kuryłowicz rule is a general semiotic principle. In Berezin (1998: 15) it is stated that the rule is one of basic rules of information theory.

Some non-trivial facts testifying to a great heuristic and explanatory power of the rule have been revealed when I investigated the Russian homonymous constructions stat’+INF. Interestingly, it has turned out that the rule has two aspects both of which are effective research tools.

First, I compared the usage frequency of the perfective construction stat’+INF in Russian National Corpus with the one of the construction nachat’+INF. It has enabled me to corroborate the prediction about existing two types of the meaning of the beginning in Russian (the non-aspectual, or linear, initiality and the aspectual, or punctual, initiality) (Samedov 1968: 117–118). Besides that, the rule has allowed to introduce the concept of a syncretic process, thanks to which a number of semantic phenomena in Russian verbal system get their explanation.

Secondly, I compared the usage spheres of the homonymous constructions
stat'\textit{INF}, which has enabled me to conclude that one of the constructions is semantically simpler. Thus, I have been able to confirm that this homonym is imperfective.

I believe that the specific research findings offer a new perspective on quantitative corpus based studies of semantics.

**Production and comprehension of unaccusative verbs in Spanish: evidence from agrammatic aphasia**

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The present contribution provides evidence for the complexity of unaccusative verb argument structure in Spanish agrammatism by means of two experimental tasks: elicited production of verbs with alternating transitivity \((Sánchez-Alonso 2010)\) and a battery of unaccusative production and comprehension measures \((adapted from McAllister 2007)\). The aim is twofold: a) to deepen our understanding of the source of difficulties and b) to determine the role of the clitic pronoun se in unaccusative constructions.

Cross-linguistic research on language pathologies has shown that the production of unaccusative verbs is problematic for agrammatic patients \((Bastiaanse & van Zonneveld 2005, McAllister 2007, Dragoy & Bastiaanse 2010, a.o.)\). The difficulty that unaccusative verbs pose for this population has been explained by the number and type of arguments associated with the verb \((ASCH - Thompson 2003)\) and by the role played by syntactic movement in determining patterns of impaired production and comprehension \((DOP-H - Bastiaanse & van Zonneveld 2005, McAllister 2007)\). Our results show that moved constituents play a crucial role in patients’ performance.

Additionally, Spanish data present one critical difference with respect to already documented languages: the use of the clitic pronoun se. Difficulties with clitic production have been widely documented in the literature on agrammatism \((Avrutin 1999, Stavrakaki & Kouvava 2003, Chinellato 2004; a.o.)\). Consequently, data may also enlighten the comprehension of these deficits. Since dissociation among clitic types have been attested in the results from different tests \((Rossi 2007, Martínez Ferreiro 2010)\), reflexives and transitive sentences with DO clitics are also analyzed in the first task. The present data supported the previous dissociation among clitics and raised questions about the role of the pronoun se in the processing of unaccusative sentences.

These tasks constitute the first effort towards a characterization of the degree of impairment of argument structure in Spanish agrammatism.

**Automatic essay scoring: Machine learning meets applied linguistics**

Victor D.O Santos, Marjolijn Verspoor and John Nerbonne  
*University of Groningen*

Automated Essay Scoring (AES) has for quite a few years now attracted substantial attention from government, language researchers and others interested in auto-
matically assessing language proficiency. Sometimes the task is tackled by focusing on many variables (many of which are not relevant for the construct at hand) and sometimes by focusing on few (there are even cases of univariate analysis). However, typical real-word data includes various attributes, only a few of which are actually relevant to the true target concept (Landwehr 2005). We investigate in our study several machine learning algorithms which are part of the widely used WEKA package (University of Waikato) for data mining and analyze them not only in terms of how well they perform with regard to their accuracy in assessing essays in English, but also with regard to how they can be said to reflect research findings in Applied Linguistics. Some models, such as Logistic Model Tree (LMT) achieve better accuracy than others and expose the variables that function most importantly in classification. We also explore the importance of feature selection for improving classifiers and to what extent automatic scoring systems and human raters might be said to differ in their scoring procedures. The dataset used in our experiments comes from English essays written by Dutch students and collected by Dr. Marjolijn Verspoor and Dr. Monika Schmidt (University of Groningen) within the framework of the OTTO project and financed by the OCW (Dutch Ministry or Education), European Platform and Network of Bilingual schools.

