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**Conference Abstracts**

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## Cognition and Articulatory Ease - A task-based analysis of lexical factors in retraction

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Precise measurements and the growing understanding of the complexity of continuous linguistic variables have turned sociophonetics into a quantitatively oriented science. While vowels have taken center stage for a long time, consonants – and sibilants in particular – now provide a growing body of interest (see *Linguistics* 55(5) 2017).

One phenomenon in sibilant variability is the retraction of /s/ in triple consonant clusters such as in *street*. This alternation between alveolar and palato-alveolar fricative (which manifests as a /ʃ/-like initial sound in the pronunciation of e.g. *street* as *shtreet*) has been debated in terms of phonological processes, (Shapiro 1995, Lawrence 2000, Rutter 2011, Baker et. al. 2011, Wilbanks 2017), age (Durian 2007, Gylfadottir 2015, Hinrichs et. al. 2015) and gender (Durian 2007, Wilbanks 2017). Although some conclude that this constitutes a possible change in apparent time (Gylfadottir 2015, Wilbanks 2017) with medial position as a linguistic predictor (Wilbanks 2017), other linguistic and social factors remain relatively understudied.

In contrast to Gylfadottir's and Wilbanks' corpus studies, the current study generated a greater, specialized number of tokens per speaker with more variation in tasks performed (picture naming, memory naming, reading, narration, free interview). Audio files of 79 speakers from Austin Texas, roughly balanced in demographics, were partially transcribed, chopped and force-aligned (FAVE, Rosenfelder et al. 2011). The retraction rate was calculated by comparing each speaker's Center-of-Gravity (CoG) measurements for /s/ and /ʃ/ and rating their performance of /s/ in str-clusters in comparison to this range (CoGs measured in Praat, Boersma & Weenink 2012).

If the main predictor for retraction were ease of articulation, variation in tasks is to be expected due to the difference in cognitive load/automation (Reichle 2000, 46) and speech rate in the activities performed, hierarchically structured as follows:

*lowest expected retraction-rate → highest expected retraction-rate*

**reading - naming - remembered naming - narration - free interview**

The data shows three types of language behaviors, divided into the following groups. Group 1 will be considered the non-retractors, group 2 the lexical retractors and group 3 the categorical retractors. The focus of this paper will be group 2 as this seems to be the locus for phonetic change proceeding gradually in the lexicon (in contrast to some hypotheses about phonetic gradualness (Baker et. al. 2010)). For these speakers, *street* shows a remarkable rate of retraction (CoG measurements as low as 3.5kHz, a typical /ʃ/ CoG (Johnson 2003)) in the reading task, which is cognitively the most automated. This rate remains constant in narration and free interview. In comparison, *striped* and *stretch* show lower rates.

Contrasting this performance, participants named task-based carefulness as predictor of retraction in post-experimental verbal reports. The described retraction in the reading task thus indicates a subconscious lexical diffusion by frequency, a characteristic of gradual sound change (Bybee 2017). I will discuss to what extent these findings may be indicative of a lexical factor in the ongoing change and how a task-based understanding (rather than Labov's formality levels) may provide further arguments in favor of the reanalysis of consonant clusters.

## An Analysis of *certainly* and *generally* in Eighteenth Century English History Texts. A corpus-based approach

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This paper analyses the evidential adverbs *certainly* and *generally* as stancetaking markers. Most of these adverbial devices are said to show authorial stance and to communicate the author's commitment or detachment towards the information presented, and so they are classified as epistemic adverbs (Alonso-Almeida 2015). Indeed, adverbials have been chosen as the target linguistic devices of our analysis based on the fact that they seem to be considered by most scholars as one of the grammatical categories that most clearly contribute to the expression of interpersonal meanings (Biber and Finegan 1988, Conrad and Biber 1999). For this study, I have selected a corpus of history texts from the Modern English period (1700-1900), as compiled in *The Corpus of History English Texts* (Crespo and Moskowich 2015), a subcorpus within the *Coruña Corpus of English Scientific Writing* from where these evidential adverbs are scrutinised using computerised corpus tools, although manual inspection is also employed.

Even if much research is still to be done in academic texts from a diachronic perspective, there are some previous studies on stance devices carried out within the field of historical pragmatics (cf. Gray et al. 2011, Simon-Vandenberg and Aijmer 2007, Taavitsainen and Pahta 1997). Following this tradition, I focus on *certainly* and *generally* as examples of a stancetaking feature to see how these forms signal authorial position. My intention is to see whether these adverbs indicate primary epistemic meaning to mean degrees of assurance, or there is also some pragmatic evidential nuances. In my inspection of instances, I consider the context in which these forms appear embedded. This means especially the syntactic context, since it has some important effects on the pragmatics of these and other adverbs, as I have shown elsewhere (Álvarez-Gil 2017). The findings suggest that, in this type of scientific articles, those adverbs are used with differing pragmatic functions, in the case of *certainly* it functions mostly as a booster and, in the specific case of *generally*, its use seems to suggest a hedging purpose (Hyland 2005).

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**AmE (have) gotten – solving the mystery**

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The past participle *gotten* has rightly been identified as a morphological Americanism for present-day English(es). Its history, by contrast, is not so easily described correctly. Even a cursory look at historical corpus materials shows that the claim that *gotten* is a simple historical retention is a myth (pace Curme 1927; Marckwardt 1958; Gowers 2016, to name but a few). Instead, it is very clear that *gotten* fell into disuse in American English (as in British English) in the first decades of the nineteenth century, only to be revived again afterwards (Hundt 2009 thus speaks of *gotten* as a “post-colonial revival”). However, dispelling this first myth does not answer why *gotten* was revived, and how it acquired the semantic specialization (to only dynamic contexts) it clearly displays today. While quite generally prescriptive influence has been shown (if one cares to look) to have had much less of an influence than is generally presumed (cf. Auer and González-Díaz 2005; Anderwald 2017 forthcoming), and *gotten* wasn’t actively promoted by prescriptive sources of the time (Anderwald in print), I will argue that the rise of (have) *gotten* can indeed be laid at the door of successful prescriptivism, if in a rather roundabout way. My argument hinges on a corpus study of text types, on comparative data of rivaling constructions, and on an in-depth analysis of prescriptive sources of the time. If one looks carefully at the data e.g. of COHA (Davies 2010-), it is easily visible that – although GET generally is very much a feature of spoken language – (have) *gotten* was actually promoted through more formal text types. I will argue that it was the heavy stigmatization of (stative) *have got* during the nineteenth century, especially in American English (Anderwald 2016, 2017), which contributed to (or perhaps even caused) the rise of dynamic *have gotten*. This stigmatization led careful writers (or editors) to avoid *have got* for stative possession, and caused them to choose the morphologically distinct *gotten* in contexts where only dynamic GET was intended (and where alternatives were not available). This careful (written) use of *gotten* thus caused the semantic specialization we can observe today, and explains why we see a (proportional) rise in *have gotten* (vs. *have got*) in more formal (i.e. more heavily edited) text types earlier. In a curious way, then, despite the informal nature of GET more generally, dynamic *have gotten* is thus not a change promoted through spoken language, but an indirect product of nineteenth-century AmE prescriptivism.

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## Past-tense marking in American Samoa – A tale of cultural and linguistic transfer

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This paper explores an entirely uncharted variety of English spoken in the US territory of American Samoa. While the Pidgin and Creole languages in the South Pacific have attracted considerable linguistic interest, Pacific L2 varieties, by contrast, have received little to no academic attention (Biewer 2015: 1). Studying lesser-known varieties not only expands our database of World Englishes by an American-lexified variety. It can also help addressing important issues in linguistic theory, including dialect typology, language spread and contact-induced change (Schreier et al. 2010: 3).

My analysis focusses on the marking of past temporal reference. Like many other L2 varieties (Jenkins 2000: 24), American Samoan English (AmSamE) shows a lack of morphological past tense marking. Preliminary analysis of my data reveals that about 40 % of all verbs with clear past tense reference are morphologically unmarked.

Considering that Samoan does not morphologically mark verbs for tense (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992: 337) and that its phonotactic structure does not allow consonant clusters (Alderete and Bradshaw 2013), this relatively high rate of unmarked verbs might be interpreted as L1 transfer. However, explaining the relative frequency of lacking past tense forms by L1 transfer and learner errors fails to take into consideration the fact that American Samoa has been in contact with the US for over a century and AmSamE speakers are regularly exposed to ENL varieties. In light of these facts, Mufwene's (2001) feature pool appears to be a more useful approach to explain the observed patterns but the question remains: which varieties contribute to this feature pool?

A logistic regression analysis reveals that speakers from different age groups appear to make different selections from the feature pool to make English fit their communicative needs:

Older speakers of AmSamE show a preference for standard forms within narratives, rather than outside of them. While this finding runs contrary to sociolinguistic wisdom (Labov 1972), these speakers are adhering to Samoan cultural norms according to which the genre of storytelling is associated with the use of the *tautala lelei* ('good language') as opposed to the *tautala leaga* ('bad language') of everyday conversation (Duranti 1994). Paying more attention to the linguistic choices Samoans' make within and outside of narratives can thus elucidate the niched transfer of Samoan cultural vs. linguistic norms.

The regression analysis also reveals that regular verbs with past tense reference are significantly more likely to be unmarked (67.5 %) than irregular verbs (34 %). This rate is much higher than that of neighbouring Samoa (35.5 %, Biewer 2015), which may be an argument against L1 transfer. Note however that with respect to coronal stop deletion rates on regular verbs, speakers of AmSamE (67.5 %) produce similar rates to Hawaiian English (~50 %, Kooshier et al. 2016) or AAVE (45-60%, Labov 2010), even though comparability is difficult to establish across different studies. Indeed, it may be exactly these varieties that contribute to the feature pool for AmSamE, since most Samoans tend to be in contact with speakers of other minority varieties and only have limited network ties to speakers of mainstream American English. Pop culture influence – and hence the import of AAVE – should also not be underestimated, especially for younger speakers.

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### ***It got better: developing get- constructions in Early Modern English***

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17th century England is a period of particular interest to historical sociolinguistics, because it was a time both of great social upheavals (including civil war, religious schisms, and the advent of scientific communities), as well as important developments in the history of the English language.

It is in this period that we find a few fascinating developments in the copular constructions of English. While the verb *grow* already shows occasional copular usage from the 14th century onward, the types of subjects and predicates used in the constructions expanded greatly in the 17th century. In the same period, the verb *get* also shows signs of a developing set of copular constructions. Subtypes of the copular construction may be categorised based on the semantic and syntactic aspects of the predicate. We may, for example, distinguish between physical (*get bigger*) and mental (*get angry*) state changes, and between nominal and adjectival predicates, among other variables. The animacy of the subject and, in correlation, genre are also expected to interact with the usage of different sub-constructions. Based on earlier work by Fraikin (2013), it is assumed that adjectival copular *grow* constructions gained in frequency in the latter half of the 16th century via an intermediate stage where prepositional predicates (*grow in grace*) were used. A similar development may be hypothesised for *get*. The present research will chart the development of copular *get* constructions during the long 17th century, while also comparing it to the evolution of *grow* in the same period.

