33rd Annual Linguistic Conference
June 18th & June 19th 2012

Keynote speakers:
Cedric Böeckx • Catalan Institute for Advanced Studies
Marc van Oostendorp • Leiden University
Michel Paradis • McGill University

www.tabudag.nl
TABU Dag 2012
33rd Annual Linguistics Conference

18th June – 19th June 2012
Introduction

Dear TABU Dag 2012 participant,

We are very happy to welcome you to the 33rd anniversary of the TABU Dag conference at the University of Groningen, The Netherlands! This year, as with every year, we have assembled a varied programme of oral and poster presentations which covers a broad area of linguistic research. The schedule for TABU Dag 2012 also includes a workshop on Language & Music and a 1.5 hour session of presentations and discussion on the topic of open access publication, which will run alongside the main conference.

TABU Dag 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 the 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:

Professor Dr. Cedric Boeckx, Professor Dr. Marc van Oostendorp, and Emeritus Professor Dr. Michel Paradis.

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 2012 organisers
TABU Dag 2012 is sponsored by

The welcome reception is offered to you by the University of Groningen, the Municipality of Groningen and the Province of Groningen.
Contents and Abstracts

Map of Conference Locations ................................................................. 12

Map of Harmonie Building ................................................................. 13

Map of Academie Building ................................................................. 14

Programme June 18 ............................................................................. 15

Programme June 19 ............................................................................. 17

Poster Session .................................................................................... 19

Session on Open Access ...................................................................... 20

Workshop ‘Language and Music’ .......................................................... 21

Keynote Abstracts

Professor Dr. Cedric Boeckx (Catalan Institute for Advanced Studies) .................. 22
Mind/Brain: Going Beyond the Slash

Professor Dr. Marc van Oostendorp (Meertens Instituut and Leiden University) .... 23
Lexical Diffusion and Grammar

Emeritus Professor Dr. Michel Paradis (McGill University) ............................... 25
Pervasive Relevance of Declarative and Procedural Memory for Neurolinguistic Studies
Accepted Abstracts

Ahangar, Abbas Ali; Marc van Oostendorp and Bahareh Soohani .................................................. 26
Reduplication with Fixed Segmentism in Sarawani Balochi

Algryani, Ali ........................................................................................................................................... 27
Sluicing in Libyan Arabic

Antwi-Danso, Joana Portia ....................................................................................................................... 28
Predicative Modal Adjectives in Akan

Azar, Zeynep; Mehdi Aminian; Tetske Avontuur; Iris Balemans; Laura Elshof; Rose Newell; Nanne van Noord; Alexandros Ntavelos and Menno van Zaanen ...................................................... 29
Developing a Part-of-Speech Tagger for Dutch Tweets

Bakker, Iske; Atsuko Takashima; Gabriele Janzen; Janet Van Hell and James McQueen ......... 30
Novel Word Consolidation Across Modalities

Barbosa, Julio ........................................................................................................................................... 31
Event Perspective and Complex Predicate Structure: A View from Brazilian Portuguese

Beijering, Karin ......................................................................................................................................... 32
Mainland Scandinavian I THINK: Grammaticalization or Pragmaticalization?

Bol, Gerard ............................................................................................................................................. 34
Children with SLI and Their Productive Vocabulary

Bosker, Hans Rutger; Hugo Quené; Ted Sanders and Nivja H. de Jong ............................................ 34
Native and Non-Native Fluency: A Fundamental or Gradient Difference?

Brouwer, Harm; Hartmut Fitz and John Hoeks ...................................................................................... 35
Getting Real About Semantic Illusions: Rethinking the Functional Role of the P600 in Language Comprehension
Brouwer, Susanne and Ann Bradlow. The Temporal Dynamics of Spoken Word Recognition in Noise.

Delaere, Isabelle; Gert de Sutter and Koen Plevoets. Taking a Turn in Corpus-Based Translation Studies. Using Profile-Based Correspondence Analysis to Paint the Bigger Picture.

Esch, Daan van. Using Social Media Data to Study Linguistic Variation in China.


Gilbers, Dicky. Structural Similarities in Language and Music.


Griffiths, James. The Syntactic Integration of Appositive Relative Clauses: Evidence from Clausal Ellipsis.

Haagen, Monique van der and Pieter de Haan. The Road to Professionalism: Oral Proficiency Development of the Non-Native EFL Teacher.


Harmath-de Lemos, Simone and Ellen Thompson. Preposition Stranding in Heritage-Speakers of Brazilian Portuguese.

Heeres, Tim and Menke Muller. The Meaning of Pauses.
Hoekstra, Jarich ........................................................................................................... 46
The Indefinite Pronoun Neemen 'no one' as a Floating Quantifier and as a Negative Adverb in Fering-Öömrang (North Frisian)

Hoeven, Nienke van der; Wander Lowie and Kees de Bot ........................................... 48
Bilingualism, Aging and Multilingual Processing: Individual and Age-Related Differences in Groups of Early Bilingual Frisians.

Hurkmans, Joost; Madeleen de Bruijn; Roel Jonkers; Roelien Bastiaanse; Annemarijke Boonstra and Heleen Reinders-Messelink ................................................................. 49
Effectiveness of Speech-Music Therapy for Aphasia; A Proof of Principle

Ivanova, Angelina .......................................................................................................... 50
PDTSE Corpus Enrichment

Jansen, Tineke .................................................................................................................. 51
The Perception and Implementation of Feedback from Two Different Reviewers on an Assignment: The Effect on Text Quality

Kaseng, Assaming ......................................................................................................... 52
Sound Change of Arabic Loanwords in Patani Malay

Keij, Brigitta and René Kager .......................................................................................... 52
Visual Fixation as a Measure of Rhythmic Preference: Infant Eye-Tracking

Knjazev, Mikhail ............................................................................................................. 53
On Accusativity of Russian 'Need'

Köder, Franziska ............................................................................................................ 55
Between Direct and Indirect Discourse. The Acquisition of Dependent V2 Clauses in German in Comparison to Dutch

Koert, Margreet van; Olaf Koeneman; Aafke Hulk and Fred Weerman ................................. 57
Turkish-Dutch Bilingual Children’s Comprehension of Dutch Anaphors
Magis, Ester........................................................................................................58
Chat Alert! Language in Danger?

Ommen, Sandrien van..........................................................................................59
Progressive Use of Metrical Cues

Oosting-Kuiper, Marty.........................................................................................59
Heet-ie-nou? The Lexical Processing in Children with Epilepsy and a Language Disorder and in Children with Specific Language Impairment

Pfeifer, Jasmin; Silke Hamann; Mats Exter and Marion Krause-Burmester.........61
An Experimental Study on the Influence of Congenital Amusia on Speech Perception

Prins, Tineke and Liv I. Persson..........................................................................62
Evaluating the Interaction Between Age and Amount of Input and Their Effect on the Development of English Proficiency in Primary School Children

Proto, Teresa.......................................................................................................63
Singing in a Tone Language: Fe'fe' Bamileke

Rij, Jacolien van.................................................................................................64
Pupil Dilation Reflects Contexts Effects in Processing of Object Pronouns

Rossi, Daniela......................................................................................................65
Metrics of Pauses in French Rap

Sadakata, Makiko and Kaoru Sekiyama.............................................................67
Perceiving Linguistic Features: Comparison Between Musicians and Non-Musicians

Schepper, Kees de...............................................................................................67
A Pro Vocative Talk

Schouwenaars, Atty; Petra Hendriks and Angeliek van Hout............................68
An Asymmetry Between Dutch Children’s Comprehension and Production of Wh-Questions: The Role of Agreement and Word Order
Scott, Alan. The Emergence and Development of the Possessive -s Construction in Dutch.


Spenader, Jennifer and Margreet Vogelzang. Does 'too' Improve Anaphor-Antecedent Mismatches in Parallel Sentences?


Strik, Oscar. Different Directions: Modelling Changes in Verbal Tense Marking Classes in Germanic Languages.

Swarte, Femke and Nanna H. Hilton. Mutual Intelligibility Between Speakers of North and West Frisian.

Uthai, Ruslan. The Chronology of Thai Loanwords in Patani Malay.

Varley, Nadia. On Definiteness Effects Once Again: The Case of "Absence Existentials".

Veenstra, Alma; Daniel J. Acheson; Kathryn Bock and Antje S. Meyer. Life After the Spoken Preamble Completion Paradigm: Effects of Semantic Integration in the Production of Subject-Verb Agreement.

Vliet, Nynke van der and Gosse Bouma. Experiments in Probabilistic Discourse Parsing of Dutch Text.

Voigt, Stefanie. Mutual Intelligibility in the Germanic Language Area.
Voigt, Stefanie ................................................................. 81
Syllable Reduction and Articulation Rate in Spanish and Portuguese

Vonk, Jet; Roel Jonkers and Loraine Obler ........................................ 82
Object and Action Processing in Alzheimer’s Disease: The Embodied View of Cognition

Vries, Mark de and Dennis Ott ................................................... 83
Why Right Is Left: Peripheral Fragments in Germanic

Walková, Milada ........................................................................ 85
Up and Down the Scale: Degree Achievement Verbs with Particles

Wallage, Phillip and Wim van der Wurff ........................................... 86
Negative Questions: Implicatures and Responses

Wang, Yuhuan ........................................................................... 87
Object-Incorporation in English

Wu, Junru .................................................................................. 88
Influences of Stress on the Mapping of English Hetero-Syllabic Di-Consonantal Strings to Putonghua

Yılmaz, Gülsen and Monika S. Schmid ......................................... 88
L1 Accessibility Among Turkish-Dutch Bilinguals
Map of Conference Locations

**Conference Venue:**
Academie Building, Broerstraat 5, Groningen
Harmonie Building, Oude Kijk in ’t Jatstraat 26, Groningen

**Lunch:** Bruinszaal at Academie Building

**Closing Drinks and Snacks:** Bar Bubbels, Oude Boteringestraat 9, Groningen

**Conference Dinner:** Restaurant De Branderij, Poelestraat 55, Groningen
Map of Harmonie Building
(Oude Kijk in ‘t Jatstraat 26, Groningen)
Map of Academie Building
(Broerstraat 5, Groningen)

Academie Building, University of Groningen
Broerstraat 5, Groningen

Conference Rooms:
A02, A03, A08, A12, Geertsemazaal, Heymanszaal, Van der Leeuwzaal
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12.30-13.00</td>
<td><strong>Registration and Coffee</strong>&lt;br&gt;&lt;i&gt;Entrance Hall (AB) / Coffee in Bruinszaal (AB)&lt;/i&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.00-14.00</td>
<td>Opening and Keynote Speaker Presentation: &lt;br&gt;&lt;b&gt;Cedric Boeckx, Professor at Catalan Institute for Advanced Studies&lt;/b&gt;&lt;br&gt;&lt;i&gt;Room: Geertsemazaal (AB)&lt;/i&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.00-14.30</td>
<td><strong>Late Registration and Coffee Break</strong>&lt;br&gt;&lt;i&gt;Entrance Hall (AB) / Coffee in Bruinszaal (AB)&lt;/i&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.30-16.30</td>
<td><strong>Parallel Session 1 (HB)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Applied Linguistics</strong>&lt;br&gt;&lt;i&gt;Room: 13.15.0031&lt;/i&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.30-15.00</td>
<td>Bosker, H.R., H. Quené, T. Sanders &amp; N. de Jong&lt;br&gt;Native and non-native fluency: a fundamental or gradient difference</td>
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<td>Hoeven, N. van der, W. Lowie &amp; K. de Bot&lt;br&gt;Bilingualism, Aging and Multilingual Processing: individual and age-related differences in groups of early bilingual Frisians</td>
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<td>Schouwenaars, A., P. Hendriks &amp; A. van Hout&lt;br&gt;An asymmetry between Dutch children’s comprehension and production of wh-questions</td>
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<td>Haan, P. de &amp; M. van der Haagen&lt;br&gt;A longitudinal study of the syntactic development of very advanced Dutch EFL writing</td>
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<td>P. Wallage &amp; W. van der Wurff&lt;br&gt;Negative questions: implicatures and responses</td>
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<td>Wang, Y.&lt;br&gt;Object-incorporation in English</td>
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**AB = Academie Building; HB = Harmonie Building**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Lecturers</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16.00-16.30</td>
<td>Delaere, I., G. de Sutter &amp; K. Plevoets</td>
<td>Haagen, M. van der &amp; P. de Haan</td>
<td>Uthai, R.</td>
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<td>Taking a turn in corpus-based translation studies.</td>
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<td>Using profile-based correspondence analysis to paint the bigger picture</td>
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<td>M. Knjazev</td>
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<td>On accusativity of Russian 'need'</td>
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<td>16.30-17.30</td>
<td><strong>Gezamenlijk Gastheerschap Reception and Poster Session</strong></td>
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<td>Includes:</td>
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<td>Welcoming talk by Professor Elmer Sterken Rector Magnificus of the University of Groningen, drinks and interesting poster presentations</td>
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<td>(This reception is offered to you by the University of Groningen, the Municipality of Groningen and the Province of Groningen)</td>
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<td><strong>Room: Harmonie Restaurant upstairs (HB)</strong></td>
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<td>17.30-19.00</td>
<td><strong>Parallel Session 2 (HB)</strong></td>
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<td>17.30-18.00</td>
<td><strong>Psycholinguistics I</strong></td>
<td><strong>Phonetics and Phonology</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sociolinguistics</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Room: 13.15.0036</strong></td>
<td><strong>Room: 13.15.0043</strong></td>
<td><strong>Room: 13.15.0049</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Spenader, J. &amp; M. Vogelzang</td>
<td>Ahangar, A.A., M. van Oostendorp &amp; B. Soohani</td>
<td>Magis, E.</td>
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<td>Does ‘too’/‘ook’ improve bad antecedent-anaphor combinations?</td>
<td>Reduplication with Fixed Segmentism in Sarawani Balochi</td>
<td>Chat Alert! Language in danger?</td>
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<td>18.00-18.30</td>
<td>Yilmaz, G. &amp; M.S. Schmid</td>
<td>Stolarski, Ł.</td>
<td>Golubovic, J.</td>
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<td>L1 Accessibility among Turkish-Dutch Bilinguals</td>
<td>An Auditory Experiment on the Perception of /r/ in Polish</td>
<td>Language attitudes towards Serbian and Croatian: a matched guise study</td>
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<td>18.30-19.00</td>
<td>Brouwer, S. &amp; A. Bradlow</td>
<td>Kaseng, A.</td>
<td>Swarte, F. &amp; N. Hilton</td>
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<td>The temporal dynamics of spoken word recognition in noise</td>
<td>Sound change of Arabic loanwords in Patani Malay</td>
<td>Mutual Intelligibility Between Speakers of North and West Frisian</td>
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<td>17.30-19.00</td>
<td><strong>Open Access Session (HB)</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Room: 13.15.0031</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>19.30-22.30</td>
<td><strong>Conference Diner at Restaurant De Branderij</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
## Programme June 19th, 2012 (Day 2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>08.30-09.00</td>
<td>Late Registration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entrance Hall (AB)</td>
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<tr>
<td>09.00-10.30</td>
<td>Parallel Session 3 (AB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neurolinguistics</td>
<td>Room: A2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Acquisition II and Morphology</td>
<td>Room: A3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music and Phonology</td>
<td>Room: A8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09.00-09.30</td>
<td>Bol, G.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Children with SLI and their productive vocabulary</td>
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<tr>
<td>09.30-10.00</td>
<td>Brouwer, H., H. Fitz &amp; J. Hoeks</td>
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<td>Getting real about Semantic Illusions: Rethinking the functional role of the P600 in language comprehension</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.00-10.30</td>
<td>Vonk, J., R. Jonkers &amp; L. Obler</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Object and action processing in Alzheimer's disease: The embodied view of cognition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.30-11.00</td>
<td>Coffee Break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Room: Bruinszaal (AB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.00-12.00</td>
<td>Keynote Speaker Presentation:</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Michel Paradis, Emeritus Professor at McGill University</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Room: Heymanszaal (AB)</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.00-13.30</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Room: Bruinszaal (AB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.00-16.00</td>
<td>Workshop on Music and Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Room: Van der Leeuwzaal (AB)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Parallel Session 4 (AB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>13.30-15.30</td>
<td><strong>Discourse Analysis and Computational Linguistics</strong>&lt;br&gt;Room: A2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Psycholinguistics II and Semantics</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Room: A3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syntax II</td>
<td>Room: A12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.30-14.00</td>
<td>Vliet, N. van der &amp; G. Bouma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Experiments in probabilistic discourse parsing of Dutch text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Veenstra, A., D. Acheson, K. Bock &amp; A. Meyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Life after the spoken preamble completion paradigm: Effects of semantic integration in the production of subject-verb agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Griffiths, J.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.00-14.30</td>
<td>Azar, Z. et al.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Developing a part-of-speech tagger for Dutch Tweets</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Bakker, I., A. Takashima, G. Janzen, J. Van Hell &amp; J. McQueen</td>
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<td>Novel word consolidation across modalities</td>
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<td>Hoekstra, J.</td>
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<td>The indefinite pronoun neemen 'no one' as a floating quantifier and as a negative adverb in Fering-Ömrang (North Frisian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.30-15.00</td>
<td>Jansen, T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The perception and implementation of feedback from two different reviewers on an assignment: the effect on text quality</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rij, J. van</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pupil dilation reflects contexts effects in processing of object pronouns</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Barbosa, J.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Event perspective and complex predicate structure: a view from Brazilian Portuguese</td>
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<tr>
<td>15.00-15.30</td>
<td>Seuren, L.</td>
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<td>“Are you familiar with Wall Street?” – Conversational Joking in the Daily Show interview</td>
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<td>Walková, M.</td>
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<td>Up and down the scale: Degree achievement verbs with particles</td>
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<td>Harmath-De Lemos, S., E. Thompson</td>
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<td>Preposition Stranding in Heritage-Speakers of Brazilian Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.30-16.00</td>
<td><strong>Coffee Break</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Room: Bruinszaal (AB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.00-17.00</td>
<td><strong>Keynote Speaker Presentation:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td><strong>Marc van Oostendorp, Professor at Leiden University</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Room: Geertsemazaal (AB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.00-17.15</td>
<td><strong>Closing TABU Dag 2012</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Room: Geertsemazaal (AB)</td>
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<tr>
<td>17.30-19.30</td>
<td><strong>Closing Drinks and Snacks at Bar Bubbels</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Poster Session
(Harmonie Restaurant upstairs; June 18th 2012, 16:30 - 17:30)