On preposition stranding in Dutch without r-pronouns

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Preposition stranding in Dutch is generally argued to be restricted. Only the extraction of a so-called r-pronoun leads to grammaticality; the extraction of a full DP or a regular pronoun leads to ungrammaticality (van Riemsdijk 1978).

(45) Daar/*dat/*de auto zal ik aan denken.
     there/that/the car shall I to think
     ‘I shall think of that/the car.’

It has been shown (van Kampen 1997, Schippers 2007) that preposition stranding without the use of r-pronouns does occur in child Dutch.

(46) Deze molentjes water door doen.
     these mills water through do
     ‘Put water through these mills.’ [Matthijs 3;03.05]

Interestingly, similar examples can also be found in spoken Dutch.

(47) Ik weet niet wie ik naar moet kijken tegenwoordig.
     I know not who I to must look nowadays
     ‘I don’t know who to look to nowadays.’ [16-11-2010]

In this talk I will argue that the presence of preposition stranding without r-pronouns in adult Dutch is related to the presence of preposition stranding without r-pronouns in child Dutch. The stage in child Dutch at which children freely strand preposi-
tions is the result of the child mistakenly analyzing a preposition which is stranded adjacent to a non-finite lexical verb as a particle (van Kampen Submitted). Children eventually slowly retreat from this overgeneralization, but I propose that it remains available as a repair strategy in the adult language. This repair strategy allows the speaker to reanalyze the stranded preposition as being part of the verbal projection, which frees up the complement of the preposition and allows it to move.

Next to preposition stranding without the use of r-pronouns, spoken Dutch also shows two other unexpected phenomena: the occurrence of pseudo-passives, (48), and the ability of the stranded preposition to appear in the verbal cluster, (49).

(48) Alleen serieuze biedingen worden op in gegaan.
‘Only serious bids become up gone’ [06-02-2010]

(49) … en daar zal ook geluisterd naar moeten worden.
‘… and there shall also listened to must become’ [13-01-2011]

The proposed repair strategy is able to explain both phenomena. The ability to reanalyze the stranded preposition as being part of the verbal projection allows for both the formation of pseudo-passives and for the preposition to be part of the verbal cluster. I will support my proposal with experimental data from both acquisition and adult speakers of Dutch.

Types of particles in a wh-typology

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This paper investigates the role of particles in cross-linguistic strategies of wh-question formation, the movement operations involved and some emerging generalizations.

We rely on Hagstrom’s (1998) and Miyagawa’s (2001) proposal of the (abstract) morphological split between the Q-feature and the wh-feature but we deploy them in a different, i.e. antisymmetric framework. We suggest that the Force head universally has a Q-feature, responsible for clause typing. Following Rizzi (1997), we assume that the Focus head contains a wh-feature which may be overt, realized as a wh-particle, or covert. Though traditional systems do not assume such a duplication, and use a single feature to express both clause typing and the (criterial) properties of question operators, there are conceptual and empirical reasons that lead to the postulation of two distinct features. First, clause typing and the scope of operators are conceptually distinct things, with double dissociations (there is clause typing without operators, i.e. in relative clauses, and operators not affecting clause typing, i.e. universal quantification). Secondly, empirical evidence for the dissociation of the two features comes from the typological analysis, i.e. some languages clearly require both markings.

The general principle concerning the Q-feature is that it is associated with a clausal category (clause typing) with which it agrees. The macro-parameters then are:
The Q-feature:

a. Q can be overtly realized as a particle, or can be covert;
b. Q can be associated with an EPP-feature, in which case it triggers MOVE in addition to AGREE.

Regarding the wh-feature, the principle involved holds that it agrees with an XP.+wh. The parameters are:

The wh-feature:

a. the wh-feature can be either overt or covert;
b. it can be associated with EPP and thus triggers MOVE in addition to AGREE.

Some of the languages to consider are the following:

(50) John-ga nani-o katta no?
    John-Nom what-Acc bought Q
    'What did John buy?' [Japanese]

(51) álÓ Kofí yE tì yé là?
    Who Kofi saw Prt Q
    'Who did Kofi see?' [Vata]

(52) Me ba gol di gà?
    What Foc see 3sgM Q
    'What did he see?' [Lele]

(53) Daa sà í éesh aawaxáa?
    What Foc your father he.ate.it
    'What did your father eat?' [Tlingit]

(54) a. U-bona ini?
    2ndSG-see what9?
    'What did you see?'
b. Y-ini o-yi-bona-yo?
    Cop-what9 RC2nd-OC9-see-Rs
    'What is it that you see?' [Zulu]

Does Contrastive Marking Reverse Pronominal Antecedent Biases for Implicit Causality Verbs?