The study is approached within the framework of construction grammar, and assumes that analogical pressure plays a major role in grammatical innovation. Analogical pressure is here proposed to be a function of a dense network of linked constructions which interact and serve to reconfigure both the position of a construction within the grammar as well as the properties of a type or subtype of construction (Petré 2012). The study makes use of data from the newly compiled *EMMA* corpus (*Early Modern Multiloquent Authors*), a large-scale longitudinal corpus that comprises the works of 50 authors from the 17th century. With an average word count per author of around 1,500,000 tokens, the corpus offers a unique basis for data-driven historical sociolinguistics. The individuals in the corpus were partly selected based on their mutual relations and position in networks of writers, scientists, clergymen, etc., but also include several social 'outliers'. Due to this setup, we aim to connect the usage of individuals to sociolinguistic variables such as gender and education, as well as apply a dynamic analysis based on their movements in social networks.

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***I don't know what and turned out to be: grammatical patterns and discourse structure in American blogs***

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Blogs are one of the oldest genres of the internet, and, along with wikis, Facebook and Twitter posts, internet forums, and chat, one of the most perceptually salient to users (Biber et al. 2015). Yet, while multi-dimensional analyses of internet corpora have begun to paint a picture of the linguistic make-up of web-based registers (Titak & Roberson 2013; Biber & Egbert 2016), including blogs (Grieve et al. 2010; Hardy & Friginal 2012), we know relatively little about the lexico-grammatical characteristics of even these early internet registers.

Lexical bundles (e.g., *I don't know what, the rest of the*) are frequently occurring sequences of words identified automatically (Biber et al., 1999). Although they tend to be non-idiomatic and structurally incomplete, they are important building blocks of discourse, and can reveal unexpected structural and lexico-grammatical characteristics of texts (Biber et al., 2004). Accordingly, taking a corpus-drive approach, Author (in press 2016) investigated the discourse function of lexical bundles in American blogs, applying Biber et al.'s (2004) taxonomy. The study revealed that bundles in blogs are overwhelmingly 'stance' bundles, accounting nearly half of all bundles; 'referential' bundles follow, while 'discourse organizing' bundles are negligible. The study further showed that blog writing also relies on bundles that serve a narrative function and do not fit the three main categories in Biber et al.. These findings suggest that American personal blogs are characterized by a unique combination of discourse and lexico-grammatical features, which reflect the synergy of mode (writing) and communicative purpose.

The present study extends this work by investigating the grammatical structure of lexical bundles in blog writing. The study is based on a 2.2 million-word corpus of blogs in American English (2003-2005; Grieve et al., 2010), comprising 500 blogs from different US states and different social groups. Exploratory analyses of the grammatical structure show that verb phrase (VP) based bundles represent over 60% of all bundles, while noun-phrase (NP) and prepositional phrase (PP) based bundles are far less frequent, at ca. 20% each. The study will also report on a more fine-grained analysis of grammatical structure based on Biber et al.'s (1999) structural taxonomy. Finally, the relationship between grammatical patterns and discourse function of lexical bundles in blogs will be explored.

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## HATE-words in the history of English

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The study is part of a larger project, which is concerned with the analysis of literal and figurative expressions for the emotion hatred throughout the history of English. While some emotions, for instance love or anger, have been investigated partially or thoroughly (e.g. Kövecses 1986, 1990, Tissari 2013, Gevaert 2005 etc.), research on hatred has been scarce to non-existent. The study thus aims at filling this research gap. The diachronic perspective of the project permits a comprehensive analysis of HATE from its first records in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts up to the present day.

The first step consists in an onomasiological analysis of the lexical-semantic field HATRED and investigates which lexemes were or have been available to express this emotion in the history of English. In a second semasiological step, the near-synonymous HATRED nouns extracted from the *HT* (*Historical Thesaurus*), the *TOE* (*Thesaurus of Old English*) and other resources are examined with respect to different parameters such as etymology, morphological structure, semantics, usage and diachronic development. In addition to (early) structuralist approaches to the study of lexical fields (e.g. Trier 1931), I will also take cognitive-linguistic approaches (e.g. Schmid 1993) into consideration when establishing ‘semantic profiles’ of the near-synonymous HATE lexemes (e.g. *hate*, *hatred*, *loathing*, *odium*, *dislike* etc.) by means of a feature analysis as well as a conceptual network exhibiting ‘clear’ centres and ‘fuzzy’ edges.

The study makes use of corpus-linguistic methods and is thus based on sound empirical footing. The fine-grained analysis of the lexical-semantic features of the different HATRED nouns and their semantic categorisation is conducted on the basis of textual material extracted from four different corpora (*DOEC*, *CMEPV*, *EEBO* and *BNC*), i.e. one for each of the four periods of the English language. To avoid a biased investigation, dictionary definitions of the nouns are disregarded to a large extent, which seems particularly important when studying the emotion lexicon of older language stages. The HATRED terms are studied in context (cf. Diller 2014) so that the categorisation and the ‘bottom-up’ analysis of meaning range and fine nuances of meaning between the lexemes can emerge from the textual material itself.

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## Adjective Noun constructions in English: a large-scale corpus investigation

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Standard descriptions of English regard some adjective-noun constructions (ANs) as compounds while others are classed as phrases. However the criteria for distinguishing between these two types are far from clear. The usual criterion is stress, with left stress indicating compound status, but this is problematic for a number of reasons; the stress criterion provides no explanation for the apparent dichotomy, but rather attempts to define a morphosyntactic distinction in terms of a phonological property that is actually known to vary, e.g. with sentential position (Bauer et al. 2013: 448). Some authors have suggested that AN compounding may not be productive in English, but that AN compounds arise through stress shift in phrases (Bauer 1983: 205–6), or may even be better regarded simply as lexicalised phrases (Spencer 2003). If so, and assuming that lexicalisation arises partly through frequent use, we might expect that AN compounds would be more frequent than their phrasal counterparts. However, no large-scale empirical study of English ANs has previously been undertaken and the question of their morphosyntactic status remains open.

We address the deficits described above by investigating over four thousand AN constructions from the British National Corpus, by operationalising ‘compound’ and ‘phrase’ using morphosyntactic criteria, and by testing for potentially explanatory differences in frequency and usage. As our point of departure, we assume that AN compounds have the status and distribution of nouns and can therefore enter into larger compounds of the form N[AN]. In AN phrases, on the other hand, the adjective is the head of an adjective phrase and therefore both amenable to modification by adverbs and available for predicative use. Reflecting these criteria, we extracted from the corpus all constructions of the form N[AN], AdvAN or NcopulaAdj. ANs that occurred in the first construction type but neither of the others were classified as compounds; ANs that occurred in the second and third types but not the first were classed as phrases. AN class (phrase or compound) was then used as the dependent variable in logistic regression, with various frequency measures as predictors. Significant predictors in the final model include the overall frequency of the AN, and the ‘family sizes’ of the adjective and noun, where family size is the total number of AN types the adjective or noun enters into. The model predicts AN class with 93% accuracy.

Contrary to our expectations, the phrasal types are more frequent, which goes against the idea that AN compounds are phrases, diachronically lexicalised through frequent use. Nevertheless, the predictive success of the model provides support for a usage-based account of the variation between AN construction types. In addition to being more frequent, the phrasal types have larger family sizes, i.e. more productive heads and modifiers, than the compound types, which is indicative of greater semantic transparency (Bell & Schäfer 2016). Thus the degree of morphosyntactic integration of a given AN can be seen as reflecting the degree of semantic integration of the underlying concepts, but tighter integration does not necessarily arise through frequency of use.

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## Pragmatic nativisation in South Asian Englishes: a multifactorial analysis of filled and unfilled pauses

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Studies within the World Englishes paradigm have furnished detailed descriptions of numerous lexical (cf. e.g. Cummings 2011; Nihalani et al. 2004), morphological (cf. e.g. Hundt 1998; Biewer 2015) and syntactic features (cf. e.g. Sedlatschek 2009; Lange 2012) contributing to discussions about structural nativisation and related implications concerning the evolutionary status (cf. Schneider 2003, 2007) of the varieties scrutinised. Although laudable exceptions exist (cf. e.g. Wee (2004) on discourse particles in Singapore English), pragmatics as well as the concept of pragmatic nativisation (cf. Hoffmann et al. 2014) have so far been largely neglected in World Englishes – particularly from an empirical angle.

As pauses reflect cultural patterns of socialisation (cf. Tannen 2000), they respond sensitively to the distinct sociolinguistic ground realities of Englishes around the globe. The present paper thus investigates pauses – more specifically the choice between filled (e.g. *uh*, *uhm*) and unfilled pauses (i.e. silence) – in two South Asian Englishes, i.e. Indian and Sri Lankan English, in comparison to the culturally distinct British English. Central research questions include:

- a) are there variety-specific differences in the use of filled/unfilled pauses;
- b) which additional factors determine the choice between filled and unfilled pauses;
- c) what implications do the results have for the notion of pragmatic nativisation.

88,212 pauses were extracted from the spoken parts of the British, Indian and Sri Lankan components of the International Corpus of English and annotated – where available in accordance with earlier (mainly first-language-centred) publications on pauses (cf. Kjellmer 2003; Tottie 2011) – for the following factors:

- VARIETY (i.e. British, Indian or Sri Lankan English),
- WORDCLASS (i.e. whether the pause was followed by a functional or lexical word),
- FREQUENCY (i.e. the logged relative frequency of pauses in relation to the number of words in the text unit where the pause occurred),
- DISCOURSE (i.e. whether the pause occurred in a dialogue or a monologue),
- GENDER (i.e. whether the speaker was female or male),
- SCRIPTED (i.e. whether the pause occurred in scripted or unscripted speech),
- AGE (i.e. the age of the speaker).

The results of a binary mixed-effects model (cf. Bates et al. 2015) and a classification tree (cf. Hothorn et al. 2006; Hothorn & Zeileis 2015) indicate that all the above factors – with descending statistical importance – significantly influence the choice between filled and unfilled pauses. Indian English speakers use more unfilled pauses, which are particularly prominent in scripted speeches by Indian females who generally use few pauses, than British or Sri Lankan English speakers. Contrastively, filled pauses are predominant in monologues produced by young Sri Lankan females who generally use few pauses. As the overall frequencies of and the choice between filled and unfilled pauses are comparatively similar in British and Sri Lankan, but distinct in Indian English, the results indicate that Indian English may have emancipated itself more strongly from British English than Sri Lankan English, which is in line with more structural observations (cf. Bernaisch 2015), via a process of probabilistic pragmatic nativisation of pausing.

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### **BE X TO quasi-modals: How modal are they really?**

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The goal of this paper is to explore the relationship between such expressions as *BE likely to* or *BE set to* — illustrated in (1) and (2) — and modal semantics in present-day British English.

- (1) Victims **are likely to** be disappointed by ministers who tell them that the system is being “re-balanced” in their favour, the House of Commons Justice Committee states. (*The Independent* 2009)
- (2) Rachel Christie is no ordinary beauty queen. [...] She is one of only a handful of black finalists in the contest and — if the bookies’ predictions come true — she **is set to** become the first black woman to win the pageant. (*The Independent* 2009)

‘BE X TO’ structures like *BE likely to*, *BE set to* — but also *BE able to*, *BE allowed to*, *BE ready to*, *BE expected to*, etc. — are often characterized as ‘quasi-modals’, that is as belonging to ‘a somewhat loosely-defined grouping formally distinguishable from, but semantically similar to, the modal auxiliaries’ (Collins 2009). Yet what is to be understood exactly by the term ‘quasi-modal’ remains



elusive as, to this day, the degree of modality of BE X TO structures has not been the object of any in-depth studies.