Ivanova, Angelina (University of Oslo)
PDTSE corpus enrichment

Esch, Daan van (Leiden University)
Using social media data to study linguistic variation in China

Algryani, Ali (Newcastle University)
Sluicing in Libyan Arabic

Oosting-Kuiper, Marty (Leiden University)
Heet-ie-nou? The lexical processing in children with epilepsy and a language disorder and in children

Schepper, Kees de (Radboud University Nijmegen)
A pro vocative talk

Varley, Nadia (Bergische University Wuppertal)
On Definiteness Effects once again: The case of "absence existentials"

Voigt, Stefanie (University of Groningen)
Mutual Intelligibility in the Germanic Language Family

Voigt, Stefanie (University of Groningen)
Syllable Reduction and Articulation Rate in Spanish and Portuguese

Wu, Junru (Leiden University)
Influences of Stress on the Mapping of English Hetero-Syllabic Di-Consonantal Strings to Putonghua
Session on Open Access  
(Room 1315.0031; June 18th 2012, 17:30 - 19:00)

There will be a discussion on Open Access with the following speakers:

- **Esther Hoorn** LL.M (Copyright librarian with the task to promote Open Access at the University of Groningen)
- **Professor Dr. Jack Hoeksema** (Co-editor of the Linguistic Bulletin of the University of Groningen (TABU) (1979-1984, 1997-present), an Open Access journal).

Professor Dr. **Cedric Boeckx** (Catalan Institute for Advanced Studies) will be a member of the discussion panel.

*The Open Access session is sponsored by Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO).*
Workshop Language and Music
(Van der Leeuwzaal, Academie Building; June 19th 2012, 13:00 – 16:00)

In this workshop, the central theme will be the similarities between music and language. We will see, among others, to what extent they share structural characteristics, how musicality can support the acquisition of L2 and how music and language influence each other from a pathological stance.

Time Schedule

13:00 – 13:40  Dicky Gilbers
               Structural Similarities in Language and Music

13:40 – 14:05  Paula Fusiara
               Intone This: ‘You Could Try’! An Empirical Investigation of the Role of the Ability to Sing in Tune on L2 Intonation

14:05 – 14:30  Makiko Sadakata and Kaoru Sekiyama
               Perceiving Linguistic Features: Comparison Between Musicians and Non-Musicians

14:30 – 15:00  Jasmin Pfeifer, Silke Hamann, Mats Exter and Marion Krause-Burmester
               An Experimental Study on the Influence of Congenital Amusia on Speech Perception

15:00 – 15:30  Joost Hurkmans, Madeleen de Bruijn, Roel Jonkers, Roelien Bastiaanse, Annemarijke Boonstra and Heleen Reinders-Messelink
               The Effectiveness of Speech-Music Therapy for Aphasia; A Proof of Principle

15:30 – 16:00  Daniela Rossi
               Metrics of Pauses in French Rap
In this talk I will examine ways of bridging the gap between mind and brain in the context of language. I urge linguists interested in uncovering the biological foundations of language (“biolinguists”) to distinguish between (bio-)linguistics and linguistics (philology by other, formal means), and to focus on a research program that David Poeppel dubbed “computational organology”. After outlining what computational organology is, I will draw from my current research to illustrate how progress could be made along these lines.
Lexical Diffusion and Grammar

Professor Dr. Marc van Oostendorp
Meertens Instituut, Amsterdam, and Leiden University

The distinction between lexical diffusion and Neogrammari an (exceptionless) sound change, operating at the level of the phoneme, has never been off the research agenda since Labov (1981) claimed to have resolved the issue by giving each of them a separate place in the theory of language change. In the past decade, the topic has played a role in debates between so-called usage-based and so-called rule-based phonologists. In particular, it has been argued (Bybee 2001, 2002) that lexical diffusion itself is problematic for a grammatical theory (see Labov (2010) for relevant discussion). If grammatical processes can be switched on or off on a word-by-word basis, and if furthermore factors such as word frequency play a role in determining the chances that the word will undergo the change or not, we seem to have an argument in favour of exemplar-based views on the organisation of language rather than for a grammar-based view, because it suggests that languages can have ‘a little bit’ of a phonological process.

We discuss several aspects of a phenomenon which is relevant for this: the distribution of singleton consonants in intervocalic position. We argue that these data do not just fail to provide evidence in favour of a exemplar-based view of language and language change, but as a matter of fact can be elegantly described in a view based on grammar and grammatical learning. We implement the idea in a classical version of Optimality Theory, changing slightly the process of Lexicon Optimization to deal with learning under noisy conditions. In particular, we propose the following definition:

(1) Selective Lexicon Optimisation: In case of conflicting evidence, choose the underlying representation with the lowest violation profile

We propose that the noise provides the language learner in some cases with indeterminacy as to the intended form. E.g., in the case of 19th Century Frisian, both real phonetic noise and Dutch-Frisian or German-Frisian bilingualism, learners might have become uncertain whether e.g. [hu:z] or [hu:s] was said (for ‘house’). Given this uncertainty, they might have gone for the latter, since that would satisfy the FinalDevoicing constraint (ranked very low at that point in the grammar of Frisian) as well as all the faithfulness constraints. The latter is true by definition, since the learner does not yet know what the underlying form is supposed to be either. What about the role of frequency? It is obviously the case that on the one hand the more often a word is used, the more
likely it will be that phonetic and other noise will affect it. Words which have been in the language for a long time therefore are more likely to have been affected by the change. At the same time, more frequent words age more quickly under this scenario: they are under constant exposure to the noise accompanying language contact and phonetic implementation. None of this means we have to abandon grammatical theory, or even introduce numbers into the theory directly: the numbers are the result of the interaction of categorical grammar with a noisy environment.
Pervasive Relevance of Declarative and Procedural Memory for Neurolinguistic Studies

Emeritus Professor Dr. Michel Paradis
McGill University

Each of early acquired languages is sustained to a large extent by procedural memory. Each later learned language relies to a greater extent on declarative memory. Implicit linguistic competence, acquired incidentally, stored implicitly and used automatically, involves the right cerebellum, the left neostriatum, other basal ganglia, circumscribed perisylvian cortex; the gene FOXP2 and the neurotransmitter dopamine play an important role. It is vulnerable to aphasia, autism, genetic dysphasia (SLI), Down syndrome, and Parkinson’s disease. Contrastingly, metalinguistic knowledge, learned consciously, stored explicitly, and consciously controlled when used, involves the hippocampal system (mesial temporal lobes, parahippocampal gyri) and anterior cingulate cortex; the gene for BDNF, the neurotransmitters acetylcholine and serotonin, and the hormone estrogen play an important role. It is vulnerable to amnesia and Alzheimer’s disease. The implicit/explicit distinction has implications for numerous neurolinguistic concerns – in particular for the critical period, attrition, translation strategies, cerebral laterality studies, SLA studies, psychiatry, and neuroimaging data interpretation.

Whereas implicit linguistic structure (phonology, morphology, syntax) is sustained by procedural memory, words (as form-meaning pairings) are sustained by declarative memory. One important methodological consequence for laterality, neuroimaging and any other type of experimental studies that purport to determine the cerebral representation and processing of language is that single words cannot be validly used as stimuli.
Accepted Abstracts

Reduplication with Fixed Segmentism in Sarawani Balochi

Abbas Ali Ahangar¹, Marc van Oostendorp² and Bahareh Soohani² (¹Sistan and Balouchstan University; ²Leiden University)

The present study focuses on augmentative reduplication in Sarawani Balochi based on Optimality Theory (OT). This type of reduplication requires copying of the base elements coupled with introducing a fixed segment or segments in the reduplicants. Among various reduplicative patterns, an instance of augmentative pattern which we refer to as ‘M&P-augmentative reduplication’, represent most common and productive type of augmentative reduplication in Sarawani Balochi. ‘M&P-augmentative reduplication’ instantiates Alderete et al.’s (1999) morphological fixed segmentism. Moreover; in the framework of OT this type of augmentative reduplication can be represented by ranking the following constraints: OCP, *COMPLEXONS, MAX-IO, RM, *ONS/N, IDENT-IO [lab], and VOP.

Some examples:

‘M&P-augmentative Reduplication’

Base           Reduplicative form

a. bӕʧӕ       bӕʧӕkmӕʧӕk  ‘boy and so forth’
b. gʉk          gʉkmʉk        ‘cow and so on’
c. miz          mizpiz        ‘table and the like’
d. mʉr          mʉrpʉr        ‘ant and the like’

References

Sluicing in Libyan Arabic

Ali Algryani (Newcastle University)

This study provides a general overview of the syntax of sluicing in Libyan Arabic with special focus on two issues.

1. Sluicing and pseudosluicing are indistinguishable in some contexts in Libyan Arabic. This can be attributed to several factors. Firstly, this language is a null subject language which has no equivalent to the expletive ‘it’. Secondly, it has no present-tense copula forms in cleft structures; furthermore, the pronominal copulas used to in such structures are optional. Thirdly, case is not marked morphologically in the language and thus there is no indication of whether or not the case of the sluiced wh-phrase is identical to that of its correlate. The present study investigates the sluicing phenomenon and seeks to determine whether what appears as sluicing, e.g. (1), is an instance of sluicing or pseudosluicing.

(1) Ali ẓār  waḥād, lakәn miš ʕarәf  man (hu).
   Ali visited.3MS someone but NEG know.1MS who (he)
   ‘Ali visited someone, but I don’t know who/who it is.’

2. Libyan Arabic is a non-p-stranding language that seems to display preposition stranding (p-stranding) under sluicing, as in (2), despite the fact that it is prohibited under regular wh-movement. This instance can be taken as prima facie evidence against the p-stranding generalisation, which is viewed as an argument for deriving sluicing by wh-movement followed by TP deletion at PF (Merchant 2001). Taking into account the properties of clefts, resumptive wh-questions and the functions of pronominal copulas, it is proposed that sluicing under p-stranding derives from a copular source, and thus is an instance of pseudosluicing despite its superficial appearance as sluicing.

(2) hiyya galәt inn-ha tәkәllәt  mʕә waḥәd, lakәn
   she said.3MS that-she talked.3FS with someone but
   ma-galәt-š (mʕә) man.
    NEG-said.3FS-NEG (with) who
   ‘She said that she talked with someone, but she didn’t say (with) who(m).’

The reason why pseudosluicing displays p-stranding effects can be attributed to the fact that the wh-pivots of clefts cannot be headed by a preposition. The absence of pronominal copulas and the deletion of the preposition alongside the relative clause lead to the illusion that sluicing
exhibits p-stranding effects. Crucially, this analysis, if on the right track, provides novel evidence based on sluicing facts for the claim that Arabic resumptive wh-questions are copular clauses (Shlonsky 2002).

References


Predicative Modal Adjectives in Akan

Joana Portia Antwi-Danso (University of Antwerp)

In this paper I present and explore the expressions of epistemic modality and evidentiality by the use of predicative modal adjectives, used as Complement- Taking-Predicates in Akan discourse, and to establish the scope of such constructions in an utterance. Also, I present the strategy by which structures considered epistemic modal adjectives and evidential adjectives in English are rendered in Akan.

There have been various studies on the morphology, syntax and semantics of adjectives in Akan but there hasn’t been any study as yet on the expression of modality or evidentiality by the use of predicative modal adjectives. The study strives on the hypothesis of whether Akan adjectives express epistemic modality and evidentiality. It further examines whether English predicative adjectives are always expressed by predicative adjectives in Akan.

Data was designed from existing literatures, including prose, drama, journals, The Twi Bible etc. Data was also collected from TV and radio discussions, questionnaires and on-spot interviews. These were analyzed with self-native speaker’s intuition.
It has been found in this study that, despite the fact that there hasn’t been any study on adjectives expressing modality, there exist some adjectives which are used as complement-taking-predicates to express epistemic modality in Akan discourse. It has also been found in this study that some of the predicative adjectives which are used to express epistemic modality or evidentiality in English, are really coded or expressed with verbs in Akan.