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Subjects asked to complete a sentence like “John admired Bill because he...” will overwhelmingly complete the sentences so that “he” will refer to Bill, because “admire” belongs to a class of stimulus-subject (NP1) verbs that show a subject continuation bias. In a pronoun interpretation experiment, Ehrlich (1980) found that for stimulus-object verbs (NP2), which show biases for continuations focussing on the object, “but” reversed the object bias to a subject bias, consistent with theories that treat “but” as marking an unexpected effect. However, Ehrlich’s subjects did
not reverse their preferences for stimulus-subject verbs. What effect does using a contrastive connective have?

To study this we conducted three experiments. Experiment 1 expanded on Ehrlich but used 16 verbs rather than 6, with nonsense sentences (Hartshorne & Snedeker under review). Subjects ($n = 36$) read sentences like “John amazed Bill but he is a dax” and had to identify the “dax”. Consistent with Ehrlich’s results we only found reversal effect for stimulus-object verbs (NP2), but no difference between connectives and stimulus-subject verbs (NP1). Experiment 2 ($n = 28$) was a completion experiment with object biased transfer verbs (e.g. “kick”, “send”) using “but” and “and” with aspect (perfective vs. imperfective) as an additional factor. Unexpectedly, no object preference was found and “but” lead to a significantly higher object preference only with the perfective.

Experiment 3 ($n = 37$) used the same transfer verbs and aspect but contrasted the connective “but” with “so”. “So” showed a strong object bias, contrasting with “but” which was at chance. Aspect had no effect. Because “so” and “and” are ambiguous between several coherence relations (e.g. “so” can mark both a RESULT and a PURPOSE), these results may be accounted for by the type of coherence relation, as suggested in Stevenson et al. (2000) and Rohde et al. (2006).

**Fictive Interaction, Gesture and Narrative**

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Fictive interaction is a discourse strategy by means of which speakers present multiple viewpoints in an interactive, vivid way (Pascual 2002, Brandt 2010). During fictive utterances, speakers alternate between their expressed factive viewpoint and the viewpoint of a fictive speaker. One famous example of this is the Debate with Kant blend (Fauconnier & Turner 2002), in which a professor fictively engages in a debate with the long-dead Kant, alternating between Kant’s viewpoint and his own. In written descriptions of the debate, the professor communicates by means of a single mode and so is obliged to signal viewpoint shifts with linguistic markers such as “I say” and “Kant replies”.

Communication is rarely so simple: additional meaning making strategies exist and are used whenever possible. Co-speech gesture, which has been shown to express differences in viewpoint (e.g. McNeill 1992 and Parrill 2009), is one such example. When recounting narrative, speakers depict gestures from the point of view of the described character, sometimes even gesturing from that character’s point of view.

Since fictive interaction expresses multiple viewpoints, we would expect to find some expression of each of those viewpoints in the gesture stream and indeed, that is the case. Just as when role shifting in narrative, speakers literally embody the fictive character whose viewpoint they express in speech by means of character viewpoint gestures which are directed to non-addressee spaces. These gestures may crucially rely on the Real Space anchors which speakers establish to organize discourse, and suggest a single conceptualization of the fictive discourse event which suggest Pascual’s (2002) theoretical description of them.
Pronoun resolution in Spanish and English and cross-linguistic validity of the neo-Gricean framework

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The neo-Gricean framework makes strong, testable claims for anaphoric devices like pronouns (Blackwell, 2001). For example, it suggests that more marked anaphoric devices will refer to less accessible entities (as in Gundel, 2010). We tested the cross-linguistic applicability of these claims on two languages with strongly divergent systems of reference: English and Spanish (see (55) and (56) below). Past research has suggested that the two systems work similarly (Blackwell, 2001), but research on Spanish has failed to use a design which includes both accented and unaccented pronouns, as is necessary for a comprehensive description of the system as a whole.