On the basis of corpus data taken from the British newspaper *The Independent* (2009), I will try to shed some light on this issue within the framework of Culioli's Theory of Predicative and Enunciative Operations (Chuquet et al. 2010). I will be focusing on a subset of BE X TO structures selected according to their overall frequency in the corpus, which was itself selected because most BE X TO structures occur most frequently in news texts. I will provide qualitative analyses of occurrences chosen for their representativeness and thus covering the different uses of BE X TO quasi-modals. This will allow me to show that these structures are complex markers which, being part of the propositional content of the utterance, always operate primarily on the predicative level as property attribution markers — even when they may be considered as raising predicates. Thus, in (1) and (2), the syntactic subject is qualified as likely/set to P. In fact, it appears that the modal values of BE X TO – probability in these two cases – stem from a reinterpretation of the predicative operation of property attribution on the enunciative level (i.e. the level of utterance construction).

The result is an anchoring of the evaluation in the co(n)text of the utterance — rather than in a subjective assessment of the situation by the speaker — which allows the speaker to lessen the apparent modal character of the utterance content, and at least partly explains the comparatively frequent use of BE X TO structures in newspapers, where speaker commitment is potentially problematic.

### Corpus

*The Independent* (2009), digital version, 40 million words. Corpus collected by Catherine Collin, University of Nantes.

### Software

CasualConc © 2008–2017 Yasu Imao, University of Osaka. (<https://sites.google.com/site/casualconc>) (Accessed 2018-03-22.)

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### Aviation English(es): Prescription and reality

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The term *Aviation English* (AvE) is used in a number of different senses. Today, it most commonly refers to so-called pilot-controller communication or air-ground communication (cf., e.g., Bieswanger 2016, Estival et al. 2016), i.e. the communication between pilots and air traffic controllers as an important element of air traffic management. In response to a number of at least partially language-related incidents and accidents – most prominently the “Tenerife disaster” ([www.tenerife-](http://www.tenerife-)

[memorial.org](http://memorial.org)) in 1977, a collision of two Boeing 747 jumbo jets leaving 583 dead and many injured – the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) developed a set of standards and recommended practices (SARPs, cf. ICAO 2007, 2016a; ICAO 2016b), which have been adopted by most countries world-wide. These SARPs are essentially prescriptive rules of language use to improve aviation safety, reflecting the second of the major aims of prescriptive efforts identified by Curzan (2014: 3), namely “to improve upon language, [...] by introducing new forms or distinctions.” The result are two text varieties that can both be characterized as “specialized registers” in the definition of Biber & Conrad (2009: 32): “standardized phraseology” and “plain Aviation English” (Bieswanger 2016: 82). Four decades after the Tenerife disaster, however, miscommunication in air-ground communication is still a frequent occurrence. Failure to adhere to the SARPs, such as the use of non-standard phraseology and ambiguity in the use of plain AvE, are often listed among the main “[o]perational factors which increase the likelihood of communication error” (IATA 2011: 53; see also IATA 2015) in air-ground communication. Since aircraft become more and more reliable and “mechanical failures featur[e] less prominently in aircraft accidents” (ICAO 2010: vii), the ICAO has shifted more attention to human factors in recent years and “[c]ommunication is one human element that is receiving renewed attention” (ICAO 2010: vii). Human factors are also listed as one of the four “focus areas to improve safety” (ICAO 2016c) in the *2017-2019 Global Aviation Safety Plan*. Based on an analysis of authentic pilot-controller communication, this paper identifies patterns of non-compliance with prescribed rules and links the results to linguistic scholarship on success and failure of prescriptivism (cf., e.g., Milroy & Milroy 2012, Curzan 2014), including suggestions as to how the stakeholders in air traffic management can benefit from the discussions in the field of linguistics.

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## Levelling, isogloss movement or artefacts of the method? Mapping change between the SED and the English Dialects App

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Traditional data collection methods in dialectology and variationist sociolinguistics have difficulty in gathering sufficient quantities of data from a sufficient range of localities to map variation and study patterns of historical change at a national scale. Dialectological surveys typically sample few informants per locality; sociolinguistic interview corpora typically sample a relatively low number of localities. By contrast, online surveys, whether browser-based or in the form of smartphone apps, allow researchers to gather much larger quantities of data very quickly. Such methods also typically achieve very different samples of the population than traditional methods.

We present results from data collected through such a smartphone app, the ‘English Dialects App’ (EDA) (Leemann, Kolly & Britain 2017). By asking users to self-report which variants they use in casual speech, we have collected data for 26 variables from over 40k speakers in the UK. Since 25 of these variables were also examined in the Survey of English Dialects (SED) (Orton & Dieth 1962), comparison of the EDA and SED datasets may be able to throw a light on patterns of dialect change in England over the past century. There are substantial differences between these two datasets, especially in certain regions. For example, most SED respondents in the south-west of England and along the south coast exhibited rhoticity, whereas in the EDA rhoticity has become a minority variant throughout this region. In this paper, we will investigate aggregate linguistic difference between the SED and the EDA across all 25 variables and try to disambiguate possible interpretations of these differences. In principle, linguistic difference between the two datasets could be the result of:

- a) a difference in the sample populations of the two surveys;
- b) a difference in the data collection methods used by the two surveys;
- c) historically typical dialect change via isogloss movement;
- d) or historically atypical dialect levelling, irrespective of the positions of isoglosses.

We will examine predictions from each of these hypotheses to distinguish between them. For example, if differences between the SED and EDA do not reflect historical change but merely a difference in sample populations, we should see smaller linguistic differences in the demographic subset of the EDA that most closely resembles the SED. If differences are due to the discrepancy in data collection methods, they should apply equally in all locations. If differences are due to isogloss movement, we should see them concentrated along historical isogloss bundles.

The result of such tests is that linguistic differences between the SED and EDA cannot be attributed solely to the difference of methods or sample populations, but must at least to some extent reflect historical change. This change does not, for the most part, appear to be driven by isogloss movement, but nor is it strongly associated with the socially or geographically mobile populations expected to drive levelling.

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## Dimensions of variation in World Englishes

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Over the past 30 years, research in World Englishes has expanded its empirical basis for description and analysis, most notably through the development of the International Corpus of English (ICE) project (Greenbaum 1991). Most studies published on this basis to date, however, focus on individual features in select varieties. A generalized understanding of the linguistic relationships among different Englishes is not easily derived from such research, since features often display divergent patterns of inter-varietal differentiation (Hundt 2009) and because generic differences are a significant “source of statistical noise” (Mair 2015:139). A more direct, empirically-based measure of linguistic difference and similarity among varieties of English is desirable to test the predictions made by theoretical models of World English (e.g. Kachru 1985; Schneider 2007) and to systematically tease apart the respective influence of genre and geography on linguistic variation.

The present study applies a feature-aggregation-based method (cf. Szmrecsanyi & Wälchli 2014) to establish a multi-dimensional metric of linguistic distance based on a large amount of individual features. Specifically, the study extracts frequency information for 236 linguistic variables from a corpus of 7,309 individual text files that represent spoken and written English as well as Twitter discourse from ten varieties of English. Factor analysis is then performed to develop ten dimensions of variation in the data, in an analytical process that is heavily indebted to Biber’s (e.g. 1988; 1995) multi-dimensional approach. These dimensions are interpreted in both quantitative and qualitative terms as to their underlying meanings and the systematicity with which they structure the data.

One key finding of the study is a close correspondence to dimensions developed in earlier multi-dimensional research (particularly Biber 1988), despite the fact that entirely new data and a significantly different set of linguistic variables were used. This speaks to the robustness of the dimensions across settings and features. Next, the majority of the observable linguistic variation can be accounted for by genre differences among the corpus texts, whereas the variety a text represents has comparably limited impact on its dimensional profile. This finding stresses the importance of taking genre seriously not only as a source of noise but as a fundamental driving force of variation. Finally, to the extent that there is inter-varietal differentiation along the ten dimensions, its inherent systematicity accords well with both Kachru’s (1985) Circles Model and Schneider’s (2007) Dynamic Model of World Englishes.

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## Colloquialization, subjectification, and intersubjectification: On the development of discourse markers in written Modern English

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Current trends in the study of discourse markers (DMs) have begun to address their multifunctionality across different discourse types (e.g. Aijmer, 2013 & 2015). Yet, limited attention has been given to the functional developments of DMs in modern written texts (e.g. Rühlemann & Hilpert 2017, Mortier & Degand 2009 and Oh 2000). This work aims to fill in this gap. It focuses on the DMs *actually*, *in fact* and *well* in writing, and it argues that their increased usage and expanded functional range in the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is an example of colloquialization (Mair 2006: 186).

The central issue addressed by this study is how DMs such as *actually*, *in fact* and *well* expand their functions when used in different discourse contexts. Aijmer (2013 & 2015), for example, argue that DMs have a “meaning potential” that allows their adoption into new genres and functions. Traugott and Dasher (2002: 174) discuss this multifunctionality diachronically in what they refer to as the subjectification and intersubjectification of adverbials into DM forms. In the case of *actually* and *in fact*, there is the development from adverbials to “epistemic adversatives”, then to “additive/elaborative” senses, and finally to intersubjective functions that serve as “hedges” that soften or mitigate potential conflict. A similar path is demonstrated for *well*, which served originally as an adverbial, then acquired the DM function of marking the beginning of a turn in reported speech, and then expanded to marking the speaker’s perspective, and finally also hedging (ibid.: 175-6).

This work investigates this process of expanding functions through the observation of its usage in modern writing using the COHA (Davies 2010). Observations of diachronic frequency changes are compared to oral data from the Hansard Corpus (Alexander and Davies 2015), both in terms of token frequency and through collocation analysis (Stefanowitsch and Gries 2003) with the object of contrasting oral and written usage. The data show increasing frequencies of subjectified and intersubjectified uses in writing. These uses are mainly confined to sentence medial and in some cases ending positions, and they serve the function of rhetorically stressing the author’s conscious usage of a particular lexical item in a way that mimics spontaneous speech, as in the two examples below:

- (1) This is basically a 10th-tier rehash of Indiana Jones, laced with moments that are actually clever and exciting. Dawson is alluring, Walken is terrific, and The Rock is, *well*, The Rock. (COHA: Newspapers 2003)
- (2) The smallish batter-dipped leaves are sprinkled with grated Parmesan and a dash of garlic salt. They taste yummy-like garlic and Parmesan, *actually*. (COHA: Magazines 2000)

There are two main findings of this study. The first is that there is a general frequency increase of DM usage. The second is that the DMs under study are indeed expanding their rhetorical additive functions when used in writing, particularly in journalism, which is most strongly associated with a shift to a more colloquial style (Mair 2006: 188). Besides expanding our understanding of the multifunctionality and the expansion of functions of DMs (see also Traugott *forthc.*), there are also theoretical implications. Colloquialization in writing can also manifest itself as innovative usage of typically oral elements that adapts their functions to the specific communicative needs of writers.