**Developing a Part-of-Speech Tagger for Dutch Tweets**

Zeynep Azar, Mehdi Aminian, Tetske Avontuur, Iris Balemans, Laura Elshof, Rose Newell, Nanne van Noord, Alexandros Ntavelos and Menno van Zaanen (Tilburg University)

In our research we describe the development of a part-of-speech (POS) tagger for Dutch messages from the microblogging website Twitter to extract useful information from those messages. Our motive to develop a tweet-specific POS tagger was that the content of tweets may differ from regular written Dutch texts, e.g. news, and POS taggers which were developed using a regular sample text might not have high accuracy of annotating some tweet-specific tokens. Differences between regular text and tweets can be described as alternative grammar and spelling, emoticons (,:), URLs (http://google.com), @user to refer to a specific user (e.g. @gregapple), #topic syntax to help users find the content they are looking for (#vacation) and RT discourse markers which are used when someone re-tweets another user's tweet. Therefore, by retokenization and adding Twitter-specific tags we developed a conversion tool that modifies the output of Frog. Frog, a Dutch POS tagger, annotates Dutch texts with the extensive D-Coi POS tag set. Running the Frog tagger and the conversion module sequentially leads to a POS tagger for Dutch tweets. We evaluated the resulting automatic annotation against a manually corrected sub-set of tweets. The annotation of tweets in this sub-set has a high inter-annotator agreement and our extension of Frog shows an accuracy of 92.87%. This project was accomplished by eight Master’s students from Tilburg University, who had just completed a course in natural language processing. In addition to the theoretical knowledge they acquired during the course, this project, which took approximately a week, offered them insight into the practical decisions that need to be made while working on natural language processing projects.
Novel Word Consolidation Across Modalities

Iske Bakker$^1$, Atsuko Takashima$^1$, Gabriele Janzen$^1$, Janet Van Hell$^{2,1}$ and James McQueen$^1$

($^1$Radboud University Nijmegen; $^2$Pennsylvania State University)

Previous work (e.g. Gaskell & Dumay, 2003; Dumay & Gaskell, 2007) has suggested a role of sleep consolidation in the lexicalisation of novel words. In line with two-stage models of memory (e.g. McClelland et al., 1995), it has been proposed that the memory traces for newly learned words are initially dependent on medial temporal structures and acquire neocortical, more lexical representations during the first night’s sleep after training. Only after sleep-dependent consolidation are novel words fully integrated into the lexicon and enter into lexical competition with existing, phonologically overlapping words. We investigated the time-course of lexicalisation of novel words learned in the visual and auditory modality using an auditory pause-detection paradigm to measure lexical competition. Results indicate that, as in previous work, words learned auditorily enter into competition with existing words after one night's sleep but not immediately after familiarisation. However, competition effects for novel words learned from print emerge only after a week. These results suggest that the formation of a lexical representation of visually presented novel words, which is abstract enough to interact with existing words in an auditory task, requires more than just the one night's sleep that is sufficient for auditorily acquired words to enter into lexical competition. Work is underway to investigate whether the delayed emergence of competition effects for visually acquired words is due to the modality of acquisition per se, or whether cross-modal effects in both directions require more time to arise than unimodal lexicalisation effects. The latter outcome would indicate a longer and more gradual time-course of lexicalisation than has previously been assumed.

References

Event Perspective and Complex Predicate Structure: A View From Brazilian Portuguese

Julio Barbosa (Universidade de São Paulo)

From the crosslinguistic observation of Brazilian Portuguese (BP) and English complex predicates and compound(-like) data, this work claims that some parametric-driven properties can be derived from the event-framing typological distinction, namely the one between satellite-framed languages and verb-framed languages (Talmy 2000), by translating these distinctive properties into morphosyntactic features and structure constraints. Following Barbosa (2008), it is proposed that, in any language, the key feature to permit formation of complex predicates such as resultative constructions is the possibility of [manner] to be freely lexically encoded in the main verb of a change-of-state predicate construction (1), a fact not allowed by BP (2), a verb-framed language that can only conflate [manner] in these constructions' satellites (adjunct phrases or sentences).

Based on that premise, this work argues towards the exclusion/reclassification of some of the complex predicates related to the Compounding Parameter (Snyder 1995, 2001; Sugisaki & Snyder 2002), mainly by proposing two approaches to the data in question. The first is a new syntactic analysis of BP's complex nominal expressions of the type N + de + N, showing them to be closely related to English compounds, being distinguishable merely by means of the (parametric-driven) morphophonological realization of the functional projection's head mediating the nouns related in these constructions – a fact divided with the asymmetry between double object and dative constructions. The second is a feature-restricted approach to complex predicate structures, which gives a distinction between restructuring predicates (of the causative and perceptual construction types), as opposed to morphological complex predicates (such as resultatives and verb-particle constructions). If correct, these analyses give a theoretical explanation to the presence of some complex predicates in a verb-framed language such as BP, despite their apparent mismatch when an empirically broad analysis such as Snyder (op. cit.) is taken into account, especially without deeper crosslinguistic observation.
Mainland Scandinavian I THINK: Grammaticalization or Pragmaticalization?

Karin Beijering (University of Groningen)

This paper reports on a comparative synchronic corpus investigation of the mental state predicate I THINK in the Mainland Scandinavian languages, i.e. Danish jeg tror, Norwegian jeg tror and Swedish jag tror, as exemplified in (1) below.

(1a) Han skal ikke se drageagtig ud, jeg tror, han skal spille det.  
   ‘He should not look dragon-like, I think, he should play it.’  
(Danish)

(1b) Jeg tror jeg vet hva du gjorde i går kveld.  
   ‘I think I know what you did last night.’  
(Norwegian)
Mental state predicates, such as I think, I believe, I guess and the like, form a subclass of discourse markers and are very suitable to elaborate on the grammaticalization-pragmaticalization interface. The status of pragmaticalization is controversial as it is not a generally accepted type of language change. Consequently, the development of discourse markers like I think has been subsumed under lexicalization (e.g. Fischer 2007), grammaticalization (e.g. Brinton 1996) and pragmaticalization (Aijmer 1997). The rise of discourse markers shows prototypical properties of grammaticalization, but not all of them. Especially the variability, optionality and flexibility of mental state predicates pose serious problems for a grammaticalization analysis. On the other hand, these divergent properties are good reasons to postulate a separate process of pragmaticalization for the development of linguistic items that operate at the discourse level, i.e. linguistic items that mark discourse structure, not grammatical structure.

The focus of this study is the development of I THINK in relation to the grammaticalization-pragmaticalization interface. Corpus data of Mainland Scandinavian I THINK is analyzed with regard to a set of grammaticalization and pragmaticalization criteria. It will be shown that the discourse marker I THINK is in full development in the Mainland Scandinavian languages, which is reflected by its distributional variation. Moreover, the reanalysis from verb phrase to speech-act adverbial is still in its incipient stages (cf. Thompson & Mulac 1991). It will be argued that grammaticalization and pragmaticalization have a great deal in common, but are also fundamentally different with respect to, inter alia, domain, function, and syntactic integration.

References

Children with SLI and their Productive Vocabulary
Gerard Bol (University of Groningen)

The development of the productive vocabulary of 18 children with Specific Language Impairment (SLI), aged 4;1 to 8;1 years, has been researched. Types and tokens are categorised according to the word categories used by Kauschke and Hofmeister (2002) and compared to 18 typically developing Dutch children matched on MLUw. The results show that the children with SLI exhibit a similar development in their productive vocabulary compared to the typically developing children, although the percentages of the used categories can differ significantly. The results suggest that children with SLI produce words that are more spread out over the categories compared to normal children. A noun bias (i.e. mainly nouns compared to other words) in the language production of children with SLI is not found.

References


Native and Non-Native Fluency: a Fundamental or Gradient Difference?
Hans Rutger Bosker, Hugo Quené, Ted Sanders and Nivja H. de Jong (Utrecht University)

In everyday life conversations are riddled with disfluencies: pauses, uhm’s, slow tempo, corrections, repetitions, etc. When assessing the fluency level of a non-native speaker, it has been shown that these acoustic features play a large role. Particularly the pause and speed characteristics of speech contribute much to fluency ratings. But native speakers also portray these symptoms of spontaneous speech and as yet the relationship between native and non-native fluency remains unclear. Native fluency might fundamentally differ from non-native fluency, or it may be a gradient distinction. The current study directly compares the concepts of native and non-native fluency by means of phonetic manipulations. In two experiments, the number and duration of silent pauses (Experiment 1) and the speed of the speech (Experiment 2) were digitally manipulated. Fluency ratings by native listeners on these manipulated speech fragments revealed that increasing the number or the duration of silent pauses both led to a decrease in fluency judgments. Despite the clear gradient difference in fluency level of native versus non-native speakers, no evidence could be found for a difference in the effects of the pause manipulations across native and non-native speech. Results from Experiment 2 will
demonstrate whether the same holds for speed manipulations in native and non-native speech. The results from Experiment 1 at least suggest that the notion of fluency is constant across native and non-native speech.

**Getting Real About Semantic Illusions: Rethinking the Functional Role of the P600 in Language Comprehension**

Harm Brouwer\(^1\), Hartmut Fitz\(^2\) and John Hoeks\(^1\) (\(^1\)University of Groningen; \(^2\)Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics)

In traditional theories of language comprehension, syntactic and semantic processing are inextricably linked. This assumption has been challenged by the ‘Semantic Illusion Effect’ found in studies using Event Related brain Potentials. Semantically anomalous sentences did not produce the expected increase in N400 amplitude but rather one in P600 amplitude. To explain these findings, complex models have been devised in which an independent semantic processing stream can arrive at a sentence interpretation that may differ from the interpretation prescribed by the syntactic structure of the sentence. We review five such multi-stream models and argue that they do not account for the full range of relevant results because they assume that the amplitude of the N400 indexes some form of semantic integration. Based on recent evidence we argue that N400 amplitude might reflect the retrieval of lexical information from memory. On this view, the absence of an N400-effect in Semantic Illusion sentences can be explained in terms of priming. Furthermore, we suggest that semantic integration, which has previously been linked to the N400 component, might be reflected in the P600 instead. When combined, these functional interpretations result in a single-stream account of language processing that can explain all of the Semantic Illusion data.

**The Temporal Dynamics of Spoken Word Recognition in Noise**

Susanne Brouwer\(^1,2\) and Ann R. Bradlow\(^2\) (\(^1\)University of Groningen; \(^2\)Northwestern University)

This study examined the temporal dynamics of spoken word recognition in background noise and in background speech. In four visual-world experiments, English participants listened to target words while looking at four pictures on the screen: a target (e.g. *candle*), an onset competitor (e.g. *candy*), a rhyme competitor (e.g. *sandal*), and a distractor (e.g. *lemon*). The target words
produced by the target talker were presented in quiet (Exp. 1), in broadband noise (Exp. 2), or mixed with speech from a background talker. Background speech consisted of the background talker’s productions of the onset competitor (e.g. candle-candy, Exp. 3), of the rhyme competitor (e.g. candle-sandal, Exp. 3), or of the phonologically unrelated distractor (e.g. candle-lemon, Exp. 4). Results showed that lexical competition changes as a function of what is presented in the background. This indicates that the spoken word recognition system adjusts to the auditory input it receives and that this adjustment is not only based on the target input, but also on the input in the background. Overall this study provides insight into the question whether lexical selection and stream segregation are two processes that work together or operate sequentially. Our data support the approach that stream segregation and lexical competition are temporally integrated. Claims made by models of lexical access about the nature of the competitor set thus need to take into account adverse listening conditions due to environmental degradation.

**Taking a Turn in Corpus-Based Translation Studies. Using Profile-Based Correspondence Analysis to Paint the Bigger Picture**

Isabelle Delaere, Gert de Sutter and Koen Plevoets (University College Ghent)

In translation studies, many scholars have worked with the idea that translated texts differ from non-translated texts, irrespective of external factors such as source language or text type. This has led to numerous publications in the field of these so-called translation universals, i.e. “features which typically occur in translated text rather than original utterances and which are not the result of interference from specific linguistic systems” (Baker, 1993). Research on translation universals has resulted in observations of how translations make explicit that which was implicit, how they contain simpler language and how they conform to the characteristics of the target language. With this paper we want investigate one of the observed trends in translations, i.e. the law of growing standardization (Toury, 1995), which we used to formulate the following hypothesis: translators make more use of standard language than authors of original language. More specifically, we want to find out whether this applies when we compare translated Belgian Dutch texts with non-translated Belgian Dutch texts. Additionally, we want to examine whether the use of standard vs. non-standard language can be attributed to the variables register and source language. In order to achieve that goal, we gathered a varied set of linguistic variables and used a 10-million-word corpus that is parallel, comparable, bidirectional and contains multiple registers and source languages (Dutch Parallel Corpus). The frequency counts for each of the variables are used to determine the differences in standard language use by means of profile-based correspondence analysis, a technique which allows us to visualize these differences. We
verify how translators on the one hand and authors of original language on the other hand make use of standard language. Preliminary results show that (i) there is a standardizing trend among translations and (ii) the differences between translated and non-translated texts are register dependent.

References
• Toury, G. (1995), Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Using Social Media Data to Study Linguistic Variation in China

Daan van Esch (Leiden University)

This paper discusses how Chinese social media data can be used to study language variation in China. In recent years, China has seen a tremendous uptake of Twitter-like microblogging services, with Sina Weibo alone having more than 300 million users today, posting around 100 million messages every single day. This paper describes how a 100-million word linguistically annotated corpus of Sina Weibo messages was built in January 2012, and shows how this corpus has already been used to: - answer long-standing questions about geo-lexical variation within China - study recent borrowings into Chinese, such as the aspectual suffix "-ing" - improve dictionaries by identifying neologisms The talk will briefly discuss the possibilities for new linguistic research this corpus has brought, and then zoom in on the technical challenges involved in building this corpus, including issues such as word segmentation in Chinese text containing large quantities of previously unseen words, cascading human corrections of NLP errors throughout the corpus, and dialect identification in informal written Chinese using text classification algorithms. The talk will also touch upon other problems researchers using Chinese social media data should be aware of, for example demographics of the user base and censorship.
Intone This: ‘You Could Try’! An Empirical Investigation of the Role of the Ability to Sing in Tune on L2 Intonation

Paula Fusiara (University of Groningen)

English prosody, especially intonation of English, might be problematic for most language learners because using the wrong intonation pattern may result in misunderstanding. Using different intonation patterns can make a considerable difference to the meaning of a sentence (Buck, 2001). Previous studies have shown that apart from enhancing motor skills, IQ, intelligibility of speech or reading abilities, music training is linguistically beneficial and it improves pitch processing in speech, phonological awareness, prosody perception, subtle phonemic contrasts in L2, verbal fluency and intonation analysis skills (Tallal & Gaab, 2006; Schellenberg, 2004; Pastuszek-Lipińska, 2008; Costa-Giomi, 2005; Gruhn et al., 2003; Anavri et al., 2002; Patel & Iversen, 2007; Besson et al., 2007, Denkovicova et al., 2007). This study investigates the influence of musical abilities of 55 Dutch native speakers on their: intonation perception, intonation reproduction, intonation production and singing. Moreover, the possibilities to predict from a language learner’s intonation of English whether the person can sing in tune and whether singing in tune might affect the intonation of the spoken voice are also examined. The analysis of participants’ fifteen different intonation contours revealed that participants who were able to sing in tune can distinguish the subtleties of prosody better and, as was expected from earlier research (Rothman et al., 2001), singing subjects were capable of varying their fundamental frequency to match the target L2 intonation pattern and they imitated it more readily and accurately than their less talented counterparts. This finding indicates that people who have good pitch-processing in music and in speech do hear the subtle differences in both music and language. No clear evidence was found that Dutch speakers could be recognized from their L2 intonation that they are able to sing in tune.