Native speakers of English (Edmonton, Canada) and Spanish (Mexico City) listened to sentences like (55) and (56). We established preference for the unmarked form with written rating (below, e.g. Steve/Esteban are most active), and manipulated the markedness of the anaphor with accent (English and Spanish) and inclusion of additional material (Spanish):

(55)   English  
John talked to Steve, and Frank wrote to him. Neutral Intonation  
John talked Steve, and Frank wrote to HIM. Accented Pronoun

(56)   Spanish  
Juan habló a Esteban, y Frank le escribió. Clitic Only  
Juan habló a Esteban, y Frank le escribió a el. Clitic and Pronoun  
Juan habló a Esteban, y Frank le escribió a él. Clitic and Accented Pronoun

Participants indicated who they thought the pronoun referred to by answering a question, (Who did Frank call?) using a seven-point scale, with one option at each end of the scale (John at one end, Frank at the other).

The use of a more marked form such as an accented pronoun (English) or clitic and pronoun, with or without accent (Spanish) resulted in the choice of a less active antecedent in both English and Spanish. This suggests that the neo-Gricean theory is explanatory in two typologically distinct languages.

Code-switching and the Incorporation of Arabic Loanwords in Andalusian Romance

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After so many years, it may seem impossible to analyze language contact in Al-Andalus during the Muslim domination. However, the kharjas, which are the closing verses of the muwashshahaat poems composed in the 10th and 11th centuries, allow us to observe code-switching between Andalusian Arabic and Romance. We base this investigation on the 43 kharjas in Corriente (2008). Kharja A3 (Corriente 2008: 236)
is transcribed in (57). Romance parts are in uppercase and Arabic in lowercase letters with the code-switches in italics. The objective is to study how the structural aspect of code-switching in the kharjas conforms to descriptions in the current literature on code-switching in bilingual communities and what that tells us about bilingualism in Al-Andalus.

(57) /YA VÉT EN E(D) VÉT EN!/
/ wúč YA TENRÁD, K îndář xâIEŠ KÉRED!/

Now go away and go away!
What a face (nerve) he has, he wants to warn the uncles!

The corpus contains 104 code-switches (CS): 82 intra-sentential, 13 word-internal and 9 inter-sentential. The base language in the majority of cases is Romance; 73% of the switches occurred from Romance to Arabic. Cross-tabulations between lexical category and language of the CS as well as with the type of switch show statistically significant relationships, indicating that these CS are not the result of a random process of language mixing. As the majority of the CS occurs in nominal phrases, we offer a mechanism for the introduction of the Arabic definite article, al- and its allomorphs, in Arabic loanwords. Backus (2005), Myers-Scotton (2002), and Thomason (2001) argue that code-switching is often a mechanism for structural change; this investigation offers an example of a past contact situation that illustrates how.

Using Twitter for Linguistic Research

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Twitter is an online social network used by people to broadcast short messages of up to 140 characters. Twitter messages have many characteristics which make them interesting for linguistic research. First, they come in huge numbers, in Dutch alone already over two million a day. Second, they contain interesting properties next to the message texts, such as time stamps, information about the sender and topic tags (so-called hash tags), which are added by the sender. In this paper, we will explain how Twitter messages can be used for linguistic research. We will describe automatic processes that harvest Twitter messages, select messages in a certain language, tokenize messages and visualize daily trends of word usage. Next we will present some applications based on analysis of Twitter data: collecting differences between male and female speech and tracking daily usage of common words.

Conditions for variations in the articulation of German vowels

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This presentation shall show cases of vowel-length variation in spoken German. In the manly north-western German (NWG) standard-variety words like Bad, Rad, grob ‘bath, wheel, crude’ show realisations with long and short vowels (as in other Germanic varieties like English grass). Whereas it is commonly accepted that this
change happened during an reorganisation of the syllable-system in German at the change from Middle High German to modern German, it is not entirely clear why certain forms can have the variation in vowel length but other do not. Fixing the conditions only to an underlying structural condition, e.g. syllable cut prosodies or the structure of the rhyme in a hierarchical syllable representation, one would expect more variation forms, namely in all words with the given structure. While the possibility of lengthening in certain prosodic context can be found in NWG, the forms with regular vowel-length-variation, which are even codified in dictionaries, are much less. Thus there seems to be a bundle of conditions in different linguistic domains that let to the forms which show vowel-length-variation. This presentation will discuss some cases and show the different conditions allowing variation.

**Wiping off superfluous grammatical make-up: Evidence from L2 German**

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This poster presentation delivers supportive empirical evidence for the claim that the Narrow Syntax (NS) is a highly constrained, universal system which operates only with abstract interpretable features whose valuation occurs at PF (cf. Sigurðsson 2004). However, it is not confined to this claim but is tied to the idea that in the course of language development, NS grows into PF. Thus, the challenge is to convey the possible empirical implications of such an approach.