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### **Sociodemographics first! A new perspective on modelling the evolution of Ghanaian English**

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The underlying assumption of Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model is that the interplay of a settler (STL) and an indigenous (IDG) strand lead to new identity constructions and the development of a new variety of English can therefore be modelled and predicted. The model has been successfully applied to many Englishes, but has been found to be problematic in the context of Ghanaian English (GhE), as the variety has not followed the prototypical laid out by Schneider. The most important issue is the absence of an STL strand of any sizable number over the whole contact period, which leads Huber (2014: 88) to conclude that "convergence and identity construction [...] did and does take place not so much *between* the STL and IDG groups but rather *within* the IDG strand" (emphasis in the original).

Therefore, the Extra- and Intraterritorial Forces model (Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2017), integrating a colonial linguistics (cf. e.g. Errington 2001) perspective may provide a more fruitful approach for modelling the developmental history of GhE and its current sociolinguistic manifestations. I will show that sociodemographic factors in the interplay with language and educational policies have had the most important impact in the evolution of GhE. Going as far back as the foundation and exonormative stabilization phases these three factors have shaped the variety well into the second half of the twentieth century. They may even account for linguistic features found today – such as the widespread /t/-affrication (Huber 2014; Brato 2015) – and the holding on to a largely exonormative orientation.

For a long time, schools were mainly located in the Akan-speaking coastal areas so that most local speakers of English were confined to this region and linguistic group. As they are also the largest and most influential ethnic group, they may not only be considered the founder population (Mufwene 2001), who provided some covert norms when the colony was expanded at a later stage but they were also the "primary transmitters" (Schreier 2014) in their role as teachers and by holding key positions in the administration. This argument will be corroborated by considering reports from the colonial government, census data and staff lists as well as metadata from the Historical Corpus of English in Ghana (Brato in press) – which shows that Akan writers are considerably overrepresented in the corpus – and ICE Ghana (Huber & Dako 2013). Furthermore, drawing on summaries and metalinguistic comments in education reports from as far back as the late 19<sup>th</sup> century we can draw a relatively detailed picture of how the language proficiency has evolved.

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### **Multimodal meaning making: Non-verbal levels of communication in a corpus of English as a Lingua Franca Skype conversations**

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This paper illustrates how non-verbal elements (NVEs) contribute to the meaning making process in English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), using examples from a corpus of informal ELF Skype conversations between speakers from eight European countries compiled as part of the CASE project (2018). We conceive of NVEs as including gestures as well as other non-verbal features such as background interference or camera movement. NVEs have been increasingly studied as a key means of meaning-making (McNeill 2000, Streeck 2010), and there have been calls for a stronger consideration of multimodal elements in corpora in general (e.g. Adolphs & Carter 2013). Quantitative analyses remain rare, mostly due to a lack of multimodal corpora that allow for a detailed study. NVEs cannot be considered in isolation but are interconnected with verbal interaction in a dynamic process of creating meaning (Goodwin 2000 & 2007, Kendon 2004, Mondada 2014 & 2016). By using a multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) approach, we include rich data environments in the interpretation of meaning making processes, combining the study of language with that of other resources (Kress 2011, O'Halloran 2011). Both quantitative and qualitative methods were employed to analyze how NVEs contribute to the negotiation of meaning in interaction.

For the quantitative analysis, we use ViMELF (2018), the first corpus compiled as part of the CASE project. ViMELF consists of 20 Skype conversations (about 13 hours), totaling more than 113 000 words (152 467 in the annotated version). The analysis focuses on the eight most frequent NVEs in the data: nods, head shakes, shrugs, pointing, waving, imitating gestures, air quotes, and physical stance shifts (see also Brunner et al. 2017). Keyword and context analyses are used to isolate co-occurring items, allowing additional categorization and quantification. Recurring co-occurrences cannot be identified in all cases, leaving the functions of the remaining NVEs open for interpretation through qualitative analysis. We distinguish seven main functions of NVEs in our data: *Backchanneling* (listener practices), *supporting* (often emphasizing or metaphorically underlining meaning, cf. McNeill 2000), *relativizing* (more nuanced basis for interpretation, e.g. stance or irony), *complementary* (more detailed meaning through focusing or imitating), *replacing* (instead of a verbal

element), *incidental* (but potentially influencing conversational development), and *background* (noise or movement). All functions are context-dependent and can occur in combination with each other.

Our findings suggest that non-verbal elements provide a more comprehensive view of the dynamic meaning-making processes involved in conversational interaction. The results of the analysis thus contribute to a better understanding of the role that non-verbal elements play in spoken language data.

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## The Way Construction in World Englishes

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The way construction as in (1)–(4) has attracted a great deal of scholarly interest.

- (1) *From there I inched my way into the city [...]* (GLOWBE-GB)
- (2) *they'll just bludgeon their way to the final* (GLOWBE-GB)
- (3) *he can continue bulldozing his way into the history books* (GLOWBE-GB)
- (4) *[...] some of the vendors are still willing to shiver their way through the winter* (GLOWBE-GB)

Its structure has been described in terms of a subject SUBJ<sub>i</sub>, which moves along a “literal or metaphorical” path (Goldberg 1995: 206) towards a goal DIR (cf. Traugott and Trousdale 2016: 76):

[SUBJ<sub>i</sub> [V POSS<sub>i</sub> way] DIR]

This constructional meaning stands in contrast to the verbs found in the V slot, as they may (cf. (1)), but frequently do not qualify as motion verbs (cf. (2)–(4); cf. Goldberg 1995: 199), which renders the construction a typical candidate for a construction grammar analysis (cf. e.g. Goldberg 1995). In addition, numerous studies have dealt with its history and grammaticalisation (cf. Israel 1996; Traugott and Trousdale 2016; Mondorf 2010).

The only study so far to have addressed the way construction in World Englishes is Davies and Fuchs (2015), who, however, only mention briefly that in the varieties of English spoken in India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh, it occurs less frequently than elsewhere. We aim to fill this research gap by providing a first systematic construction grammar analysis of this idiom in World Englishes. Drawing on 18,706 way-constructions retrieved from the Global Web-based English Corpus (GloWbE), we address the following questions:

Are there any identifiable variety-specific constructs, i.e. combinations of specific verbs and/or nouns in the variable slots?

We use LNRE models (cf. Ever and Baroni 2017) in order to gauge the productivity of the construction in different varieties. In particular, we pursue Hoffmann's (2014) hypothesis that language change in varieties in phase 3 of Schneider's (2007) "Dynamic Model" usually starts with meso-constructions at the interface of lexis and grammar, i.e. constructions which are partially lexically filled and occur with a high token frequency. In more advanced varieties in phases 4 and 5, in contrast, deeply entrenched macro-constructions with high type frequencies can be found.

Along these lines, we aim to cast new light on the most recent developments in the history of a well-known and much-studied construction.

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## How to move things with words. A contrastive study on motion events encoding in English and Italian

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The general aim of this contribution is to investigate the degree of cross-linguistic and intra-linguistic variation in the encoding of motion events (MEs) in English and Italian, these being typologically different languages both showing signs of disobedience to their respective types.

The traditional typological classification of MEs encoding set forth by Talmy (2000) distributes languages into two macro-types, based on the preferred locus for the expression of Path, the main ME component characterized by conceptual and structural prominence – other ME components being Figure, Ground, Manner. Satellite-framed (SF) languages typically express complex Path information in verb-dependent items called satellites (e.g. preverbs and verb particles) with main verbs encoding Manner of motion; whereas Verb-framed languages (VF) tend to include simple Path information within the verbal locus, leaving Manner to adjuncts and expressing it only when functionally relevant (cf. Slobin 1996, 2004).

Although this dichotomy seems valid altogether, it has been proved that languages do not always behave according to their typical classification patterns (cf., among the others, Aske 1989; Filipović 2007; Goschler & Stefanowitsch 2013). English, for example, is usually ascribed to the SF type due to the rich inventory of phrasal verbs used to express spatial relations (e.g. *the cat climbed **down** the tree*); nevertheless, it is not uncommon to find constructions such as *the fog **descended** slowly*, which is typical of the VF type (cf. Stefanowitsch 2013). Conversely, Italian is usually described as being VF (e.g. *Paolo **uscì** di corsa* ‘Paolo went out running’), yet SF constructions like *corse **via** in lacrime* ‘(s)he ran away in tears’ are also common (cf. Iacobini & Masini 2006).

In this presentation, I will posit the existence of a degree of cross-linguistic and intra-linguistic variation in the use of the constructions available to express MEs in languages, placing English and Italian along a constructional continuum (cf. Filipović 2013) ranging between the two typological poles of VF and SF construction types. I will also claim that the reason for such a variation lies in the fact that the semantic units making up MEs are distributed within several sentence loci (cf. Sinha & Kuteva 1995) – not only verbs and satellites – whose combination results in a number of different constructions (cf. Croft et al. 2010; Fortis & Vittrant 2016) determined by the convergence of a series morphological, lexical, and syntactic constraints (cf. Beavers et al. 2010), as well as of inferential, discursive, usage-related, and cultural factors that make semantic information more or less accessible, frequent, and easy to process (cf. Iacobini & Vergaro 2014; Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2009).

My assumptions will be supported by data gathered from parallel texts investigation, which will particularly cover (i) the degree of Manner specificity; (ii) the types of Grounds expressed; (iii) the types of complex Paths expressed; (iv) the correlation of such aspects with construction types and frequency in both languages. The corpus analysed comprises four contemporary Italian novels and their respective English translations. The occurrences extracted have been annotated following the methodological frame set out by Iacobini et al. (forth.), which grants data comparability combining morphosyntactic and semantic information at different levels of detail.

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### The Jespersen Cycle in Australian English: from *bugger all* to cultural factors

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The Jespersen Cycle of negation is a process in which a postverbal item is reanalysed as a negator, allowing the omission of the original preverbal negator (Jespersen 1917, pp. 7-11). The Cycle is the origin of the modern English negator, *nt*. But after structural and phonetic depredations over the years, could the time be ripe for a new English negator? Jespersen himself suggested that “it is possible that some new device of strengthening may at some future date be required to remedy such reductions” (1917, p. 11).

This paper analyses the current state of the Jespersen Cycle in Australian English and possible avenues of renewal, such as the punctual *never* (cf Cheshire 1998) and the use of taboo negators like *bugger all* or *shit* (e.g. Hoeksema 2009). It draws on the UWA Corpus of English in Australia (2012-2015, over a million words), and acceptability judgement surveys performed with 170 linguistics students. Qualitative data from the 2013 Australian version of the reality television series *Big Brother* is also analysed.

The comparative level of reinforcement with emphatic devices like *at all* was examined across three different forms of sentential negation in the UWA Corpus: *nt*, *not* and *no*-negation, with a total of 13,154 tokens. Not only was *nt*-negation the most popular, it was also the least likely to be reinforced. Why would this be? The role of emphasis in the Jespersen Cycle is well-understood (e.g. Kiparsky & Condoravdi, 2006; van der Auwera, 2009; Willis, 2010). But the phonetic reduction that comprises the other side of the cycle is a mystery: why would speakers systematically erode such critically important information? As it turns out, social, cultural and interactional influences may in part account for the stasis of the Jespersen Cycle.