References


Structural Similarities in Language and Music

Dicky Gilbers (University of Groningen)

Jackendoff and Lerdahl (1983) point out the resemblance between the ways both linguists and musicologists structure their research objects. This insight gave rise to the proposal of a formal generative theory of tonal music, in which they describe musical intuition. Above all, insights from non-linear phonology (cf. a.o. Liberman & Prince 1977) led to scores provided with tree structures, indicating heads and dependent constituents in the investigated domains. In this way, composer Lerdahl and linguist Jackendoff bring to life a synthesis of linguistic methodology and the insights of music theory.

In my lecture I pose new arguments for the proposition that every form of temporal ordered behavior, like language and music, is structured the same way (cf. a.o. Gilbers & Schreuder, 2000). In both disciplines the research object is structured hierarchically and in each domain the important and less important constituents are defined. In Lerdahl and Jackendoff’s music theory, these heads and dependents are defined by preference rules determining which outputs, i.e., the possible interpretations of a musical piece, are well-formed. Some outputs are more preferred than others. Preference rules, however, are not strict claims on outputs. It is even possible for a preferred interpretation of a musical piece to violate a certain preference rule. This is only possible, however, if violation of that preference rule leads to the satisfaction of a more important
preference rule. Prince and Smolensky’s Optimality Theory (1993) explores a practically identical evaluation system, which uses similar well-formedness conditions. This theory, firstly introduced in phonology, owes a lot to the work of Lerdahl and Jackendoff.

References


Language Attitudes Towards Serbian and Croatian: a Matched Guise Study

Jelena Golubovic (University of Groningen)

Serbian and Croatian were a part of a unified standard language since the Vienna Literary agreement in 1850. However, after the breakup of Yugoslavia and the war in 1990s, these two languages started developing independently and the initial differences between them became slightly more prominent. In some linguistic circles, a heated debate on whether Croatian and Serbian are one language or two is still on (Kordić 1997; Grubišić 2000; Bugarski 2004; Kordić 2010, Kapović 2011). Due to the turbulent past of the region, strong attitudes between the speakers of Serbian and Croatian toward each other are to be expected.

This is the first matched guise study of attitudes of Serbian and Croatian speakers towards each other. The participants listen to the recordings of North Wind and the Sun spoken by a Serbian-Croatian bilingual, as well as the recordings of the same text in German and Spanish used as controls. Their attitudes are measured using semantic differential scales and a direct questionnaire with conversation situations. The results are then correlated with the participants’ age, level of education and the amount of exposure to the other language. Due to the shared history and exceptional similarity in the structure of Serbian and Croatian, the results have implications for the language attitudes research in general and the study of their intelligibility in particular.
References


The Syntactic Integration of Appositive Relative Clauses: Evidence from Clausal Ellipsis

James Griffiths (University of Groningen)

One may split the accounts of how appositive relative clauses (ARCs) are syntactically related to their anchor (i.e. *John’s dog* in (1) below) into two main camps; *orphanage accounts*, which maintain that ARCs are syntactically isolated from their anchor, and *integration accounts*, which maintain that ARCs are syntactically integrated to their anchor.

(1) John’s dog, which is a dachshund, is very well-behaved

In this talk, I provide new evidence to favour the integration account. Evidence comes from the behaviour of ARCs in *fragment* constructions – i.e. constructions in which all but one constituent in the host clause into which an ARC interpolates is elided.

It is observed by Arnold & Borsley (2008) that ARC-interpolation is not permitted if the ARC’s anchor is a sub-clausal constituent that is elided (compare (2) and (3)).

(2) A: What does Kim own?  
   B: A dog, which is a dachshund.
(3) A: Who owns a dog?  
   B: * Kim, which is a dachshund.

I show that the data in (2) are naturally explained by appealing to the fact that (i) fragments are derived by remnant-fronting + TP-ellipsis, and (ii) that ellipsis only targets constituents (cf. Merchant 2004). On an integration approach such as De Vries’ (to appear) – which treats the
anchor and ARC as a syntactic constituent – ellipsis targets a constituent in (2B), but not (3B) (see (4) and (5) respectively).

(4) \[[[A\text{ dog, which is a dachshund}], [Kim owns $t_1$]].
(5) *[[[Kim], [$t_1$ owns \[a\text{ dog, which is a dachshund}]].]

On an isolation approach however, the anchor and ARC are not treated as a constituent. Resultantly, this approach falsely predicts that both (2) and (3) are acceptable, as no non-constituent ellipsis occurs in either. An isolationist may argue that (3) is unacceptable for reasons of semantic uninterpretability, but, seeing as ellipsis is permitted only if the elided material is semantically recoverable from the surrounding discourse (cf. Merchant 2001), this argument seems highly implausible.

References


The Road to Professionalism: Oral Proficiency Development of the Non-Native EFL Teacher

Monique van der Haagen and Pieter de Haan (Radboud University Nijmegen)

Dutch EFL teachers are typically trained at universities. First year student of English are highly motivated and can be assumed to have reached a level of proficiency which is comparable to what is deemed necessary for professionals in general (roughly B2 CEFR). By the time they graduate they are supposed to have reached C2 CEFR, enabling them to teach the general professionals.

In order to gain insight into the development of these very advanced Dutch EFL speakers, we have collected student recordings from a single cohort of Dutch university students of English (2009), produced on four occasions over a period of two academic years, starting with their first week at university.
We had previously analyzed the speech of 31 students (cohort 2006) at 3 moments in their university careers. It turns out that the speech rate is a good predictor for attaining native-like command, albeit that it is still slower than that of a native British control group. We also looked at the lexical profiles of these students, and observed a great increase in their use of words that appear in the Academic word list, surpassing the native speakers, but that their vocabulary is less varied in other categories.

We are interested in defining this development of our students, and determining which various paths they take. By studying the spoken production of the students in the 2009 cohort we will be able to evaluate their strengths and weaknesses, and to develop tools for student self-reflection and self-improvement. By studying this 2009 cohort longitudinally, we can pinpoint areas where improvement is due to exposure, instruction, and feedback. It turns out that our most successful students are aware of lexical (in)appropriateness and have sufficient knowledge of L2 pragmatic representations.

**A Longitudinal Study of the Syntactic Development of Very Advanced Dutch EFL Writing**

Pieter de Haan and Monique van der Haagen (Radboud University Nijmegen)

Dutch and English differ in the way in which information and thematic structure are mapped onto syntactic structures. Transfer of the Dutch way of dealing with information structure gives the English writing of even very advanced Dutch EFL students, whose writing generally is syntactically correct, a less sophisticated ring. Therefore, we deliberately teach our students to be aware of these differences in the writing and translation classes, to make their writing more native-like. Where English tends to emphasize sentence elements by means of *it*-cleft constructions, Dutch uses sentence-initial restrictive focus particles like *vooral* (“especially”), leading to infelicitous EFL sentences like “Especially mugs can be easily broken.” Secondly, Dutch links sentences to the immediately preceding context, thus establishing “local anchoring,” whereas English usually leaves local links implicit. Dutch EFL users tend to transfer sentence-initial (pronominal) adverbial expressions (which are not marked in Dutch) to their English writing, giving many of the sentences an unnatural, marked pre-subject topic, as in “During the story the narrator repeatedly tries to convince the reader that he is not mad.” Sentence-initial pronominal adverbials were not found in a native English control corpus.

We have collected student essays from a single cohort of Dutch university students of English (2009), written on five occasions over a period of sixteen months, starting with their first week at university. The analysis of these essays reveals a steady decrease in what we may call
pathological discourse linking by means of sentence-initial (pronominal) adverbial expressions, towards a native target level. We also observe a decrease in the use of sentence-initial restrictive focus particles and an increase in the use of it-cleft constructions. Our conclusion is that explicit mentioning of these subtle differences in information structuring during the writing and translation classes leads to a more sophisticated written EFL production.

Preposition Stranding in Heritage-Speakers of Brazilian Portuguese

Simone Harmath-De Lemos and Ellen Thompson (Florida International University)

Movement processes targeting Prepositional Phrases (PPs) yield distinct outcomes: Pied-Piping (PIP) and Preposition-stranding (P-stranding), as illustrated in (1),(2). This study examines the behavior of Heritage Speakers of BP regarding these constructions. Heritage Speakers (HS) are defined as speakers of a minority language which is the home language (Iverson, 2010). As shown in (3a), adult BP, in contrast to adult English, does not permit P-stranding in general, but instead shows PIP, as in (3b), as is typical for Romance languages. However, (4) is an example of BP Heritage Speaker-produced P-stranding construction. This is interesting from the perspective of the Interface Hypothesis (IH) (Tsimpli & Sorace 2006), which claims that purely syntactic features do not undergo change in language contact situations, while phonological and semantic features do. This project sets out to determine the nature of the influence of the syntactic structures of English on the grammar of speakers of Heritage BP.

The participants are thirty children of Brazilian immigrants, ages of 4 to 14, whose home language is BP (L1), but who are exposed to English (L2) as dominant language outside the home. The experiment is carried out in English and in BP (at two-week intervals): the claim is that participants should show a correlation between P-stranding in both English and BP structures. Confirmation of this prediction provides evidence that the syntactic structure of the Heritage Language is influenced by the syntactic structure of the dominant language, contra the predictions of the IH. To investigate whether it is the influence of English onto BP of HS that results in these structures, we document the production/acceptance of P-Stranding constructions which are disallowed in the dominant language, such as (5a-b), predicted to not occur in Heritage BP either, if the latter is constraint-governed in the same fashion as English for these speakers.

1) [CP [PP To whom]] [C did [IP Mary [I 4 [VP talked [t]]]]]]
2) [CP Who [C did [IP Mary [I 4 [VP talked [PP to t]]]]]]
3) a. *Quem que a Maria falou com? who Explet. Def. Art. Fem. Maria talked to?

(1) [CP [PP To whom]] [C did [IP Mary [I 4 [VP talked [t]]]]]]
(2) [CP Who [C did [IP Mary [I 4 [VP talked [PP to t]]]]]]
(3) a. *Quem que a Maria falou com?
   who Explet. Def. Art. Fem. Maria talked to?
b. Com quem a Maria falou?
   to who (Acc.) Def. Art. Fem. Maria talked?
(4) Quem que a Maria falou com?
   who Explet. Def. Art. Fem. Maria talked to?
(5) a. *What did Mary drink the glass of?
   b. *Who did Frank take the picture of?
(6) a. *Que a Maria tomou um copo de?
   b. *Quem que o Frank tirou a foto de?

References

The Meaning of Pauses

Tim Heeres and Menke Muller (University of Groningen)

Language and music share certain properties in their structure. One of these similar properties may be a short absence of sound in the signal: a pause.

In language, pauses may cause a difference of meaning in sentences that are ambiguous. However, the length of a pause has to have a minimal duration to be able to cause this difference in meaning. Basically, the effect that a pause in language causes then is the segregation of constituents. In our study we have analysed the duration of a pause that is needed to alter the meaning of a sentence by letting subjects judge the meaning of manipulated phrases.

In music, pauses can also have the primary function of segregation. They cause listeners to group the progression of tones in a melody into clusters. Just as in language, we also expect that pauses in music can cause a tipping point, in a sense that the continuity of a melody may or may not be broken. The form of the musical items comes in two varieties: (1) the first tone and last tone are of equal pitch, which we assume the subjects will experience as a complete melody; (2) the first tone and the tone right before the pause are of equal pitch just as the first tone after the pause and the last tone are. The latter variety can be experienced as one melody, but with a sufficiently long pause it can be experienced as two separate parts as well. This means that this variety may behave in a similar way as the tested ambiguous linguistic structures.

If both tipping points in language and music do not differ significantly from each other, it could add an argument to the debate on the existence of a common ground for language and music.

The Indefinite Pronoun *Neemen* ‘no one’ as a Floating Quantifier and as a Negative Adverb in Fering-Öömrang (North Frisian)

Jarich Hoekstra (University of Kiel)

In my talk I want to present a set of data from Fering-Öömrang, the twin dialect of the North Frisian islands of Föhr and Amrum, which shows the extraordinary dual development of the
indefinite pronoun neemen 'no one, nobody' into a floating quantifier 'none of ...' (cf. (1)) and into a negative temporal adverb 'never' (cf. (2)).

(1)   Wi küd neemen diar kluk ütj wurd
We could no one there clever out become
'None of us could make sense of that'

(2)   Haa jam noch näämen ens seeden tu auerleien, hü det wel wort?
Have you yet no one once sat to consider, how that well becomes?
'Have you never been considering, how that would look like?'

The discussion of these North Frisian data may be of relevance for a number of theoretical issues. First, it may shed some light on the proper analysis of floating quantifiers. The indefinite pronoun neemen cannot only occur as a floating quantifier and as an adverb, in most contexts it is actually ambiguous between a floating quantifier and an adverb reading. The analysis of Fering-Öömrang neemen may thus provide prima facie evidence for some version of the adverbial or predicate modifier analysis of floating quantifiers (cf., among others, Dowty & Brody 1984, Hoeksema 1996, Bobaljik 2003).

Further, the development of neemen 'no one' into 'never' begs the question of how the grammaticalization of negative quantifiers into negative adverbs proceeds in this particular case and more generally (cf. Bayer 2009, Poletto 2008, Garzonio & Poletto 2009). In the normal case only the unmarked negative quantifier 'nothing' seems to be able to undergo such a development. In the literature it is explicitly stated sometimes that negative quantifiers like 'no one, nobody' cannot become negative adverbs (cf. Poletto 2008).

Finally, the use of Fering-Öömrang neemen as a floating quantifier and an adverb seems to be closely linked to the aspectual status of the sentences in which it appears. Concretely, I will argue that neemen has developed its special functions in sentences with experiential aspect (cf. Comrie 1976). Therefore the analysis may also provide insight in the interplay between quantifier float, negation and aspect.

References
• Bayer, J. (2009), 'Nominal negative quantifiers as adjuncts', Journal of Comparative Germanic Syntax 12, 5-30.
Evidence suggests that bilingualism can affect linguistic and general cognitive performance across the lifespan. In verbal tasks multilinguals are considered to be at a disadvantage compared to monolinguals. Bilingual children are outperformed in vocabulary tests, while bilingual adults show a disadvantage in lexical retrieval. Because reduced lexical access is also a problem for elderly speakers, this leads to an interaction between age and bilingualism. However, bilingual children and adults generally outperform monolinguals in nonverbal tasks depending on executive control, although not all studies report significant group differences. Bilingual advantages in executive control are related to bilinguals’ experience in keeping their languages apart. This study addresses three research questions: first, we investigate effects of bilingualism on linguistic performance, focusing on the role of cognitive functions. Second, we investigate effects of bilingualism on executive control functions playing a part in language processing. Because of the interaction between bilingualism and age, we also examine the performance of elderly participants. Third, we investigate the hypothesis that bilinguals’ conflict between competing language systems simultaneously results in a reduction of lexical access and in a boost of executive control, by analysing the interaction between results of the verbal and non-verbal tasks of our study. Linguistic and general cognitive performance are tested in an experiment involving 50 early bilingual, 50 late bilingual and 50 functionally monolingual speakers, equally divided over two age-groups, i.e. of 35-56 and 65-85 years old. Assignment to language groups is based on results of a language questionnaire. We will here present the results of the first part of our experiment,
in which we tested groups of early bilingual speakers of Dutch and Frisian, considering whether our data corroborate previous studies in this field and to what extent treating early bilinguals as one group, and dividing them into two age-groups, seems a justifiable choice.