My empirical findings are taken from the field of second language acquisition (L2A) research, the areas of investigation being features, expletives, and EPP. In this respect I examine L2 data based on German impersonal constructions from the type *Gestern wurde (*es) getanzt* and analyse it in light of the Minimal Feature Syntax. Although middle-field expletives are obligatorily dropped in German impersonal constructions of this kind, in the L2 data I present, L2ers from different L1 backgrounds tend to overuse the expletive es. This ‘misvaluation’ leads to certain optionality even in advanced L2 grammars. I take this L2 feature ‘mismatching’ to be a further argument in favour of the proposal that the traditional view of syntax should be revisited and reformulated in favour of a more broadly and systematically understood PF interface. In this spirit, the EPP is a heterogeneous phenomenon and as such does not belong to the NS, but is a product of the interfaces (cf. Sigurðsson 2010).

These theoretical insights corroborated by L2 empirical evidence are to be seen as a further step towards eliminating superfluous statements and stipulations in grammar for the sake of more optimal language design (cf. Chomsky 2005).

**What you see isn’t always what you get: simultaneous classifier constructions in sign language**

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In describing Figure-Ground constructions, languages deploy coordinate systems that calculate the angle between Figure and Ground from either an external viewpoint (relative Frame of Reference — FoR), e.g. “the tree is left of the church,” the features of the Ground (intrinsic FoR), e.g. “the tree is in front of the church,” or with respect to cardinal directions (absolute FoR), e.g. “the tree is north of the church” (Levinson 2003). The visual-gestural modality allows signers to place the hands in signing space in order to iconically represent such spatial relationships (Talmy 2003). This type of signed Figure-Ground construction is called a simultaneous classifier construction (SCC); and studies have revealed a striking similarity across sign languages in their use (Emmorey 2003). Furthermore, interlocutors that perceive SCCs, consistently perform a mental rotation in reconstructing a scene, taking the sign-producer’s perspective as a vantage point (Emmorey et al. 1998, Perniss 2007, Arik 2009). This study presents new data, which challenges the assumption of the uniformity of SCCs. Elicited signed dialogues from a Balinese sign language called Kata Kolok (KK, see Marsaja 2008) show that KK sign-producers generally foreground spatial relations between elements of a scene being described, but generally background their own view of the scene. Moreover, in contrast to the cross-linguistic pattern, KK sign-comprehenders consistently reconstructed the array absolutely rather than performing a mental rotation of it. Performance on spatial memory tasks mirror the linguistic data in that scene-internal (facing) information, but not viewpoint-information, was systematically included. These findings are consistent with the view that the intrinsic FoR, but not the relative or absolute FoR, is dominant in Kata Kolok. Despite the affordances of the visual-gestural modality, sign languages thus appear to structure space in radically different, but typologically constrained ways.

**The intelligibility of Frisian for speakers of Dutch dialects**

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The aim of this paper is to investigate whether there is a correlation between dialect background and comprehension of a closely related language. This is investigated measuring the intelligibility of spoken Frisian by speakers of different varieties of Dutch.

The main question raised in the paper is if it matters which kind of dialect subjects speak for their intelligibility level when listening to Frisian words. 220 respondents, self-reported speakers of ten dialects and Standard Dutch, were asked to translate 29 spoken Frisian words. It was expected that the larger the distance (linguistic or geographical) from the dialect to Frisian, the lower the score on the translation task would be. This hypothesis was party supported by the data: there was a significant negative correlation between the geographical distance and the intelligibility.

To investigate whether other factors would correlate more highly with comprehension than dialect background, language attitudes were also collected from a sub group of the informants. It was tested whether the conscious attitudes held by dialect speakers towards Frisian influence their comprehension of Frisian. The hypothesis was that there would be a positive correlation between the language attitude and the
score on the translation task. Here, the data were completely in line with the hypothesis: participants who rated Frisian high had a significantly higher score on the task and vice versa.