This paper argues that the Social Agreement Principle (the tendency to emphasise signs of agreement and downplay signs of disagreement, see Yaeger-Dror 1997; 2002); has a systematic effect on negation in Australian English, and presumably other varieties. Due to the dangerous overlap that negation shares with the interactional function of disagreement, even in merely informational contexts, speakers are obliged to morphologically contract negation (*not* > *nt*). This can be contrasted to the qualitative data that emerges from *Big Brother* 2013, which differs from the polite conversation of corpus data, as contestants are comfortable using prosodically stressed *not*-negation and other forms of emphatic negation in disagreements. In combination with language-internal factors, such as ease of articulation and economy of effort processes, a cultural preference for agreement holds Australian English steady at stage five of the cycle.

Cultural factors behind the Jespersen Cycle may even show a path into solving aspects of the actuation problem. Differing sensitivities to the Social Agreement Principle could well explain why particular languages undergo the Jespersen Cycle more rapidly than others (or more successfully).

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## L1 Singapore English: “incomplete acquisition”, transmitted L2 system, language change?

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Singapore English (SingE) is one of the most extensively studied New Englishes and has traditionally been considered a prototypical second-language variety. However, over the last few decades, it has experienced important changes in its sociolinguistic status as it has been gradually developing into a first language for an ever-growing number of children. This has often been noted in recent times (e.g. Bolton & Ng 2014; Lim 2007; Tan 2014) but has never been investigated in a comprehensive, empirical fashion until recently.

The present paper is part of a large-scale research project investigating such developments in SingE. It reports the qualitative transmission as well as some quantitative changes in its grammatical system by comparing L2 adult with L1 child SingE. Drawing on a recently compiled child language corpus, the paper presents findings from an analysis of the acquisition of subject pronouns (zero vs. realized) and past tense marking (marked vs. unmarked) by Singaporean children. The data come from 30 children aged 2;5-12;1 and were elicited systematically in video-recorded task-directed dialogue between researcher and child, consisting of several parts: a grammar elicitation task, a story retelling task,



elicited narratives, and free interaction. Results show that Singaporean children produce zero subjects and bare verbs not only in early acquisitional stages, as has also been reported for British and American children (e.g. Valian 2016 and Zwanziger et al. 2005 on the acquisition of subjects and Marchman & Bates 1994 and Nicoladis et al. 2012 on the acquisition of past tense marking), but also at more advanced stages of first language acquisition. A comparison of the data with spoken adult data from the ICE-Singapore corpus from the 1990s suggests that the children omit both subjects and past tense marking to a much higher extent than the Singaporean adults.

I interpret these findings from two different, hitherto largely unrelated perspectives, viz. First Language Acquisition (FLA) as well as World Englishes / sociolinguistics. Meisel (2011: 124), a renowned FLA researcher, discusses a similar but somewhat construed linguistic scenario, claiming that “if children are primarily or exclusively exposed to sustained input from second language (L2) learners, incomplete acquisition may [...] be the result”. This is, of course, highly problematic from a World Englishes perspectives since Meisel’s approach would imply a rather deficit oriented take on the emergence of varieties such as L1 SingE. In contrast, World Englishes researchers have long treated the New Englishes as systems in their own right and their characteristics as localized features rather than learner errors. From such a perspective, L1 SingE has to be regarded as a transmitted L2 system and an emerging but in principle autonomous L1 variety. Despite all ideological differences between these two perspectives, I suggest that they both contribute fruitful insights into language change as going on in SingE. I discuss their contributions, focusing on the question whether children can be considered the locus of grammatical change, and I show how both approaches are needed for a full understanding of such newly emerging L1 varieties.

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## ***Heaps good, but loads different?! Synchronic variation in the intensifier use of size nouns in Australian and British English***

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The grammatical functions of size nouns (SNs) such as *lot(s)*, *heap(s)*, *load(s)* or *bunch(es)*, principally as quantifiers in *SN of N* constructions (e.g. Brems 2011, Traugott 2008, Langacker 2010; Claridge 2011: 184-188), have received considerable attention in previous research. While the literature also sheds light on aspects such as regional preferences for certain SN quantifiers (Smith

2009) and their extension to other grammatical functions, that is, as pro-forms or intensifiers (De Clerck & Brems 2016), data on regional variation in these extended uses remains scarce. Moreover, the influence of social factors has not been taken into account by studies of SNs as they mostly rely on corpus data and therefore usually focus on usage rates and register variation.

This study aims to provide further evidence particularly on the intensifier use of SNs by offering empirical insights into regional and age-related variation in this process of grammatical change. The scope of this study is limited to the use of *heaps* in Australian (AusE) and *loads* in British English (BrE) due to the previously attested salience of these particular SNs in the respective varieties as well as parallels in structure and in their hyperbolic semantics. Corpus and questionnaire data are combined to explore the distribution of this low-frequency feature and to obtain sociolinguistic information regarding its usage.

The corpus of Global Web-based English (GloWbE; Davies & Fuchs 2015) was consulted to determine usage rates of *heaps* and *loads* in the respective varieties with the help of random samples ( $n = 200$  per variety and per SN). The observed frequencies corroborate earlier reports on regional preferences. Moreover, they illustrate a considerably higher percentage of *heaps* as an intensifier in AusE contrasting with a higher prevalence of *loads* as a quantifier in BrE. The survey conducted for the present study aimed to provide more fine-grained documentation of usage patterns. To this end, informants were asked to rate sentences containing SNs in four different functions (i.e. quantifier and intensifier uses). Specifically, subjects indicated on a 6-point Likert scale how likely they would be to use these items in casual conversation. The sample consisted of  $n = 370$  Australian (aged 17 to 90) and  $n = 63$  British (aged 16 to 72) speakers. Ratings were converted to numeric values and analysed with a mixed-effects regression model including three factors (variety, syntactic function, age) as well as their interactions.

The results indicate that in both varieties, the grammatical functions follow a cline from well-established quantifier uses to the less grammaticalized intensifying functions. AusE shows a strong correlation between age and self-reported use of *heaps* in all grammatical contexts; BrE, on the other hand, shows no consistent trend. This suggests that the apparent-time development of a universal SN intensifier is advancing strikingly faster in AusE. Thus, a joint consideration of corpus and survey data suggests that the extended use of *heaps* and *loads* as intensifiers is developing at varying rates and to different extents in these two varieties of English.

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## Investigating Early English Writing

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Many of the earliest examples of written language from the British Isles are in Latin, the language of the law and religion at the time. Examples of early written vernacular English are somewhat more sparse, and mostly restricted to a handful of well-known religious and literary texts. What we know about the writing of early English is therefore mostly based on a very small sample written by a very small number of people.

Charters (legal documents detailing mostly property transactions) dating from the twelfth to the sixteenth century are in existence in abundance and, although many of the earliest examples were written in Latin, they provide a potentially extensive source of alternative early written English. The digitisation of large corpora of charters generated much excitement among historians, who found that they could search vast databases for information about the people and places documented in the charters. (See, for example, the ChartEx project, [www.chartex.org](http://www.chartex.org), Petrie et al. 2013.) However, from the perspective of linguists, these digitised charter collections proved to be a disappointment, since they involved not the original language of the charters but the calendar entries (summaries of the content) written long after the original charters and using standardised spellings and vocabulary.

In this paper I report on a pilot study that produced digital images and full scholarly transcriptions of a small selection of sixteenth century charters written in English. The charters examined are from two different collections: the Yarburgh Muniments from Yorkshire and the WARD 2 collection from Essex.

This study of a small sample shows the extent to which there is spelling variation both within and across documents. I focus on a few specific features including the variable use of <y> and <i>, the use of <s>, <c> and <k> and the use of capitalisation and punctuation. For most of these, the findings confirm what has already been stated about English spelling at the time (e.g. Görlach 1990). One finding which has not, to my knowledge, been noted before is the contraction of definite articles when occurring before a vowel-initial word. For example, we find “thabove” rather than “the above”. This occurs in both the Yorkshire and Essex collections and appears to be a feature specifically of legal writing, probably by analogy with the French contraction of definite articles, although without the apostrophe.

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## A Multidimensional Analysis of English Twitter

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Multi-dimensional text type analysis (Biber 1989) is a commonly applied method in English corpus linguistics for the analysis of functional variation in a particular variety of language. The method has been used to analyse various varieties, including general English (Biber 1989), English conversations Biber (2004), and English blogs (Grieve et al. 2010). Usually, a text type analysis is based on a factor analysis of a data set consisting of the relative frequencies of numerous grammatical features (e.g.

parts-of-speech) measured across numerous texts drawn from that variety of language in order to identify a series of underlying dimensions of functional linguistic variation. For example, previous research has often identified dimensions relating to informational density, involvement, and narrativity. These dimensions are then used as the basis for clustering the texts into functionally defined text types.

Despite the popularity and utility of text type analysis, it has a well-known and important limitation: it can only be used to analyse texts that are long enough to allow for the relative frequencies of a relatively large number of grammatical forms to be estimated accurately. If the texts under analysis are too short, then very few forms can be expected to occur sufficiently frequently for their relative frequency to be accurately estimated. To take an extreme example, in a 20 word Tweet, it is virtually impossible to measure the relative frequency of any word or part-of-speech accurately: if a form occurs once we cannot assume that it is generally used once every twenty words and if a word does not occur we cannot assume that it is generally never used at all.

To overcome this problem, in this paper we introduce a new method for the text type analysis of short texts and then use this method to conduct a text type analysis of Twitter, based on a large corpus of Tweets. Specifically, rather than measure the relative frequencies of grammatical forms in each Tweet we simply analyse their occurrence. We then aggregate this binary data set using multiple correspondence analysis, which works much like a factor analysis for categorical data, returning a series of aggregated dimensions that represent common patterns of variation in the dataset. In order to control for text length, we include text length as a quantitative supplementary variable in our analysis, allowing for the degree to which each dimension is associated with text length to be assessed. We find that the first dimension primarily reflects text length and therefore exclude this dimension from further analysis. We then interpret the remaining dimensions to identify the underlying dimensions of functional variation in this variety of language, finding that our dimensions largely align with the standard dimensions identified in Biber (1988). Finally, we subject these dimensions to a cluster analysis to create the first typology of Twitter text types.

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## Accounting for the fronted BATH vowel in Indian English: a global variant diffusing through low frequency words

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It is widely assumed that Indian English, like other varieties from former British colonies, follows Standard Southern British English (SSBE) in its maintenance of the TRAP-BATH distinction, with TRAP fronted and BATH backed, although in IndE BATH is more central than in SSBE (Nihalani et al 2004). Recent studies of the influence of American English on varieties such as Singapore English and Hong Kong English have found fronted vowels in tokens such as *gasp*, although these are isolated items from reading lists (Tan 2016, Hansen Edwards 2015). In a perception study of TRAP-BATH among Singaporeans, Starr (forthcoming) finds that these speakers are not always able to discern the TRAP-BATH patterns of AmE and SSBE. It is possible that speakers of Asian Englishes associate these forms with “globalized variants” (Meyerhoff and Niedzielski 2003), but are not able to assign them to

canonical L1 accents. Cowie and Pande (2017) investigated IndE speakers' imitations of the BATH vowels of AmE speakers in dialogue. Only certain speakers imitated, and imitation was more common in low frequency words. However, even in IndE baseline productions, word frequency and following nasal or fricative environments had effects on pronunciation, suggesting that the BATH set in IndE might be less predictable than previously thought.