**Effectiveness of Speech-Music Therapy for Aphasia; A Proof of Principle**

Joost Hurkmans\textsuperscript{1,2}, Madeleen de Bruijn\textsuperscript{2}, Roel Jonkers\textsuperscript{1}, Roelien Bastiaanse\textsuperscript{1}, Annemarijke Boonstra\textsuperscript{2} and Heleen Reinders-Messelink\textsuperscript{2} (\textsuperscript{1}University of Groningen; \textsuperscript{2}Revalidatie Friesland)

As the name suggests, Speech-Music Therapy for Aphasia (SMTA; De Bruijn, Zielman, & Hurkmans, 2006) combines elements of speech and music therapy for the treatment of nonfluent aphasia and Apraxia of Speech (AoS). The intervention addresses three levels of speech (phonemic, word, and sentence level) by using the musical parameters of melody, rhythm, dynamics, tempo and metre. In a multiple baseline across behaviours design (Fucetola et al., 2005) we evaluated the effects of a standard treatment protocol in five speakers with aphasia and AoS.

Five patients suffering from nonfluent aphasia and AoS caused by a stroke participated in the study. At the time of the experiment, patients were 3 months post onset. A series of speech and language tests was administered to all patients pre and post therapy and 3 months later (follow up). During baseline and therapy the patients were tested with a related- and with an unrelated control task. All 5 patients received 24 sessions with SMTA treatment (twice a week; 30 minutes per session).

After therapy, all patients had improved significantly at all outcome measures, except for the accuracy measure for one patient. No improvement was found on the control test for 4/5 patients. Significant improvement was revealed in various speech and language tests. No improvement was found on the subtest that is not related to speech production. There was no decline in the score at follow up testing.

The evaluation measures and the performance of several language and articulation tests showed significant improvement. This improvement is not the result of spontaneous recovery since the patients were 3 months post onset and no improvement was found on unrelated control tests, except for one patient. We conclude that SMTA is an effective therapy for AoS and nonfluent aphasia, improving verbal communication.
References


PDTSE Corpus Enrichment

 Angelina Ivanova (University of Oslo)

The Prague Dependency Treebank of Spoken English is a collection of English spoken dialogs about personal photograph collections. In this work we enrich it with additional linguistic information targeted for information-extraction tasks. The original corpus consisted of three interlinked representations (audio, manual transcription and a morphological layer) annotated with formats based on the Prague Markup Language (PML) which is a backbone for the family of XML schemas for rich linguistic annotations of texts, such as morphological tagging and dependency trees. We converted the morphological layer of the corpus into a treebank in the standard Penn Treebank bracketing style and enhanced it with part of speech tags, named entity labels, WordNet hypernyms and links to the lower layers of annotation. The pre-processed corpus data was given as an input into state-of-the-art NLP tools such as the Stanford parser and named entity recognizer, and the WordNet API to obtain the additional analyses. These annotations were added in such a way as to preserve the original PML format. We designed new XML schemas for the modified topmost layer of the corpus so that it could be appropriately displayed in editors for linguistic corpus processing, in particular, the powerful toolkit TrEd, which is a programmable graphical tree editor and browser for PML-compliant corpuses. We can now formulate such queries as, for example, "find the tokens that are nouns and have a hypernym "anniversary". The augmented corpus contains interesting strata of linguistic knowledge, is compatible with a specialized open-source query engine and is suitable for extensive information extraction.
The Perception and Implementation of Feedback from Two Different Reviewers on an Assignment: The Effect on Text Quality

Tineke Jansen (University of Groningen)

College students often receive feedback, and this has a positive effect on the quality of their texts (Abbuhl, 2011; Paulus, 1999; Van Zundert, Sluijsmans, Van Merriënboer, 2010). This feedback is usually provided by their peers or teachers and not by the authentic audience of the text they have written. Students are scarcely given the opportunity to collect feedback from an authentic audience (Rijlaarsdam et al., 2009). A study from Sato and Matsushima (2006) indicates that interaction with the authentic audience increases the quality of texts. In this case the students received feedback orally, but feedback can be provided in written form as well. There are no studies on the effect of receiving written feedback from the real readers on the quality of written texts. The study at issue aims to fill this gap. For a course Academic Writing at the University of Groningen 20 freshmen wrote an article for the children’s page of a newspaper and received feedback from their peers and from the authentic audience (G7 students). Based on these reviews they rewrote their first drafts of the article. Initial results revealed that freshmen prefer receiving and implementing feedback from their peers over feedback from the authentic audience. There are, however, some students who preferred receiving feedback from the authentic audience and also implemented their feedback more than the feedback from their peers. On this TABU-day I will discuss the effect of these different perceptions and implementations of the two feedback reports on the quality of the final drafts of the students. In this presentation I will also focus substantially on my considerations for the choice of the assessment method to evaluate these articles, which are written for a young, authentic audience.

References

Sound Change of Arabic Loanwords in Patani Malay

Assaming Kaseng (Prince of Songkla University)

Patani Malay is a dialect of Malay spoken in five southern bordered provinces of Thailand covering the area of Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and some part of Songkhla. Because most Patani Malay speakers are Moslem, they are close to Arabic language since the 16th century. This situation causes many Arabic words enter to Patani Malay, mainly in the aspect of religion. As the sound systems of both languages, Arabic and Patani Malay, are different, most Arabic loanwords in Patani Malay also different in aspect of sound compared with the original words. This research aimed to study sound change of Arabic loanwords in Patani Malay. The main data were collected from dictionaries and word lists of related languages. Additional data were drawn from the researcher’s knowledge as a native speaker of Patani Malay. The data were checked with informants for accuracy. The result of study showed that final consonants are found to have greater change than initial consonants. This is due to the fact that, in Patani Malay, only three consonants phonemes can occur in the final position, whereas every consonant phoneme in the sound system of Arabic can occur in the final position. Vowels are also found to have great change in all positions, presyllabic and final syllabic of Arabic Loanwords. Every type of change, consonants and vowels, which can be found in the study are quite systematic and regular.

Visual Fixation as a Measure of Rhythmic Preference: Infant Eye-Tracking

Brigitta Keij and René Kager (Utrecht University)

In this paper the acquisition of metrical structure is discussed. Metrical structure is defined by the position of stressed syllables in words. This structure is often delimitative, which means stress usually falls near the edges of a word. In initial stress languages a stressed syllable marks the onset of a word and in final stress languages a stressed syllable marks the offset of a word. According to the Metrical Segmentation Hypothesis (Cutler & Norris 1988), metrical structure can be used by infants to segment words from the speech stream. However, the evidence for this hypothesis comes mainly from initial stress languages and it is unknown whether this hypothesis is universal or language-specific and whether learners of final stress languages use different cues specific to their native language. Therefore, infants learning metrically opposed languages are
tested, namely infants learning Dutch (initial/ pre-final stress) and infants learning Turkish (final stress).

Do Dutch- and Turkish-learning infants show a language-specific rhythmic bias? And if so, at what age does this preference appear? The hypotheses are that Dutch- and Turkish-learning infants fail to show a rhythmic bias at 4 months of age, but that they have developed a language-specific rhythmic preference at 6 months of age, based on a distributional analysis of the input they receive in their native language. Thus far, 58 Dutch-learning infants and 11 Turkish-learning infants aged 4 and 6 months have been tested. The preliminary results suggest that Dutch-learning infants at the age of 4 months do not have a rhythmic preference yet. However, at 6 months of age they seem to have a preference for the stress pattern of their native language (i.e. the trochaic condition), while Turkish-learning infants seem to have a preference for their native language stress pattern (i.e. the iambic condition) at the age of 6 months.

References


**On Accusativity of Russian 'Need'**

Mikhail Knjazev (Utrecht University)

Harves and Kayne (2012) propose the generalization that any language that fails to have a transitive verb of possession like the English have will also fail to have a transitive 'need'. Among such languages the authors cite Russian, whose predicate nužno 'need' indeed realizes its 'theme' argument as nominative and its 'experiencer' argument as dative, as in (1). It turns out that the generalization is not quite accurate since Russian also has an (impersonal) predicate nado 'need’, which does assign accusative to its theme argument, as in (2). It's quite clear that (2) doesn't involve ellipsis since it could be uttered out of the blue and it could never be interpreted as in (2’). I would like to propose a way to solve this apparent problem for the generalization in question.

Harves and Kayne argue that the transitive 'need' is derived by incorporation of the nominal 'need' into a possessive transitive verb like have. Since Pylkkänen (2002), possessive structures have been analyzed as involving an applicative head, more precisely, low applicative, which exists alongside high applicative. The former has been associated with a possessive/recipient reading and the latter with an affectedness/experiencer reading. Russian, in contrast to English, has been argued to possess both types of applicatives, see, e.g., Graschenkov and Markman 2008.
Suppose that Russian nado, in contrast to nužno, incorporates high applicative. Indeed, it could be shown that the dative in (2) is associated with a sentience/affectedness reading. Now assuming that only high applicative heads license accusative Case in Russian, we derive the curious behavior of nado. This proposal also explains an otherwise curious fact that Harves and Kayne note, namely that Russian subject experiencer verbs like 'know' (often analyzed as involving high applicatives) license accusative, as in (3).

(1) Mne nužna èta kniga.
    me.DAT necessary.FEM that book.NOM.FEM
    ‘I need that book.’

(1’)
* Mne nužno ètu knigu.
    me.DAT necessary.NEUT that book.ACC.FEM
    ‘I need that book.’

(2) Emu srocno nado ètu knigu.
    him.DAT urgently necessary that book.ACC
    ‘He urgently needs that book.’

(2’)
* Emu srocno nado èta kniga.
    him.DAT urgently necessary that book.NOM
    ‘He urgently needs that book.’

(2’’)
Emu srocno nado procitat’ ètu knigu.
    him.DAT urgently necessary.NEUT read.INF that book.ACC.FEM
    ‘He urgently needs to read that book.’

(3) On znaet ee.
    he.NOM knows her.ACC
    ‘He knows her.’

References
Between Direct and Indirect Discourse. The Acquisition of Dependent V2 Clauses in German in Comparison to Dutch

Franziska Köder (University of Groningen)

Previous studies on the development of reported speech have established that direct discourse is acquired before indirect discourse (Hickmann 1993, Özyürek 1996, Nordqvist 2001). The current study aims to refine this broad developmental path by presenting data from German and Dutch speaking children. German is of particular interest for the acquisition of reported speech because it has a reporting mode that exhibits features of both direct and indirect discourse. The hypothesis is that this intermediate construction – referred to as ‘dependent V2 clause’ (Reis 1997) or ‘dependent main clause’ (Auer 1998) – is acquired after direct and before indirect discourse in German. For Dutch, where this reporting mode is no grammaticalised option, I nonetheless predict cases of direct-indirect mixing.

The study is based on the spontaneous speech of 41 German and 45 Dutch learning children from the CHILDES database (MacWhinney 2000). All instances of reported speech embedded under the verba dicendi ‘sagen’ and ‘zeggen’ are classified as either direct discourse, indirect discourse with a dass/dat-complementizer or as dependent V2 clauses (in German)/ mixed cases (in Dutch).

Graph 1 and 2: Number of speech reporting constructions per 10000 tokens (y-axis) at various age groups (x-axis) in German (left) and Dutch (right)

The results confirm the hypothesis that the dependent V2 clause in German is acquired after direct discourse and before indirect discourse with a subordinate clause. Here are some of the
first instances of direct discourse (1), dependent V2 clauses (2) and indirect discourse (3) in German:

(1) Thorsten sagt nicht Hilfe (2;01)
(2) Tiere sagen, ich bin leise (2;03)
(3) Mechthild sagt, dass du Pipi machen sollst (2;07)

Interestingly, I also found cases of direct-indirect mixing in the Dutch data which resemble the German dependent V2 clause construction. In example (4), for instance, the embedded clause displays a verb-second word order, while the speech report is given from the perspective of the actual speaker.

(4) Papa zei hij is niet aan het beugelen (4;08)

The fact that these mixed cases in Dutch occur at around the same age as the first instances of indirect discourse suggests an interference of the different speech reporting modes. I argue that in the process of acquiring an adult-like distinction between direct and indirect discourse, children go through a phase in which they report speech more flexibly.

References

• Nordqvist, Å. (2001), Speech about speech. A developmental study on form and function of direct and indirect speech, Göteborg: Kompendiet.
Our study investigated how early consecutive bilingual Turkish-Dutch (L2) children comprehend Dutch reflexives (zichzelf ‘SE-self’) and pronouns (hem ‘him’). The current study is a replication of Marinis & Chondrogianni’s (M&C) study (2010) into sequential Turkish-English bilinguals. M&C used a sentence-picture judgment task (A-STOP-R, van der Lely, 1997) in which children had to judge (yes/no) whether the bi-clausal sentence matched the picture. Seventy-two test items and 24 fillers were included. There were four main outcomes. Firstly, M&C found similar results for L1 and L2 children. Secondly, in the Pronoun condition they found a Quantificational Asymmetry, meaning that children correctly rejected ungrammatical antecedents for quantificational NPs, yet they incorrectly accepted them for referential NPs. This asymmetry was more pronounced in L2 children. Thirdly, M&C found an at-chance performance on himself in the quantificational NP condition. Finally, M&C found no transfer effects from Turkish which allows long-distance bound antecedents.

In our replication we also found outcomes (1) and (4), so overall, the L1 and L2 children showed similar patterns. Yet, we did not find a Quantificational Asymmetry in the Dutch Pronoun condition, nor did we find a poor performance on zichzelf (‘SE-self’) in the quantificational NP condition. We will explain these differences in terms of language-specific interpretation of the quantifiers. Dutch children may persistently interpret the quantifier elke (‘every’) as distributive (van der Ziel, 2011), so that each agent is paired to each object. Sentence-picture judgments for referential NPs are then hypothesised to be similar to the ones for quantificational NPs. Thus, no Quantificational Asymmetry is expected. However, English every may receive a more collective interpretation, consequently a pairing between a quantificational NP and a singular reflexive may be deemed semantically incongruent. Yet, the sentence and picture can still be matched, if himself is interpreted as a focus marker; hence, these different results.

References

Chat Alert! Language in Danger?

Ester Magis (Vrije Universiteit Brussel)

In his article ‘Tussentaal wordt omgangstaal in Vlaanderen’ (2009) De Caluwe states that interlanguage is becoming the common colloquial speech in Flanders. He uses the features put forward by Lemahieu (2008) as his main arguments:

(1) The diminution on -je or -ke.
(2) The use of the je- or ge-system.
(3) The inflection of articles, possessive and demonstrative pronouns and adjectives.
(4) The use of a ‘redundant’ dat (that) with conjunctions and pronouns.

Although Lemahieu focused on Standard Dutch, these features can also be used for research of written interlanguage. This contribution examines chat language of 60 subjects, both male and female, within the five Flemish provinces (Antwerp, East-Flanders, Flemish-Brabant, Limburg and West-Flanders). Next to gender and geographical divisions age is also taken into account.