**What telicity lets us in on particle verbs**

Milada Walková  
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According to Brinton (1985), the particle in English particle verbs has a telicizing effect, as in e.g. *drink — drink up.* This remains the received opinion despite more recent criticism (e.g. Capelle 2005, Capelle & Chauvin 2010). Although Brinton’s claim holds true of some particles, the claim cannot be generalized to all particles. Moreover, the verb frame must be taken into consideration when evaluating the aspectuality of particles, e.g. *drink (one’s) coffee* but *drink up *(one’s) coffee*. This talk examines the effect of particles on telicity, together with the verb frames particles occur in.

Particles appear in both atelic and telic VPs. Atelic VPs commonly contain particles with continuative meaning (*about, along, around, away, on*), and are constructed in a way that no sentence element adds telicity: the verb is intransitive or takes a DO which does not measure out the event, and there is no goal PP. The verb root does not describe the change of state in the denotee of the DO. The particle can prevent telicity from being introduced by pragmatics.

Telic VPs commonly contain particles that do not have continuative meaning (*up, down, out, off, over, through*). However, telicity in them is seldom introduced by the particle alone. Instead, telicity is introduced by the verb root, a measuring-out DO, or a goal PP. Non-continuative particles can enforce a telic reading where otherwise a VP admits both a telic and an atelic interpretation. Both continuative and non-continuative particles can enable an intransitive atelic verb take a measuring-out DO, resulting in a telic VP.

These findings show that the aspectual effect of particles cannot be reduced to a telicizing one. Rather, a particle can enforce a telic or atelic reading of a VP.

**Diversity of Scalar Inferences**

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There is a tacit agreement in the literature that scalar implicatures (SIs) form a unified class.

1. Some of the guests have come.  
   SI: Not all of the guests have come.

2. The movie was good.  
   SI: The movie was not excellent.

This assumption is compatible with the idea that SIs are triggered by default. I argue against this assumption on the basis of the experimental data.
In my first study, using the inference paradigm, I tested different kinds of scalars (quantifiers, modals, and adjectives). The experiment showed a significant difference between quantifiers and modals, on the one hand, and adjectives, on the other hand. In addition, the adjectival pair *<warm, hot>* differed significantly from the rest of the adjectival scales. There was no clear borderline among the latter ones.

As a possible explanation, I suggested that some scales are more available than the others: uttering a less informative (e.g., *some*) scale-mate of an available scale makes a more informative scale-mate (e.g., *all*) relevant for a particular topic of conversation. I tested this conjecture in the second experiment. The materials were the same as in the first study though the methodology differed (spontaneously generated alternative words for an underlined target item). The correlation between the first and second experiments was quite strong.

Both experiments supporting the hypothesis that SIs are contingent on the availability of scale-mates propose a distinction between two patterns of SIs: the first class comprises those scales that have closed sets of alternatives and invite inferences more robustly, whereas the second class consists of the scales that do not have closed sets of alternatives and, hence, SIs are less determinate. Quantifiers and modals belong to the former class, and adjectives tend to be enclosed in the latter one.

The L1-Acquisition of Scope Freezing: Explaining the Reverse Pattern

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For adult speakers of Dutch, sentence (60) is unambiguous. It can only mean that the woman gave all the balloons to a single boy. The interpretation where the woman distributes the balloons over multiple boys is blocked. This constraint is generally referred to as scope freezing (Larson 1988, Bruening 2001).

(60) De vrouw gaf een jongen iedere ballon
The woman gave a boy every balloon.

\((\exists > \forall; \forall > \exists)\)

Preschool children do not have knowledge of this constraint (Su 2001, van der Ziel 2010). In fact, they display a performance pattern which is the exact opposite of the target-like pattern (e.g., van der Ziel’s 2010 Reverse Pattern). That is, between 58 and 65% of children reject the test statement when a single boy is given all of the balloons (by the woman), whereas they accept the test sentence when the balloons are distributed over a number of boys.

This paper hypothesizes that the Reverse Pattern relates to properties of universal quantification. To test this hypothesis, 38 Dutch-speaking children (mean age 5;5) participated in a Truth-Value Judgment experiment in which they judged sentences like (60) and sentences in which the universal quantifier *ieder* was replaced by either the collective universal quantifier *alle* ‘all’ or the numeral *drie* ‘three’. These sentences were presented in two distinct contexts: contexts in which one boy ends up with all of the balloons, and contexts in which all balloons are distributed equally over a set of boys.
The results show that the occurrence of the Reverse Pattern is limited to a subset of universal quantifiers, namely distributive universal quantifiers. This paper will argue that the Reverse Pattern can be explained with reference to Tunstall’s (1998) Event Distributivity condition.
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