In the current study 50 English-medium educated speakers of IndE in their twenties are recorded producing BATH vowels in a diapix task (Baker and Hazan 2009), in a reading task, and in casual conversation. Participants completed each task in pairs, without input from an interviewer. Preliminary results indicate that front vowels are more common among pre-nasals. This may be categorical for some speakers (i.e. they have a split in this lexical set), but it is not categorical for all speakers.

Front vowels are more common in low frequency words, but this was more evident in the reading tasks than the conversational tasks. Back vowels tend to be used in conversation with high frequency words, which supports the view of BATH back vowels in IndE, but it is striking that in formal or unfamiliar situations speakers are more likely to use a front vowel as their reference point. This variation is in contrast to control groups of SSBE speakers who consistently use back vowels, and AmE speakers who consistently use front vowels. We propose that globalizing or AmE influence proceeds through low frequency words, i.e. low frequency BATH words are the first words to be fronted. We also investigated some "foreign a" items which have been borrowed into English such as *pasta* (Boberg 2009), which pattern differently in SSBE and AmE. IndE does not seem to follow either the SSBE pattern or the AmE pattern for these items.

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## A diachronic study of the language of the *Trinidad & Tobago Guardian*

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There is a vigorous tradition of studies on recent grammatical change in British and American Standard English. The most recent research expands on Leech et al.'s (2009) landmark study based mainly on the Brown family of corpora for the 1960s and 1990s by exploring newer resources, including the extended Brown family, which also covers the earlier twentieth century as well as the first decade of the twenty-first century (e.g. Leech 2011; Smith and Leech 2013; Mair 2015). At the same time, Australian English and other Inner Circle Englishes have received increasing attention in this line of research (e.g. Collins 2015a and further papers in Collins 2015b). By contrast, there is still a dearth of comparable studies of New Englishes. As regards the Caribbean, Hackert and Deuber (2015) have presented a first diachronic study on the English of newspapers in The Bahamas as well



as Trinidad & Tobago, but, like many diachronic studies of New Englishes so far, it is limited not only in terms of data size but also in terms of time depth. This is particularly problematic in view of Mair's (2015) warnings that some changes turn out to be mere fluctuations over the longer term and that apparent regional differences often merely reflect general diachronic developments taking place at different rates.

The present study considerably expands the diachronic analysis of newspaper English in Trinidad & Tobago. It sets out to separate short-term fluctuations from longer-term trends, and long-standing instances of "extraterritorial conservatism" (Hundt 2009) from potential cases of divergence from metropolitan varieties. We also ask the question of a potential reorientation from British to American English in the post-independence period.

Corpora with a size of about 180,000 words were compiled for the years 1938, 1968, and 2011-12 from the *Trinidad & Tobago Guardian*, the only newspaper for which data over such a period of time could be obtained. These are analysed for a broad range of features that have been widely studied in the research tradition outlined above, including contractions, the *be*-passive, relative *which* versus *that*, the mandative subjunctive, modals and semi-modals as well as complementation patterns of the verbs *help* and *prevent*. For a rough comparative perspective the press sections of the 1930s, 1960s and 2006 corpora from the extended Brown family are analysed.

Overall the dominant trend is for the language of the *Trinidad & Tobago Guardian* to follow general developments at a delayed rate, but there are some exceptions in the area of modals and semi-modals, and differences in the patterning of individual features need to be considered as well. Overall the language of the *Trinidad & Tobago Guardian* has continued to maintain or develop a specific profile even while reflecting general developmental trends in the English language. A reorientation towards American English is clearly not in evidence for the kind of features analysed here but nor is there an indication of British English exerting a special influence.

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## Resolving communicative issues in English as a Lingua Franca Skype conversations

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The paper analyzes problematic instances of communication in a corpus of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) conversations via Skype (ViMELF 2018) compiled as part of the CASE project (2018). In the data, conversation partners from Germany, Bulgaria, Italy, Spain, Finland, Sweden, Belgium, France and the UK discuss academic and cultural topics in an informal online setting. We focus on two different levels: issues related to the medium (external), and issues related to interaction itself (internal), which are documented on the basis of examples.

The medium Skype poses unique external constraints that may lead to communicative issues, negatively influencing or even interrupting communication (e.g. time lags and echo caused by lack of bandwidth). This has also been observed for video-conferencing in general where issues with the audio channel pose a substantial threat to successful interpersonal interactions (Tang & Isaacs 1993). Participants in ViMELF organize their talks around these issues, for example by adapting longer pauses, explicitly requesting repetitions, rephrasing, addressing the issue before returning to the topic, or even restarting the conversation. Due to the external nature of the trouble source, problematic instances of communication related to the medium are usually not perceived as a face-threat.

On an internal level, we focus on communicative issues with regard to language and content. Various studies (Björkmann 2009, Kaur 2016) have shown that ELF is an efficient resource in intercultural communication between speakers of different language backgrounds, and it has been characterized as a set of strategies aimed at achieving mutual and situated comprehension (Mauranen 2012). ELF interactants have been shown to use general strategies for circumventing potential conflict areas, for example *let-it-pass* (avoiding unclear words and utterances) and *make-it-normal* (treating opaque usage as non-problematic, Firth 1996), resulting in a high degree of interactional robustness (Firth 2009). This facilitates, as research suggests, largely unproblematic communication with relatively rare instances of miscommunication and misunderstanding (Kaur 2016). Nevertheless, problematic instances do occur in ELF conversations. The influence of the speakers' native language may cause the communicative process to stall, for example in cases of non-standard pronunciation or grammar, or when encountering gaps in lexical repertoires. Potential problems are addressed locally, e.g. through code-switching, approximation, or use of nonverbal resources, as well as discursively, e.g. through defining, explicitness, co-operative or let-it-pass / make-it-normal strategies.

On a content level, a potential issue is the treatment of unwelcome or problematic topics which often occur in the form of cultural stereotypes. Options for the conversation participants range from subtle shifts in discourse content and stance to various evasive or explanatory strategies such as disaligning oneself from the problematic item or shifting the topic to more neutral ground, as well as creating rapport, for example through joint laughter (Spencer-Oatey 2002).

By looking at both the medium and the language and content level, the paper aims at developing a more complete view of the complex communication processes in ELF Skype communication, in particular focusing on possible strategies to preempt or overcome problematic communicative issues.

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### Locative inversion and late subjects: different name, same phenomenon?

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Locative inversion, illustrated in (1), represents a non-canonical word order in Present-day English (Birner & Ward 1998) and stands out from standard word order patterns because of its inversion of the subject and the full verb phrase.

- (1) Among the guests was sitting my friend Rose. (Bresnan 1994: 75)

Non-canonical word orders often have a specific information-structural function; in the case of locative inversion, this has been described in terms of presenting old(er) before new(er) information (Birner & Ward 1998) or presenting new referents to the discourse (Bolinger 1977, Bresnan 1994).

In earlier stages of the English language, inversion of the subject and finite verb was much more common, especially in the Old and Middle English periods when the verb-second system was still in place (see Fischer et al. 2000 for an overview). However, already in these periods, it is possible to identify a separate type of sentence in which the subject follows not just the finite verb (as it does in a verb-second context), but the full verb phrase, as in (2).

- (2) *þurh ða wifunge sind getacnode þæs lichaman lustas*  
through the wife-taking are signified of-the body lusts  
'The body's lusts are signified by taking to wife'

(ÆCHom I, 26.215.72; Biberauer & van Kemenade 2011: 35)

These sentences have been called 'late subjects' by Warner (2007). The exact syntactic analysis of the late subjects (Warner 2007, Biberauer & van Kemenade 2011) is rather different from analyses of PDE locative inversion (e.g. Coopmans 1989, Culicover & Winkler 2008); this is not surprising because both word orders are placed in the context of a synchronic grammatical system. Yet at the same time, there are interesting correspondences in terms of discourse behaviour: late subjects, like subjects in locative inversion, are often discourse-new (see Warner 2007 for ME and Dreschler 2017 for OE) and the late subject order seems to represent a distinct option to place a discourse-new referent in final position in the clause. In this way, it resembles the presentative function of PDE locative inversion.

In this paper, I will present an analysis of syntactic properties and the information-structural function of late subjects in Old English – based on a corpus study – and compare the results to the syntactic properties and discourse function of PDE locative inversion. I will then aim to answer the question whether these two sentence types actually represent the same phenomenon and discuss their position in the different synchronic grammatical systems.

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### Who says *like*? Tapping into changing attitudes and perceptions

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While early dialectology questionnaires aimed to record words and expressions that were disappearing, the methodology can also be applied to chart incoming features, particularly if adapted to comprise not only the respondents' reported usage, but also that of people around them.

This paper will present findings based on over a 1000 responses to a dialectology survey conducted in the United Kingdom examining the use of three different, but partly related, forms of *like*. Alongside more traditional lexical questions, respondents to the survey were given a range of sentences and asked whether a) they would use sentences with that structure b) they wouldn't use them themselves but had heard them in their area c) the structure wasn't used in their area but they had heard it d) they'd never heard such a structure before.

One set focused on three different types of *like* (examples 1–3)

- (1) It was so boring *like*.
- (2) It was *like* so boring.
- (3) She was *like* "It's so boring!"

The clause final discourse marker *like* in (1) is regionally restricted (including in South Wales, where the bulk of the respondents were from) and associated with older speakers, while the discourse marker in (2) is a newer form said to be used more by younger speakers. Quotative *like*, in (3), similarly to (2), is an incoming form associated with younger (female) speakers.

The analysis of the three *likes* demonstrates that while respondents appear accurate in their self-reported use for forms that are associated with their age, sex and/or region, some groups seem less aware of features that they do not use themselves: many of the oldest respondents claimed never to have heard instances of quotative *like*, which given its ubiquity nowadays is somewhat improbable. Younger respondents, on the other hand, did recognise the older, local form. This underlines the degree to which features may be present but unnoticed by speakers who do not use them themselves, as well as how attitudes towards new features may affect our ability to perceive their use in others.

## Connected with OED and DARE at the hip: the nuts and bolts of DCHP-2, the new historical-contrastive dictionary of Canadian English

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The first historical dictionary of Canadian English, the *Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles* (DCHP-1), was published in 1967 (Avis et al. 1967). With publication rushed to allow for a release in Canada's Centennial year, DCHP-1 came to coincide (see [www.dchp.ca/dchp1](http://www.dchp.ca/dchp1)) with Cassidy and Le Page's *Dictionary of Jamaican English* as the first scholarly dictionaries of non-dominant varieties of English that would give rise to research traditions (see Morris 1898 for the first such historical dictionary).

In March 2017, a re-conceptualized and updated edition, now coinciding with Canada's 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary, was released at [www.dchp.ca/dchp2](http://www.dchp.ca/dchp2) (DCHP-2, Dollinger & Fee 2017). The result of an 11-year research project, DCHP-2 explains for the first time for 1239 meanings why a given meaning is Canadian (in 1103 cases) and why not (in 136). Words such as *garburator*, *parkade* and *eh* are discussed in accessible yet precise language, as are *visible minority*, *hang up the skates*, or *assimilation* (the latter in the Canadian indigenous context). Newly discovered and less-widely known Canadianisms are especially interesting, e.g. *idiot string*, *take up a test* (Dollinger 2017), or *to table* (legislation). In addition to the 10,974 entries taken over from DCHP-1, DCHP-2 offers overall information on some 12,000 Canadian words, meanings and expressions, past to present.