The research is based upon several online chat conversations that were fragmented and analysed. The analysis of the above-mentioned variants per participant, age and province gives an idea of the presence of interlanguage. The variants of Lemahieu are therefore an interesting tool because they provide data regarding how many times a representative selection of Flemish chatters with regard to a set of variants choose to use interlanguage in a situation in which they have the choice to use inter- or Standard language.

The conclusion resulting from this research reveals that there are indeed regional variants and there is a high percentage of interlanguage, but Standard Dutch still prevails. Therefore it is claimed that chat language does not impoverish the standard written language, but enriches it and that it rather should be considered as change in progress.

References

**Progressive Use of Metrical Cues**

Sandrien van Ommen (Utrecht University)

Within the framework of a larger project on metrical segmentation I present the first results of a crosslinguistic experiment with speakers of Turkish and speakers of Dutch. The central hypothesis is that segmentation is guided by patterns of metrically well-formed words in the native language. Previous studies have shown that listeners interpret stressed or strong (non-reduced) syllables as potential beginnings of words in a.o. English (Cutler & Norris, 1988; McQueen, Norris & Cutler, 1994; Norris, McQueen & Cutler, 1995), and Dutch (Quené & Koster, 1998; Vroomen & de Gelder, 1995). This is interpreted as evidence for the Metrical Segmentation Hypothesis, which predicts that listeners have and use a parsing ability based on edge-aligned stress. However, this hypothesis is mostly empirically proven in languages with (statistically most frequent) word-initial stress. Evidence on a facilitatory effect of right-edge aligned stress is sparse (although see Kabak et al., 2010), which leaves the question of language-specificity and universality in metrical segmentation open. Furthermore, it only proves the use of *regressive* cues, i.e. when a speaker hears a stressed syllable they infer a word boundary before it. The question whether speakers can use stress to *anticipate* a word boundary is therefore not answered. The current experiment is designed to address both these issues, by means of a cross-linguistic comparison with the languages Dutch (penultimate word-stress) and Turkish (word-final stress), in a non-word spotting experiment. The results of the experiment show a language-specific progressive use of metrical cues, with the Dutch participants benefiting from a penultimate, and the Turkish from a word-final stress pattern.

**Heet-ie-nou? The Lexical Processing in Children with Epilepsy and a Language Disorder and in Children with Specific Language Impairment**

Marty Oosting-Kuiper (Leiden University)

Similarly to children with epilepsy and a language disorder (ETS), children with Specific Language Impairment (SLI) often show comparable lexical problems. The present (quantitative) study analyzes these problems using a vocabulary test that indicates the lexical production and perception of the child. The question is: do children with SLI perform differently from children with ETS on the vocabulary test? In this study the data of twelve ETS children and twelve SLI children will be compared. The first group consists of children aged seven years and two months to ten years and eight months. The
location of the epileptic activity in the brains differs between the children. The second group consists of children between the ages of five years and seven months and ten years.

For this study the results of the vocabulary tests (WSK and WSP) and the test for silent meaning (VB) of the Taaltests Voor Kinderen (van Bon en Hoekstra, 1982) were used.

In a variation analysis the influence of the dependent variables age and disorder is examined and the Wilcoxon Ranked Sign test is used to examine the results of the tests of the two groups.

Table 1. Analysis of variation: independent variable: sum scores WSK, WSP, VB.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Degr. of freedom</th>
<th>F WSK</th>
<th>P WSK</th>
<th>F WSP</th>
<th>P WSP</th>
<th>F VB</th>
<th>P VB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>0,023</td>
<td>5,089</td>
<td>0,891</td>
<td>0,891</td>
<td>0,356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disorder</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,868</td>
<td>0,105</td>
<td>1,476</td>
<td>0,066</td>
<td>9,523</td>
<td>0,006</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Results of the Wilcoxon Ranked Sign test.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sum score</th>
<th>Sum score</th>
<th>Sum score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WSK ETS-WSK SLI</td>
<td>WSP ETS-WSP SLI</td>
<td>VB ETS-VB SLI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z</td>
<td>W (2 tailed)</td>
<td>Z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0,721</td>
<td>0,721</td>
<td>0,357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-0,357</td>
<td>-2,946</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only the results of the VB test show a significant difference between the SLI group and the ETS group but these is the most unreliable test.

A more fine grained study which builds on these results is needed to come to a more refined conclusion regarding the differences between SLI and ETS children.

References

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An Experimental Study on the Influence of Congenital Amusia on Speech Perception

Jasmin Pfeifer, Silke Hamann, Mats Exter and Marion Krause-Burmester (Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf)

Congenital Amusia is a neuro-developmental disorder that has a negative influence on pitch perception (Peretz et al. 2002, Stewart et al. 2008). It is not caused by insufficient exposure to music, a hearing deficiency, brain damage or intellectual impairment (e.g., Ayotte et al. 2002). Amusics face impairments in the musical domain and their symptoms range from an inability to detect incorrect notes to music sounding like ‘banging’ to them (Stewart 2008: 127). What makes this condition so particularly interesting is that there is an ongoing debate whether language is affected (cf. Liu et al. 2010) or not (cf. Hutchins et al. 2010). The most fundamental issue that needs to be investigated is whether and how speech perception is affected by congenital amusia.

If speech perception is affected, then it is also important to investigate which acoustic or linguistic factors may influence amusics’ speech perception.

The present pilot study examined the discrimination of linguistic pitch and two types of tonal analogs (sine tones and pulses) by amusics. We tested eight German amusics (diagnosed with the MBEA: Ayotte et al. 2002) and 32 matched controls in a same-different discrimination task. It was tested whether the amusic group was at a disadvantage when linguistic material was removed. In addition, we looked at the influence of stimulus duration and continuity of the pitch. The phonemic material and the size of final pitch change (in up to 7 semitone steps) were also varied.

First results show that both groups performed worst for sine stimuli compared to voice stimuli and pulses, while non-amusics performed best for pulse stimuli, amusics showed an advantage in the linguistic stimuli. However, amusics performed worse over all conditions than non-amusics, even for stimuli pairs that differed in seven semitones. These results show that congenital amusia also affects speech perception.
Evaluating the Interaction Between Age and Amount of Input and Their Effect on the Development of English Proficiency in Primary School Children

Tineke Prins¹ and Liv I. Persson² (¹University of Groningen; ²Utrecht University)

International studies that investigated children’s foreign language learning have shown that in countries where the target language is (more) present in the linguistic environment, children perform better in the target language (Lindgren & Muñoz, 2010; Tragant, 2010). Although there is plenty of anecdotal evidence on the effect of screen media on foreign language learning, little systematic investigations into the effect of out-of-school exposure on foreign language learning have been carried out. As a result the relation between the rate of foreign language learning and screen media exposure remains rather unclear. Studies investigating the effect of screen media on foreign language learning in experimental settings, suggest that limited but measurable development in receptive vocabulary – but not receptive grammar – can be observed (Gery d’Ydewalle & Van de Poel, 1999; Koolstra & Beentjes, 1999; Lommel, Laenen, & d’Ydewalle, 2006). Furthermore, it remains unknown how much and what type of out-of-school exposure to English children in Dutch primary schools have at different ages.

In this presentation, data will be presented from Dutch children learning English at primary school, while taking into account their out-of-school exposure to English. The foreign language proficiency of 4-year-olds (n=188), 8-year-olds (n=25), 9-year-olds (n=15) and 10-year-olds (n=29) is reported on, after having had one year of English language education. Not all out-of-school exposure was found to be a significant predictor for foreign language scores, and specific types of television programmes explained more variance in the children’s scores than others. Age correlated with type and amount of out-of-school exposure, and the different age groups were found to be affected differently by modern media. The results presented in this talk aim to identify what types of out-of-school exposure to the target language influence children’s foreign language proficiency, taking into account the input they receive at school.

References

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**Singing in a Tone Language: Fe‘fe’ Bamileke**

Teresa Proto (Collegium de Lyon)

This paper focuses on the interaction of speech tones and musical pitches in fe‘fe’ bamileke, a Bantu language of Cameroun (Stoll 1955, Ngangoum 1970, Hyman 1972).

It is a preliminary examination of the correspondence between spoken melody and sung melody that aims at putting to test the hypotheses formulated in this field for other tone languages, notably Cantonese (Yung 1983, L.H. Wee 2007), Thai (List 1961) and two West African languages (Schneider 1961, Agawu 1988, Schellenberg 2009).

The study is based on four songs and has been carried out with a native speaker. I have examined two kinds of data, extant songs and native speakers’ reactions to settings that we constructed in order to test my conjectures about putative regularities.

The aim of the analysis is twofold: on the one hand, I have tried to establish if a statistically significant level of correspondence exists between the melodic contours in speech and song in fe‘fe’ bamileke and, on the other hand, to verify if and to what extent violations to this correspondence may be acceptable.

**References**


Pupil Dilation Reflects Contexts Effects in Processing of Object Pronouns

Jacolien van Rij (University of Groningen)

Introduction. The interpretation of object pronouns is assumed to be constrained by grammatical principles, such as Principles A and B of Binding Theory (e.g., Chomsky, 1981). However, during sentence processing also discourse seem to play a role: it has been found that structurally ungrammatical referents that are very salient in the discourse can influence adults processing of object pronouns (a.o., Clackson et al., 2011). This study investigates whether the order of referent introduction affects pronoun resolution by measuring pupil dilation.

Pupil dilation. Pupil size is a reliable and consistent physiological measure of cognitive load in sentence processing (a.o., Engelhardt et al., 2010; Just & Carpenter, 1993). The pupil size reaches its peak approximately 1.3 s after the stimulus that triggered dilation.

Experiment. 17 native Dutch-speaking adults were asked to judge sentences like Example 1 in a Picture Verification task. After hearing the pre-recorded sentences, the picture remained on the screen for 2500 ms, after which the participants had to press a button to answer ‘correct’ or ‘incorrect’. The order of introduction of the two referents was manipulated. Four variants (see Example 1) of all 32 test items were created and divided over four lists. Pupil size was measured with an Eyelink II at 250Hz.

Results. Pupil dilation increase in a 2000 ms window from the onset of the pronoun (with the first 100 ms as baseline) was analyzed using linear mixed effects models. A three-way interaction was found between Introduction (Agent-first versus Patient-first), Match (mismatch items versus match items), and Time ($\chi^2(3)= 29.43; p=.000$), indicating that a difference between match and mismatch items is found for the Agent-first introduction (i.e., increased latency and slope on mismatch items), but not for the Patient-first introduction.
These results show that subtle discourse effects, such as the order of introduction, influence pronoun processing.

Example 1: 2x2 Experimental design

Introduction sentence:
Agent-first = ‘Here you see an elephant and an alligator. The elephant is hitting him with a hammer.’
Patient-first = ‘Here you see an alligator and an elephant. The elephant is hitting him with a hammer.’

Match:
Match-items = the picture shows the elephant hitting the alligator (correct answer is yes)
Mismatch-items = the picture shows the elephant hitting himself (correct answer is no)

References

Metrics of Pauses in French Rap

Daniela Rossi (Université Libre de Bruxelles)

The aim of this paper is to define the role of pauses (intended as breaks in the linguistic-prosodic string) in French rap music. I will illustrate my claims with examples taken from two pieces, Demain c’est loin (IAM, 1997), and Pleure en Silence (Kery James, 2008).

In rap, the linguistic material is chanted on a 4/4 rhythm. Rap metrical line is composed by 16 positions (and four strong beats).
To analyze pauses distribution and define their role in rap chanted verse, I will take two parameters into account:

- Length: long pauses are more prominent than short ones.
- Location: a pause occurring at *tactus* (strong beat) level is more prominent than pause occurring at a weaker beat level.

Length and location determine the relative prominence of pauses within the chanted text. Length plays a role in defining grouping units (Lerdahl & Jackendoff 1983), intended as musical phrases. Relatively long temporal distance between two events tends to be a strong cue in defining grouping boundaries (Proximity Principle, Halle 2004). I will suggest that these units, together with the distribution of rhymes and strong beats, are the required criteria for a satisfactory definition of rap line.

Concerning location, the corpus considered shows that pauses can occur at each level of the metrical line. A consequence of that is a widely attested violation of the stress-to-beat matching *textsetting* (text-to-tune alignment) rule, for which stressed syllables match strong metrical positions (Dell & Halle 2009). This mismatch gives raise to rhythmic effects, notably syncopation. We observe that pauses play a double role: on the one hand, they contribute to define the relevant units of the text (lines, couplets, quatrains); on the other hand they produce rhythmic effects within the line.

*References*


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**Perceiving Linguistic Features: Comparison Between Musicians and Non-Musicians**

Makiko Sadakata¹ and Kaoru Sekiyama² (¹Donders Institute for Brain, Cognition and Behaviour; ²Kumamoto University)

We report the results of two cross-linguistic experiments comparing the perception of L1 and L2 speech by musicians and non-musicians. Discrimination and identification experiments examined perception of various linguistic features, namely, consonant timing, quality of Japanese consonants and of Dutch vowels. Musicians demonstrated enhanced perception for both L1 and L2, and Most pronounced effect was found for Japanese consonant timing.

**A Pro Vocative Talk**

Kees de Schepper (Radboud University Nijmegen)

Vocatives have received very little attention from linguists, which is unfortunate because they harbor a number of interesting characteristics, especially from the perspective of the category of person. First of all, vocatives allow second-person determiners (1), but these are not allowed outside of vocatives, at least not in the singular (2). I will argue that differences in frequency have led to a difference in grammaticalization between vocative and non-vocative constructions with a second-person determiner. Second, vocatives have a number of functions---e.g. secondary insult in (1)---but there is no a priori reason why these functions should be restricted to the addressee of a sentence. Yet, it is not possible to refer to the speaker with “idiot” in English (3) or
any other language that I know of. Thus, the mere existence of the vocative constitutes a addressee-versus-speaker/other pattern. As some scholars have argued that only speaker/addressee-versus-other patterns should exist, my aim is to show that the prominence of the addressee in vocatives is not a trivial matter. Third, vocatives may be syntactically third-person (4), which I will prove by looking at relative clauses. The clash between third-person syntax and second-person semantics leads to some restrictions on third-person vocatives: overt third-person determiners are not allowed and quantifiers only tolerate “one” as N (5). An even more complicated clash can be seen in an English sentence like (6) where the quantifier not only has some characteristics of a third-person vocative, but also some of a second-person subject. Fourth, it may be inappropriate to call vocatives second-person. A second-person plural pronoun may normally refer to an addressee and another (7), but a vocative may only refer to addressees (8).

Data
(1) “Stop it, moron!”
(2) “You teachers/*teacher work a lot of hours”
(3) “The keys are still in the ignition, idiot!”
(4) “Listen to me, little girl!”
(5) “Thanks for coming, everyone/*every parent!”
(6) “Everyone raise your hand!”
(7) “[Alice to Bob:] Did you guys enjoy yourselves?”
(8) “[Alice to Bob:] #Be careful, you guys!”

An Asymmetry Between Dutch Children’s Comprehension and Production of Wh-Questions: The Role of Agreement and Word Order
Atty Schouwenaars, Petra Hendriks and Angeliek van Hout (University of Groningen)

An asymmetry between Dutch children’s comprehension and production of wh-questions: the role of agreement and word order Previous research shows that children interpret object questions as subject questions, allowing number agreement errors (Metz, van Hout, van der Lely, 2010). In distinguishing between the subject and the object of a sentence, different constraints play a role, like the agreement constraint (the verb agrees with the subject) and the subject-first constraint (the subject linearly precedes the object) (de Hoop & Lamers, 2006). In this study we tested the hypothesis that children rank the subject-first constraint higher than the agreement constraint. This non-adult-like ranking predicts subject question interpretations of object questions in
comprehension, but predicts adult-like productions of object questions. In our experiment a pretest was conducted to test whether the children correctly interpret inflection on the verb in order to identify the subject. Only the passers of this test were taken into account for further analysis. We conducted an eyetracking experiment to test children’s offline and online interpretation of wh-questions. We found that Dutch children (n=23, age range 6;6-7;10, mean: 7;1) interpret object questions as subject questions. In production however, the same children produce almost no ungrammatical object questions. Even thought these children do use verb inflection as a clue in declarative sentences, they do not use it in understanding wh-questions. They consider word order (subject precedes object) more important than agreement (the verb agrees with the subject).

References


The Emergence and Development of the Possessive -s Construction in Dutch

Alan Scott (University of Nottingham)

This paper investigates the constructionalisation of the Dutch possessive -s construction from the adnominal genitive and the subsequent constructional change that shaped the construction to result in the possessive -s construction found in the modern language. Within a Construction Grammar framework, a diachronic usage-based approach – assuming that grammatical change and speakers’ knowledge of grammar are shaped by linguistic experience – is taken (see e.g. Bybee 2006, Hilpert 2011). The analysis is based on quantified data drawn from Middle Dutch prose, a balanced corpus of 16th-19th century formal written Dutch and 16th-19th century informal personal letters.

During Middle Dutch, the possessive -s construction, involving a non-agreeing marker -s attached once only at the right-edge of the possessor NP (1) had emerged from the concordial genitive (2).

(1) *de bouckverkoopers handen* ‘the bookseller.POSS hands’ (17th century, personal letter)
(2) *eens ridders sone* ‘a.GEN knight.GEN son’ (*Der Leken Spieghel*, c. 1325-1330)
Over the early modern period, constructional change led to a reduction in the type frequency of possessive -s. In the 16th and 17th centuries the most frequent possessor type comprised a determiner and a common noun, as in (1); the -s could also be attached to proper names and the right-edge of postmodification (3). By the 19th century, the overwhelmingly dominant type was (non-postmodified) names (4); this remains the default in modern Dutch.

(3) *de graef van Stirums brigaede* 'the count of Stirum.POSS brigade' (1643, diary entry)

(4) *Louise’s woorden* 'Louise.POSS words’ (19th century, drama)

I propose that a combination of usage factors and standardisation shaped the development of possessive -s, which emerged through usage when once-only marking was felt sufficient to denote possession. However, the concordial genitive, revived through codification, competed directly with possessive -s and caused its type frequency to decline, eventually coming to occupy a niche of attaching to determiner-less proper names.

References


“Are You Familiar with Wall Street?” – Conversational Joking in the Daily Show Interview

Lucas Seuren (University of Groningen)

Using the concept of frames it has been shown how conversational joking is easily made a part of casual conversation (Straehle, 1993; Norrick, 2003). In the more rule-based context of a news interview (Clayman & Heritage, 2002) this would seem more difficult, but the opposite is the case. During an interview on the Daily Show with guest Bill O’Reilly humor is easily integrated within the talk, but it takes work to re-enter the frame of the interview where a serious question is responded to with a serious answer. See the following example, where Stewart in line 7-8 asks whether a statement by O’Reilly that he will quit his job if his taxes are raised even further is an empty threat (JS = Jon Stewart, BO = Bill O’Reilly, AU = Audience):
By asking his question in this way, Stewart presupposes that the threat was empty and moreover, after O’Reilly replies in line 10 that it was an empty threat, Stewart paraphrases his question into a statement, showing that his question wasn’t really a question, but a teasing accusation. More importantly, the ways in which O’Reilly and the audience respond to the question show it wasn’t serious. O’Reilly does that with his repeated no in line 14, whereby he switches between the nonserious and serious frame of the teasing and his actual response, and the audience shows their interpretation of the question by laughing, thereby treating it as a joke of sorts. Instances like this are rather common in the interview and can be rather extensive, yet never problematic; participants recognize each other’s intentions and treat their utterances accordingly. Using the method of conversation analysis (e.g. Sidnell, 2010) it can be shown how these sequences are constructed, how participants shift between serious and joking frames, and how the audience is a relevant and sometimes even active participant in the interaction.

References

Kehler (1995), Kehler et al. (2008) argue that coherence constrains anaphora felicity. Specifically, VP-ellipsis is degraded when the source clause is passive but the target is active, but only for Resemblance relations (1), not Cause-effect (2).

(1) Resemblance: ?? This problem was looked into by John, and Bob did too.
(2) Cause-effect: ?? This problem was looked into by John because Bob did.

Kehler’s explanation: Resemblance relations hold between entities and properties, and therefore structural parallelism is necessary for smooth processing. Cause-effect relations instead take propositions as arguments, and structure is irrelevant. This effect is general, applying also to pronouns. Kehler’s theory is based on convincing, naturally produced examples. However Frazier & Clifton (2008) could reproduce the results experimental. They suggest that the presence of ‘too’ in many of Kehler’s examples might have degraded them when manipulated to be mismatched. Our intuition is the ‘too’ improves examples, and we tested this. In Experiment 1 we collect likert-scale judgments for active-passive mismatched Resemblance sentences with VP-ellipsis in English. ‘Too’ significantly improved mismatched sentences, but degraded matched sentences, a result which makes sense if adding ‘too’ to matched sentences is superfluous and therefore confusing. In Experiment 2 we found that ‘too’ significantly improved English matched and mismatched sentences with pronouns, where the mismatched version required an object pronoun to have a subject antecedent, against standard interpretation strategies. For Experiment 3, we tested the generality of these results by using another presupposition trigger. We tested Dutch speakers with Resemblance and ‘ook’, and Contrast relations with ‘maar’ (but) and ‘toch’. ‘Too’ improved mismatched parallel relations, but ‘toch’ degraded all sentences. We argue that ‘too’ coerces the listener to search for two similar events. By ‘raising’ interpretation to event-level, structural mismatches become less relevant, similar to Cause-effect relations. This is why ‘too’ improves mismatched sentences in our experiments.
An Auditory Experiment on the Perception of /r/ in Polish
Łukasz Stolarski (Jan Kochanowski University)

The Polish /r/ is usually described as a voiced, alveolar trill, but depending on various factors it may be realised phonetically in numerous other ways. For example, it happens to be palatalised, devoiced, articulated as a tap, an approximant, a fricative, etc. Most of the allophones of /r/ involve vocalic elements preceding and following short periods of reduced acoustic energy. The former may be referred to as “vowellike segments” and the latter as “consonant-like segments” (Jassem 1973). The periods of reduced acoustic energy are not present in lateral, fricative and approximant allophones of /r/. The “vowel-like segments”, on the other hand, are articulated in all possible realisations of the consonant.

The major aim of this project is to investigate the way in which /r/ is perceived by native speakers of Polish. Interpretation of any linguistic articulation involves various reconstruction mechanisms including phonostylistic mapping rules (cf. Rubach 1982) and general pragmatic cognition (cf. Stolarski 2004); one could argue that in many cases the consonant is recognisable by the listener even if it is not pronounced at all. Nevertheless, this study focuses exclusively on phonetic output and tries to answer the question of which articulatory elements in the Polish /r/ provide the most information for the listener to interpret the consonant correctly.

Since the “vowel-like segments” are present in all the allophones of /r/ they may constitute a more important clue for the listener than the “consonant-like segments”. In order to examine this hypothesis a series of auditory experiments have been carried out. The pronunciation of a number of Polish words containing the consonant was recorded and then the articulation of /r/ was manipulated. In some of these words the vocalic-element preceding the (first) closure was erased, in others the vocalic-element following the (first) closure was deleted, and still in others the “consonant-like segment” was cut out. Such a stimulus was presented to a representative number of native speakers of Polish whose task was to estimate the clarity of the articulation. The statistical summary of the experiment supports the initial hypothesis.

References
Different Directions: Modelling Changes in Verbal Tense Marking Classes in Germanic Languages

Oscar Strik (University of Groningen)

In the Germanic languages, the verbal marking of past tense and formation of participles is generally achieved by way of suffixation or vowel alternation, or a combination of both. Accordingly, verbs are classified as either strong or weak, and as multiple subclasses of these. The way an individual verb is inflected may vary from speaker to speaker, so in practice we see variation in inflection both geographically and diachronically. Diachronically, for example, verbs may shift to a different vowel alternation pattern:

(1) Old Swedish sitia ~ sitin > ModSw. sitta ~ suttit
    'sit ~ sat (part.)' (Strong Class V > Strong Class III/IV)

Other verbs may shift from strong to weak inflection or vice versa:

(2) OSw. knӯta ~ knӯtte > ModSw. knyta ~ knöt
    'tie ~ tied' (Weak Class 3 > Strong Class II)

As illustrated in (1-2), changes in the tense marking of the Germanic languages may proceed in different directions, and some verbs change only partially, yielding weak/strong hybrid verbs. An important hypothesis has long been that such innovative forms may arise due to analogy, but this has never been tested in any quantifiable way for most of the Germanic languages. In preliminary tests using the two analogical models – Analogical Modeling (Skousen 1989, Skousen et al. 2002) and the Minimal Generalization Learner (Albright & Hayes 2002; 2003) – taking the verb systems of historical periods of Swedish and Frisian as input, I have shown that a majority of investigated innovations can be accurately predicted by these models. Furthermore, the results can be used to evaluate analogical relations between verbs, and to evaluate to suitability of these models for this kind of diachronic research.

References

Mutual Intelligibility Between Speakers of North and West Frisian

Femke Swarte and Nanna H. Hilton (University of Groningen)

Within the Germanic language area, Frisian forms its own small group of languages. There are three main varieties of Frisian: North Frisian, spoken by about 10,000 speakers in the German province of Schleswig Holstein (Walker, 2001); West Frisian, spoken by about 400,000 speakers in the Dutch province of Friesland (Gorter, 2001) and East Frisian, of which Saterland Frisian, spoken by about 5000 speakers in the Saterland area in North-Western Germany, is the only surviving dialect (Lewis, 2009). In literature it is often claimed that the three varieties of Frisian differ too much to be mutually intelligible (e.g. Hemminga, 1999). Anecdotal evidence, however, indicates that Frisians meeting on holiday are able to understand each other to a certain extent. This paper is the first attempt at an investigation of the intelligibility between speakers of different varieties of Frisian, focussing on speakers of North and West Frisian only. The East Frisian dialect is rapidly becoming extinct and attracting enough subjects for an experimental study is therefore deemed unattainable.

In our investigation intelligibility levels between North and West Frisian speakers are measured by means of a cloze test and a word translation task. In a cloze test, participants are faced with texts presented orally and in writing, from which a certain number of words have been deleted. Subjects are asked to fill in the blanks. Their scores are indicative of degree of intelligibility of the coherent text in the other language. The intelligibility results are then correlated with language attitudes and the amount of contact that speakers have had with other languages. These social variables are included in the experiment in order to determine which factors play a role for mutual intelligibility between speakers of closely related languages. Our results have implications for language classifications as well as for sociolinguistic and phonetic research concerned with comprehension.

References

The Chronology of Thai Loanwords in Patani Malay

Ruslan Uthai (Prince of Songkla University)

Patani Malay is a dialect of Malay spoken in five southern bordered provinces of Thailand covering the area of Pattani, Yala, Naratiwat and some part of Songkhla. As minority language, Patani Malay has been influenced by Thai language, the majority and national language of Thailand, in all aspect, education, business, mass media and so on. This situation causes some Thai words enter to Patani Malay. This research aimed to study the probable chronology of their borrowing eras in the past. The main data were collected from dictionaries and word lists of related languages. Additional data were drawn from the researcher’s knowledge as a native speaker of Patani Malay. The data were checked with informants for accuracy. The result of study showed that Thai loan words entered to Patani Malay in two main eras: before the 20th century and after the 20th century. The first era could be divided into two periods: between the 13th century and 14th century and around the 15th century. The second era also could be divided into two periods: around the year 1900 and around the year 1932. Beside this, there are a number of Thai words borrowed to Patani Malay in present time. The tendency of this language phenomena is more intensive.

On Definiteness Effects Once Again: The Case of “Absence Existentials”

Nadia Varley (University of Wuppertal)

The first goal of this paper is to clarify the mainstream definition of definiteness (effects) in existentials and explain them by morpho-syntactic means. The second interrelated goal is to offer a unified syntactic analysis of negated existentials as attested in Bulgarian BG and Russian RU. In this respect I examine how definiteness hinges on c/Case, agreement, negation, feature matching and valuation.
At least since Milsark (1974), most researchers agree that existential constructions are incompatible with presuppositional DPs. In the literature this constraint has come to be known as Definiteness Effects DE (Safir 1987). Thus existentials of the kind *the children in the house are considered infelicitous in English. DE seem to hold also in the languages under consideration:

(1)

a) V dome est’ (*moi/*϶ti) deti RU
   in housePREP beAUX,DFLT my/theseNOM childrenNOM

b) V kyštata ima deca(*ta) BG
   in house-the haveAUX,DFLT[-AGR] children-the

However, in negated existentials in these languages, definiteness restrictions appear to be relaxed:

(2)

a) V dome net (moix/϶tix) detej RU
   in housePREP NEG-beAUX,DFLT,PRES my/theseGEN childrenGEN

b) V kyštata *(gi) njama decata BG
   in house-the CL3PL.ACC/GEN NEG-haveAUX,DFLT,PRES children-the

Thus, in (2a) the NP is genitive-valued while in (2b) the definite NP is obligatorily clitic-doubled. Given this evidence and on the lines of Partee & Borchev (2007) I take existentials to be exemplified in their best when negated. However, negation alone is not sufficient to explain the potential obviation of DE in these constructions.

Following Jakobson (1971/1936) and subsequent applications of Jakobson’s approach towards RU case (e.g. Bailyn 2004; Pesetsky 1982), Genitive is assigned by a silent Q-head. My take on the matter includes extending this [Q] analysis to clitic doubling in BG absence existentials. Thus I assume that pronominal clitics and their complements in (negated) existentials in BG are Case-valued on a par with RU Genitive of Negation which leads to my proposal towards a unifying account of both phenomena.

References
Agreement processes in language production can be disturbed by both grammatical and conceptual factors. Nouns in the same phrase can be semantically more or less integrated (e.g., the ketchup or the mustard, loosely integrated, versus the bracelet made of silver, tightly integrated). Studies of semantic integration effects on subject-verb agreement show conflicting results: some found that strong integration hinders correct agreement (Solomon & Pearlmutter, 2004), whereas others found that integration facilitates agreement (Brehm & Bock, submitted). Traditionally, the production of agreement has been studied by examining agreement errors in a spoken preamble completion task (Bock & Miller, 1991). Unfortunately, this paradigm often yields only a small number of analysable errors. We investigated the semantic integration effects on subject-verb agreement in Dutch by looking at errors and response times. Experiment 1 used a preamble completion task (Brehm & Bock, submitted); Experiment 2 used a forced-choice task (Staub, 2009). Results of both experiments showed that integration facilitated agreement: fewer errors and shorter response times were found for integrated relative to unintegrated sentences.
third experiment, which combined the two paradigms, confirmed these results. We conclude that the forced-choice task is as sensitive to the manipulations as the preamble completion task but much easier to use.