DCHP-2 stands on a theoretical base that puts a comparative, empirical approach front and centre in historical lexicography (Dollinger 2016). The dictionary is conceived as an elaboration of the tradition founded by DARE (Cassidy & Hall 1985-2013), while it incorporates a novel writing style (Considine 2017), a typology and other features that will be illustrated in this talk. The overall goal of DCHP-1's chief editor, Walter S. Avis, was a historical dictionary "both rewarding and entertaining" (Avis 1967); DCHP-2 was intended as an adaptation of this principle in the digital information age, while adopting Cassidy's (1973) principle of empirical geographic delimitation as much as possible. This talk shows the strengths and desiderata of this new open access tool.

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## Outer and Inner Circle Rhetoric Specificity in Political Discourse: A Corpus-Based Study

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The relationship between language and politics has as far back as ancient times received attention from numerous disciplines. Most especially in the field of linguistics, a vast majority of the research on the language used in politics is typically focused on national politics, with much work on traditional forms, such as political speeches, mostly limited to isolated case studies (Wilson 1990; Fairclough 1992a, 1995, 2006; Chilton & Schäfner 1997; Chilton 2001; Charteris-Black 2005; Van Dijk 2002, Wodak 2001, 2007; Fairclough and Fairclough 2012). Very little or no attention has been given to the exploration of political discourse that cuts across cultures and varieties. Interestingly, as pointed out by Blommaert and Verschueren (1991), linguistic understanding across cultures and languages requires basic awareness and knowledge of culture specific conceptualisations and socio-pragmatic norms, especially in typical political encounters such as intercultural political communication

Quite much can be done by the fast-emerging field of World Englishes to extend our knowledge and understanding of the linguistic differences which exist across cultures and varieties, particularly in the political domain. It is in response to the above need and paucity of research that the current study sets out to explore the distinctive linguistic patterns in selected political speeches drawn from Outer Circle (Ghana, Cameroon and South Africa) as well as Inner Circle (USA) varieties. The study seeks to address the following research questions:

- a) Are there any identifiable distinctive linguistic features and/or usage patterns in political discourse across varieties?
- b) If there are aspects of linguistic variation, which are they and what are their frequencies?
- c) Is there any systemic conceptual arrangement underneath such linguistic structures?
- d) If there is any conceptual arrangement, what aspects of such cognitive structures can be illustrated using linguistic frames?

Thus, using corpus-based methods and tools such as Antconc, TagAnt and Lancbox, the study begins by querying various corpora in search significant patterns and their frequencies within each corpus. The sorted patterns are further analysed using mainstream cognitive linguistic theories, particularly frame semantics (Fillmore 1976, 1977a, 1977b; Fillmore and Baker 2010). The goal here is to find out whether linguistics patterns within each variety reflect any form of conceptual arrangement. This is done using the FrameNet 1.7 data (a frame-semantic-based lexical databank of over 13000-word senses, <https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu>) to manually assign and annotate identified linguistics forms to linguistic frames.

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### Deontic and possessive *HAVE (GOT)* in British and Irish English and beyond

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This paper deals with the dual function of HAVE (GOT), viz. expression of deontic obligation or necessity in the form HAVE (GOT) TO, and possession or relationship in the form HAVE (GOT) an X. Though apparently independent constructions (cf. Quirk et al. 1985), there is evidence of a link between the two functions and their variable realisations: avoidance or absence of GOT in deontic function seems to imply similar absence in the possessive and relational uses. The exact nature of this relationship will be explored in this paper by examining the uses of these two constructions in two major varieties spoken in the British Isles, viz. British English (BrE) and Irish English (IrE). Comparisons will also be made with selected varieties in other parts of the world to see if the results of this study can be generalized beyond the context of the British Isles.

The data for this study are drawn from the ICE family of corpora. For British English, I will use the spoken component of ICE-GB, and for IrE the corresponding ICE-Ireland corpus. Both consist of just over 600,000 words of educated speech. Further points of comparison are offered by Indian English (IndE), Hong Kong English (HKE), and Singapore English (SinE), for all of which similar ICE corpora are available.

The results indicate that, despite their geographic proximity, BrE and IrE differ greatly in their use of deontic HAVE (GOT) TO: the variant form with GOT – a nineteenth-century innovation in BrE and a feature of informal spoken usage, in particular (Krug 2000; Smith 2003; Collins 2009) – is hardly used at all in IrE, in which HAVE TO prevails. In its possessive use, IrE prefers HAVE an X over HAVE GOT an X much more than BrE. The other contact varieties, IndE and HKE (SinE less so), turn out to be similar to IrE in their avoidance of deontic HAVE GOT TO, and interestingly, a similar pattern emerges when considering possessive/relational uses of HAVE (GOT). Possible explanations for these findings will be discussed.

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### Recent diachronic change in intensification in spoken British English

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Age, gender, social class and dialect are known to influence intensifier frequency and choice, but previous research has insufficiently investigated the complex interactions that can occur between such variables and/or is restricted to small, tight-knit communities (Cameron 2009, Mills 2006, Murphy 2010). Moreover, a change in attitudes towards the different social roles that women and men are expected to fulfil in society might have contributed to the language of males and females becoming more similar, as suggested by Hancock et al. (2015). Corpus-based research on recent diachronic change in intensification in spoken British English has shown that age- and class-based differences in intensifier frequency have decreased in the last 20 years, while the female lead in intensifier frequency has hardly diminished over time (Fuchs 2017). At the same time, age- and gender-based preferences for specific intensifier variants (e.g. *so*, *totally*) have been shown to persist (Hessner and Gawlitzek 2017), although an analysis of the whole intensifier system, the role of social class and the interaction of sociolinguistic variables is still to be accomplished.

In order to address this research gap, the present study investigated how age, gender, social class and dialect influence which intensifiers speakers of British English use in private conversations and whether this has changed over the last two decades. In addition, the meaning of the intensified adjective (determined based on USAS tag) is taken into account. The analysis was restricted to amplifiers (boosters and maximisers). Logistic regression models were run in R to analyse a total of 41,226 intensifier tokens occurring before adjectives that were extracted from the British National Corpus 1994-demog and 2014-sample, with over 600 speakers, covering 134 intensifier variants.

These results reveal a complex picture, which will be illustrated here by focusing on *so*, whose frequency increased from 1.6% to 2.1%. As Fig. 1 shows, in 1994, 40-49 year-olds used this intensifier least frequently, and both older and younger speakers used it more often, with the highest frequency among the youngest. In 2014, the 40-49 year olds from 1994 belong to the oldest age group in the analysis (60+), and all other generations use *so* more frequently than they do. At the same time, preferences in social class and gender in the usage of *so* have changed substantially. Working class female speakers used *so* more frequently than middle and upper class women in 2014, with no significant difference in 1994. By contrast, working class men used *so* less frequently than other men in 1994, and use it slightly more frequently than upper class men. Together with the analysis of the 9 other most frequent intensifier variants, the results suggest that gender differences in preferences for particular variants have overall not become smaller in the last two decades, in contrast to Hancock et al.'s (2015) hypothesis. Gender, together with other sociolinguistic variables such as age and social class, continues to shape the patterns of intensifier usage in (British) English.

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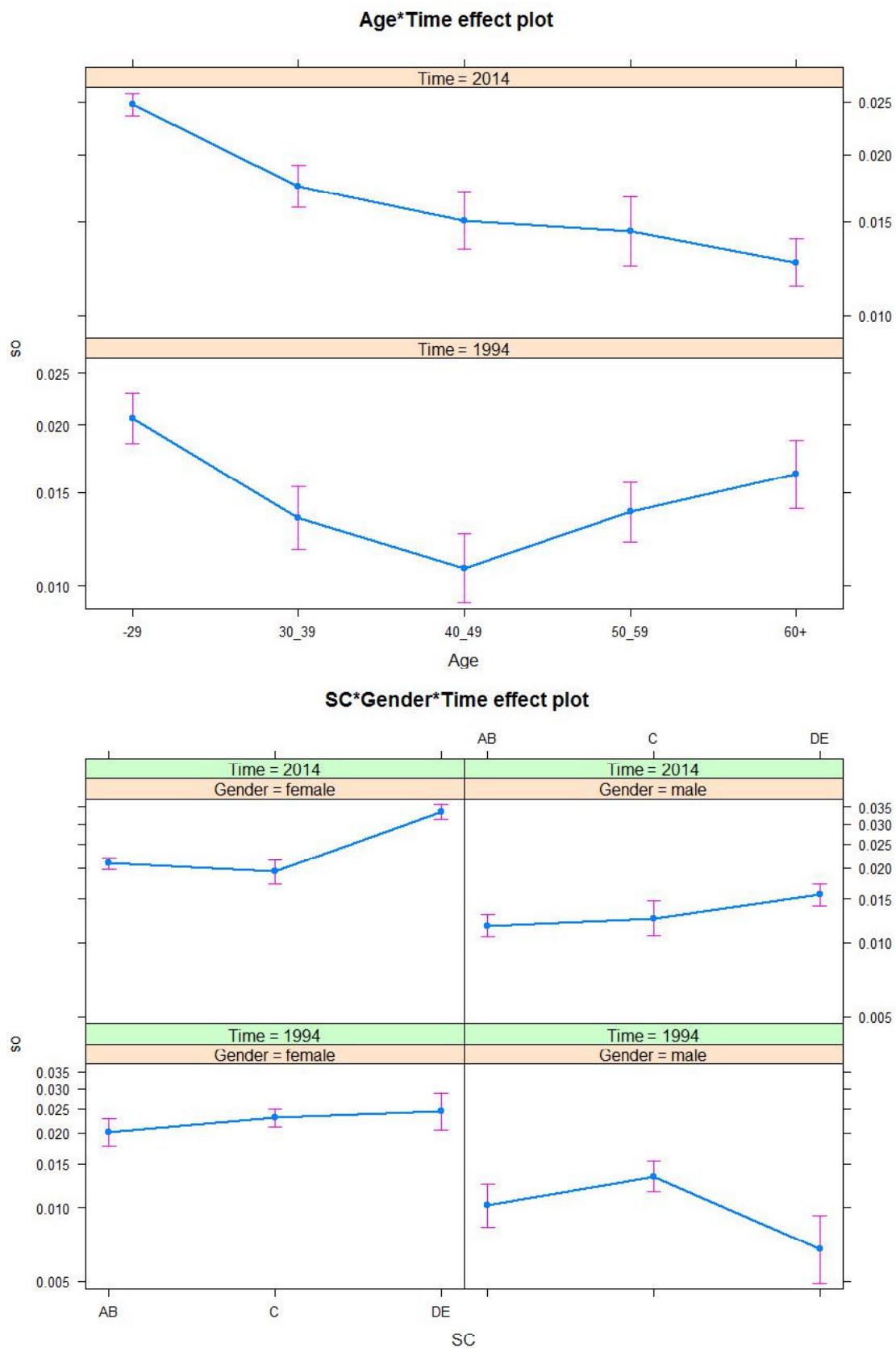


Fig. 1. Logistic regression analysis of the frequency of *so*.