References


Experiments in Probabilistic Discourse Parsing of Dutch Text

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The discourse structure of a text can be described in terms of the relations that hold between its text parts (e.g. clauses and sentences). The automatic recognition of discourse structure can be useful for applications such as automatic summarization, question answering and sentiment analysis. Various discourse parse systems have been developed for English (Marcu, 2000; Baldridge & Lascarides, 2005; Subba & di Eugenio, 2007; Hernault et al., 2010), but these cannot be applied directly to Dutch. While statistical analysis in such parsers is largely language independent, the identification of relevant syntactic features and discourse markers is language dependent and may also depend on the availability of morphological (part of speech tagging) and syntactic parsing tools. Timmerman (2007) outlines a system for the annotation of Dutch medical text with discourse relations based on Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST) (Mann & Thompson, 1988). However, the parser uses a relation set of only six relations and can not be used for the recognition of intra-sentential coherence relations. Furthermore, the system has only been applied to small texts, e.g. paragraphs from larger texts. We are developing a more accurate discourse parser by using a larger annotated corpus, containing texts of various genres, as a starting point. We will focus on the recognition of both relations between sentences and relations within sentences. We aim to recognize a large set of discourse relations in whole texts. We present preliminary results of a probabilistic head-driven discourse parser for Dutch text that uses syntax and discourse markers as features and produces discourse structures conform RST. We report
about our parse experiments using texts from different genres and different coherence relation sets for parsing.

References

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Mutual Intelligibility in the Germanic Language Area

Stefanie Voigt (University of Groningen)

In Scandinavia, communication between speakers with different native languages often takes place through receptive multilingualism. Because the Scandinavian languages are closely related they are to a large extent mutual intelligible. There has been a great number of investigations carried out on the factors that play a role for mutual intelligibility. Gooskens (2007), for example, pointed out that a correlation can be found between linguistic distances between languages and the intelligibility of the languages. Schüppert, Hilton and Gooskens (2011), on the other hand, indicate that mutual intelligibility can also be correlate with extra-linguistic factors. They found a positive correlation between language attitudes and the intelligibility of Danish and Swedish.

In this paper the mutual intelligibility of closely related Germanic languages (Dutch, Swedish and German) and the prospective of ELF (English as a lingua franca) in the Germanic language area is investigated by means of a cloze test for spoken and written language. In the cloze test words are left out in a text. The participants have to fill out the gaps. In this way, the intelligibility of coherent texts can be measured. The cloze test will be used to test the intelligibility of both closely related languages and ELF. The intelligibility scores will be correlated with both linguistic
factors, such as phonetic and lexical distances, as well as extralinguistic factors, such as language attitudes and language contact. This paper will elaborate on the methodological challenges of intelligibility research and present some preliminary results of the intelligibility of Germanic languages.

References


Syllable Reduction and Articulation Rate in Spanish and Portuguese

Stefanie Voigt (University of Groningen)

This study focuses on the speech rate and syllable reduction of spoken Spanish and Portuguese. Those two languages belong the Romance language area and are the closest related within this family. They share a great amount of lexical and grammatical features. According to Jensen (1989) there is a slight asymmetric intelligibility between Latin-American based Portuguese (from Brazil) and Spanish (from Ecuador) where the speakers of Spanish understand Portuguese to a lesser extend (50%) then the other way around (60%).

Based on those findings, this study is designed to investigate whether the reasons for this asymmetry might be due to linguistic factors such as syllable reduction in Portuguese.

To match articulation rate of the two languages, comparable audio material had to be established. For this reason podcasts from the national radio of Spain and Portugal were used.

The length of the single recordings varies between 15-40 seconds and was produced by 48 different informants, 24 per language, equally balanced for gender. The total recording time for Spanish is 15,2 minutes and for Portuguese 15,0 minutes. All pauses longer than 150 ms were cut of as well as words that have been repeated due to reflection etc.

Hilton, Schüppert and Gooskens (2011) were the first to measure articulation rate not only as the amount of syllables produced per second, but also to include a distinction between the canonical syllables (phonological syllables) and the syllables that are actually produced (phonetic syllables).

Boersma and Weenink (2008) developed a script for Praat (scientific software program for the
analysis of speech) to automatically transcribe phonetic syllables whereas the phonological syllables were counted manually based on orthography.

Comparing those two measurements, the degree of reduction can be identified. Due to a small pilot experiment the results are expected to show that Spanish actually speak faster than Portuguese and thus also reduce more syllables.

References


Object and Action Processing in Alzheimer’s Disease: The Embodied View of Cognition

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In the literature there are conflicting reports concerning whether noun and verb processing differ in patients with Alzheimer’s disease (AD). In this study we investigated whether these findings are due to studies’ treatment of objects or actions as a uniform category. The hypotheses of this study are based on the embodied view of cognition (see Wilson, 2002 for an overview), which states that semantic knowledge is partly grounded in sensorimotor systems. For example, when one reads the word ‘walk’ this would activate a part in the motor cortex that is activated when performing ‘walking’. According to this theory different semantic features of objects and actions contribute to somewhat different neuroanatomical distribution of various categories of nouns and verbs. In light of what is known about neurological impairment in AD, we hypothesized that specific semantic features (e.g., motion) would be impaired, testing 24 English healthy elderly and 8 individuals with AD with a semantic similarity judgment task on different categories within objects and actions. Each item consisted of three words (e.g., carve: cut - crush); participants were to decide which two words were most related. We looked at the effects between different categories within and between groups. Both correct answers and reaction times were calculated. Results show no overall difference in accuracy between the control and AD group, but the AD group took significantly longer to respond. There was no significant difference among object
categories by either accuracy or reaction time measures in the AD group. However, in the control group a significant difference was present among object categories in both accuracy and reaction time. Both groups showed differences among the action categories by both accuracy and reaction time measures. As well, cutting items were answered significantly less accurately by the AD group than the controls. In sum, this study shows the influence of different categories within objects and actions, which should be taken into account in future studies.

References


**Why Right Is Left: Peripheral Fragments in Germanic**

Mark de Vries and Dennis Ott (University of Groningen)

We discuss right-peripheral fragments in Germanic, in particular identificational afterthoughts and backgrounding dislocations. These construction types are paradoxical in two ways:

- To some extent, fragments are *independent* of the host clause, while at the same time displaying *integration* effects such as case matching and reconstruction.
- Though the relevant fragments are superficially *right*-aligned within the host clause, it can be argued that they have undergone leftward movement and are in the *left* periphery of an elliptical clause.

Consider the English example in (1), which contains a reflexive afterthought. Notably, the host clause is complete by itself, and *himself* is prosodically set apart from it. Still, the anaphoric fragment is bound by its antecedent in the host, *Mr. Tibbs*, as if it occupies the structural position of the object to which it is related, *an admirable person*.

(1) Mr. Tibbs, saw an admirable person in the mirror: himself.

In languages with morphological case, there is also obligatory case matching between a fragment and its correlate, as is illustrated in German, here:
(2) Ich habe ihm geholfen, dem/*der/*den Peter.

'I helped him, Peter.'

The independent nature of fragments suggests high-level attachment, or even a parenthetical status. Connectivity effects, on the other hand, suggest low-level attachment. We propose a principled solution for this structural dilemma. Briefly put, we argue that a fragment is a remnant in an additional, elliptical clause; see (3), for instance:

(3) [Ich habe ihm geholfen] : [dem Peter, habe ich 4 geholfen]

The second clause as a whole functions as a specification of the host clause. The fragment undergoes focus movement to the left, and the rest of the clause is elided. Biclausality straightforwardly explains the attested independency effects, and ellipsis explains connectivity/reconstruction. Ellipsis is licensed because the relevant IP/TP is clearly 'e-given', and in fact the configuration is similar to sluicing and fragment answers. We will draw several unexpected parallels with these construction types.

Thus, we demonstrate that what you see is not what you get, and right is left.

References
Up and Down the Scale: Degree Achievement Verbs with Particles
Milada Walková (P.J. Šafárik University and University of Groningen)

The so-called degree achievement verbs (e.g. lengthen, dry) present an interesting area for the study of verbal aspect due to the fact that they can receive either atelic or telic interpretation. The aspectuality of these verbs has been successfully analyzed as underlain by a scalar structure (e.g. Hay, Kennedy & Levin 1999, Rappaport-Hovav 2008). The present study explores the semantic contribution of verbal particles to degree achievement verbs. Contrary to standard assumptions (cf. Brinton 1985), particles do not turn degree achievement verbs into telic particle verbs – to the contrary, the aspectual ambiguity remains (e.g. warm up for/in a while, atelic/telic). I argue that the particle refers to the scale denoted by the verb root. I present an analysis of particles verbs formed by antonymous pairs of degree achievement verbs combined with particle up or down. Both frequency of occurrence and semantic contribution of the particle are analyzed. The results show that unmarked members of verb pairs typically combine with up, while marked ones typically occur with down (e.g. speed up – slow down). Moreover, up shows to be unmarked in relation to the marked down. Combination of an unmarked verb with an unmarked particle yields a ‘positive value’ meaning (e.g. brighten up: +bright), while two marked forms yield a ‘negative value’ meaning (e.g. dim down: –bright). Combinations of an unmarked form with a marked form, if attested at all, are idiosyncratic in this respect, i.e. their meaning can yield either positive or negative value (e.g. dim up: +bright but slow up: –fast). I conclude that particles up and down refer to the endpoints of the scale underlying the degree achievement verb roots: down points to the lower endpoint of the scale, while up may point to either endpoint.

References

In our paper, we will consider two well-known properties of negative questions: the fact that they frequently trigger implicatures (e.g. Romero & Han 2007) and the fact that in many languages there is a designated positive response particle for use after negative questions (e.g. Sadock & Zwicky 1985). Examples are given in (1) and (2).

(1) *Didn't I tell you it would be difficult?*

   Implicature: I told you it would be difficult.

(2) A: *Tu ne manges pas?*

   B: *Si.*

We will suggest that there is a connection between these two facts. Specifically, we will argue that speakers in their responses to negative questions sometimes target an implicature, expressing their acceptance of its positive truth value. If such a response becomes conventionalised, it can develop into a response particle specialised for negatives.

We will demonstrate how such a process can work by examining in some detail the origins of the positive polarity particle *yes* in English. Use of this word in early medieval English is restricted to responses to negative utterances; the more frequent word *yeah* is used in all other cases. Existing accounts of the etymology of *yes* do not explain this pattern (and in addition face several other difficulties, as we shall show). We therefore propose a new account, which makes crucial use of the presence of implicatures in negative questions.

Apart from shedding light on the origins of the word *yes*, our findings also contribute to the general debate about what explanations should be given for the existence of specific correlational universals in language. This case study adds to the growing body of evidence (see e.g. Blevins 2004, van der Wurff 2007, Harris 2008) suggesting that many such universals can be viewed as the outcome of natural diachronic trajectories, motivated by the existence in the language of property X (here, the implicatures triggered by negative questions) and resulting in the language also acquiring property Y (here, a designated response particle for negative questions).
English is not recognized as a noun-incorporating language. However, noun-incorporation, especially object-incorporation (OI), frequently occurs in the everyday use of the language. OI forms such as *fundraise*, *problem-solve*, and *trouble-shoot* result from very productive word-formation processes. Syntactically, the position vacated by the incorporated O may be refilled (e.g. *Publishers have acknowledged that they don't fact-check [memoirs]*) or not (e.g. *Many are planning to job-share [*their health-care responsibilities / *their work*] with other physicians*).

Using actual data, this paper will first examine the morphological and syntactic characteristics of the English OI.

Studies on noun-incorporation have been mostly formal, treating it either as a syntactic case (e.g. Baker 1988) or a lexical one (e.g. Rosen 1989). While the analysis presented here may lend support to the lexical side of the formal debate, this paper intends to approach OI from a cognitive functional perspective. This is because OI is grammatically optional in English. Even the semantic considerations that motivate OI in other languages (Mithun 1984) need not warrant OI in English. This paper proposes that OI exists in English as another information-managing device.

The direct object position is prominent because it holds what is generally considered salient information. However, leaving the object in that spotlight may not always be the most desired structural arrangement. Some discourse purposes are better achieved with the usual limelight away from the object referent. By shifting the object out of a prominent position, OI effectively reduces the salience of the object referent. Of course, the less prominently an entity is treated, the less attention it attracts. Thus, OI in English is simply another linguistic response to the cognitive demand for managing attention, which is limited in capacity.

References
Influences of Stress on the Mapping of English Hetero-Syllabic Di-Consonantal Strings to Putonghua

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The present study investigates the influences of stress on the mapping of English hetero-Syllabic di-consonantal strings to Putonghua. Earlier studies on mapping focused on the effect of segmental similarity or the mapping of stress to tone, while the present research studies the effects of metrics on syllabification. Subjects listened to nonce English words with phonological structure as “(C)a C1 C2 a C” (C1≠ n, N) and wrote Chinese characters. Three measurements were taken from phonological transcriptions of these characters as indicators of epenthesis, deletion and gemination etc.: SylC -- the number of Putonghua syllables the English “C1C2” cluster maps to, FC -- the manifestation of “C1C2” on the Putonghua syllables corresponding to the former English syllable (σ1), and LC -- the manifestation of “C1C2” on the Putonghua syllables corresponding to the latter English syllable (σ2). Paired T-tests show that (i) FC is significantly greater for iambic di-syllables than trochaic di-syllables; (ii) trochaic di-syllables tend to faithfully reconstruct the “C1C2” string compared to iambic di-syllables, triggering epenthesis; (iii) LC is not significantly influenced by stress condition. The results revealed the effects of stress in Putonghua phonological perception. The observed effects can be predicted with a combination of “Weight-to-Stress Principle” and bimoraic heavy syllable hypothesis of Putonghua.

L1 Accessibility Among Turkish-Dutch Bilinguals

Gülsen Yılmaz and Monika S. Schmid (University of Groningen)

This study investigates whether the first language (L1) of late Turkish-Dutch bilinguals becomes less accessible for the production of fluent speech and in controlled experimental tasks as a result of extended stay in the Netherlands. It is also considered to what degree extra-linguistic factors can account for this phenomenon. Data are collected from the first generation Turkish migrants (n=52) and from a monolingual reference group in Turkey (n=52) via a lexical naming task, a free speech task and a sociolinguistic background questionnaire. The results show that the bilingual group is indistinguishable from the monolinguals on the experimental task, revealing that they do not have a disadvantage in accessing their L1 when they can fully focus their attention on retrieving individual items from their lexicon. However, in the free speech task, they not only are significantly more disfluent than the monolinguals but also make significantly less use of diverse vocabulary, favouring more common or frequent lexical items. Overall, the results signal that
bilinguals were outperformed by the monolinguals in real-time language production but not on a controlled task. We interpret this finding to indicate a decrease of automaticity in the access to linguistic knowledge which impedes the rapid integration of information from all linguistic levels. Further analyses with respect to the relations between the L1 change and nonlinguistic factors (i.e. language use patterns and cultural orientations) are discussed within the Activation Threshold Hypothesis.