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### **Guess whom! A comparison of native vs. non-native speakers' readings of English reflexive pronouns in VP-ellipsis**

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The interpretations of reflexive anaphora in cases of VP-ellipsis have attracted scholars' attention in the field of theoretical linguistics over the past decades (Fiengo and May 1994; Johnson 2001; Murguía 2004; Dalrymple 2005) mainly because reflexive anaphora in VP-ellipsis allows for two potential interpretations (as in 1):

- (1) Mary blamed herself and Heather did too.
- (2) Heather blamed Heather (sloppy reading)
- (3) Heather blamed Mary (strict reading)

However, this issue has not been so extensively tackled in the field of second language (L2) acquisition, where research has focused on English learners whose first languages are Cantonese (Yip & Tang 1998), Chinese (Ying 2005), Cameroon English (Epoge 2012) and Korean (Park 2016). In these studies, L2 learners (and native speakers) alternate between sloppy and strict readings in bare (see 1) and non-referential (see 2) contexts but also in referential contexts favouring strict readings (see 3). Nevertheless, sloppy readings are favoured in bare and non-referential contexts while strict readings prevail in referential contexts, these preferences being more marked in native than in non-native speakers.

- (4) Mary blamed herself and Heather did too. Heather has two brothers and a sister.
- (5) Mary blamed herself and Heather did too. Heather thinks Mary is a disaster.

In an attempt to extend previous L2 studies, we look into Spanish speakers' interpretations of L2 English reflexive pronouns in VP-ellipsis as either strict or sloppy in the contexts mentioned above, and we compare them to those of native speakers of English. The following two research questions are entertained:

- a) What kind of reading of English reflexive anaphora in VP-ellipsis do L2 learners prefer: strict or sloppy? How does native behaviour compare?
- b) Are L2 learners' readings of VP-ellipsis presence of referential/non-referential compare?

Two judgment tasks were presented to 44 Spanish-speaking university students learning English and 29 native speakers of American English (control group). The first task contained 10 experimental sentences (as in 1) and 20 fillers. The second task included 20 experimental sentences (as in 2 and 3) and 20 fillers.

As in previous L2 research, results show a fluctuation between sloppy and strict readings of English reflexives in the three VP-ellipsis contexts. Both native and non-native speakers favoured sloppy readings in bare contexts similarly. As regards referential contexts, strict readings were prevailing in both L2 learners and native speakers. However, native speakers' choice of strict readings significantly surpassed that of non-natives. With regard to non-referential contexts, both native and non-native speakers favoured the sloppy reading. Interestingly, when this preference is compared to the one

triggered by bare contexts, native speakers' sloppy reading was enhanced when given a non-referential context, whereas L2 learners' choice of sloppy reading decreased. This seems to indicate that the presence of a non-referential context leads native speakers to reinforce their sloppy reading, whereas non-native speakers are misled by the presence of such a context. These findings show that added contextual information involving both linguistic and pragmatic parsing makes up an information processing load, acts as a distractor, and makes VP-ellipsis interpretation not so straightforward for L2 learners, all of which calls for focus-on-form provision on this aspect of English in the foreign language classroom.

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## Post-Auxiliary Ellipsis voice mismatches in the recent history of English: A corpus-based study

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

- (1) we *engaged* as close as any Ship could be ~~engaged~~. HOLMES-TRIAL-1749,59.1054 (VPE: antecedent active, ellipsis site passive).
- (2) when once things *are got* into the state I fear they will ~~get~~. GEORGE-1763,200.283 (VPE: antecedent passive, ellipsis site active).
- (3) and dip it in the spawn of Frogs, *beaten* as you would ~~beat~~ the whites of eggs. ALBIN-1736,4.75. (PG: antecedent passive, ellipsis site active).



PAE voice mismatches have also been studied empirically in very few works focused on Present-Day English such as Hardt and Rambow (2001), Bos and Spenader (2011) and Miller (2014). In this paper, I extend these studies by bringing new data from an earlier period of the language. The results of this analysis show that voice mismatches were possible in PG and VPE in Late Modern English with low frequencies (1.16% and 0.68% of the examples of PAE, respectively). This fact serves as counterevidence for Merchant's (2008, 2013) claim about the impossibility of finding voice mismatches in PG and confirms Miller's (2014) corpus-based findings for Present-Day English. Since neither Hardt and Rambow (2001) nor Bos and Spenader (2011) found any voice mismatches in their corpus-based studies of VPE in Present-Day English, I hypothesise that voice mismatches in VPE, which have been gradually disfavoured in Present-Day English, were more likely to occur in Late Modern English. Finally, whereas Kehler's (2000, 2002) theory regarding voice mismatches (there must exist an asymmetric kind of discourse relation between the antecedent and the ellipsis site – temporal succession, concessives, etc.– for voice mismatches to be judged acceptable) has not been confirmed by my data, the validity of Kertz's (2008, 2013) theory (voice mismatches are acceptable as long as there is topic continuity) remains intact.

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## **Between *Nottin' Ill Gite* and *Bleckfriars* – The Enregisterment of Cockney in the 19<sup>th</sup> century**

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The study of *enregisterment* examines the social and cultural processes which turn structural varieties into emblematic registers and lead to linguistic features becoming ‘indexical of’ (cf. Silverstein (2003)) socially relevant values and meanings such as ‘place’, ‘authenticity’, ‘street-credibility’, or ‘politeness’. A *register* can thus be defined as a ‘discursive variety’, which has developed out of the structural variety by means of observable speaker activities, most notably metalinguistic discourse by prescriptivists, the media, or lay people (cf. Agha 2003, Johnstone 2014). Ever since Agha’s (2003) seminal study of the enregisterment of RP as the accepted standard pronunciation in England, researchers have also focussed on enregisterment processes in non-standard varieties, most notably Johnstone et al. (2006), Beal (2009a; 2009b), and Cooper (2013).

The present study follows this approach in studying the enregisterment, i.e. the development of indexical links between language features and social meanings and values, of the historical London variety Cockney. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Cockney dialect is represented in many literary works, newspaper articles, and dialect manuals. It has thus developed into a register that writers employ to index speaker characteristics and to create characterological figures, such as the street-smart Sam Weller in Dickens’ *Pickwick Papers*, or more general city personae: the ‘dandy crook’, the ‘city merchant’, or the ‘real-/country-life idiot’.

In this study, a special focus will be on the representation of phonological features, such as the diphthong shift, front-vowel raising and *th*-fronting, of the discursive variety Cockney in selected texts by literary authors, orthoepists (e.g. Walker (1791), Smart (1836), Ellis (1968 (1889)) and newspaper writers. It examines which features are part of the discourse at different times throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which indexical links these features help to establish, and how they contributed to the establishment of a ‘Cockney ideology’ (cf. Mugglestone 2003, Görlach 1999, Johnstone 2004). In his much-cited work *Cockney Past and Present* from 1938, Matthews argues that there is a change in the discursive variety around the 1880s, so that phonological features which have supposedly long been obsolete in the structural variety (such as the exchange of /v/ and /w/) are finally replaced, also in cultural representations, by modern Cockney features (e.g. shifted diphthongs). This study challenges this view and argues that even elaborate and supposedly ‘neutral’ accounts of the dialect in question like Matthews’ were to some extent ideologically motivated, and addresses the question in how far metadiscursive accounts like Matthews’ can inform us about changes at the discursive/register change level as well as at the structural/language change level.

This paper argues that the study of enregisterment can further our understanding of language change in a variety by separating the discursive from the structural level, since the associated language ideologies either promote or inhibit the spread of certain variants, and explores how changes in the register might feed back into the structural variety, thus directly influencing the perception and the use of Cockney.

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### **Comparative sociolinguistics beyond the vernacular: Applying variationist methods to genre variation in written English**

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This talk attempts to bridge a gap between variationist (socio)linguistics and corpus-based methods for register analysis, e.g. Biber (1988), by investigating to what extent language users' grammatical choices depend on specific situational characteristics. Variationist sociolinguists—who are concerned with the constraints probabilistically shaping linguistic choices—have tended to focus on vernacular speech as the locus of social meaning, since internal constraints on linguistic variables are assumed to be independent of stylistic and situational contexts (Labov 2010:265). At the same time, register analysis has focused mainly on surface-level co-occurrence patterns among linguistic features across styles, rather than the grammatical systems underlying those patterns. Variation in such systems across written genres can nonetheless be construed as a kind of complex 'style switching' (Rickford 2014), thus the register/genre-sensitivity of probabilistic choice-making should be of theoretical importance to researchers in both of these respective areas. At present however, genre-sensitivity in probabilistic constraints is still in need of further investigation.

Drawing on data from 1960s and 1990s American English (the B/Frown corpora), we compare the probabilistic conditioning of four morpho-syntactic variables across five distinct genres: Press reportage, Non-fiction, Academic, Adventure fiction, and General fiction.

genitive alternation (e.g. Rosenbach 2014)

*the philosophy of Pat Hegarty*

*Pat Hegarty's philosophy*

dativ alternation (e.g. Grimm & Bresnan 2009)

*gave Karabatsos an expensive black case*

*gave an expensive black case to Karabatsos*

particle placement alternation (Gries 2003)

*pulling his boots off*

*pulling off his boots*

relativizer alternation (Hinrichs et al. 2015)

*an example that illustrates. . .*

*an example which illustrates. . .*

For each alternation, we annotate for numerous probabilistic constraints identified in the literature, including effects of constituent length, animacy, and information status. Building upon methods developed for comparative sociolinguistics (Tagliamonte 2013), we submit each alternation to variationist modeling, specifically generalized mixed-effects models, in each time and genre individually, yielding ten models per alternation. We evaluate similarities among genre-specific variation patterns by examining variability in the strength, direction, and overall ranking of constraints in each model.

Based on these measures, we find that certain probabilistic constraints, e.g. possessor animacy in the genitive alternation (Grafmiller 2014), are indeed stylistically sensitive, contra the standard variationist sociolinguistic view. Further, multivariate analysis, e.g. multidimensional scaling and cluster analysis, over genres and alternations reveals that measures derived from variationist methods yield patterns in accordance with previous work on register variation. We find, for instance, that Press writing became increasingly more informal/colloquial (e.g. Jucker 1993) over the 20th century, while Academic texts have also changed dramatically, albeit in ways that do not track with typical colloquialization trends (Biber & Gray 2016; Hyland & Jiang 2017). We conclude by discussing how our findings speak to theoretical issues in variationist linguistics regarding the relation between grammatical representation and quantitative variability in constraints across styles.

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## Tracking Evolution of Words in the Modern English Lexicon

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Large-scale lexical evolution has been difficult to analyse because most words, especially new words, are incredibly rare, requiring access to extremely large, time-stamped corpora to track change in the lexicon. This situation, however, is currently changing as increasing amounts of highly informal natural language data becomes available online, primarily on social media. Consequently, we are now able to compile corpora that allow us to study variation and change in the lexicon in far greater detail than had previously been possible (e.g. Eisenstein et al. 2014). For example, based on a multi-billion-word American Twitter corpus, recent research has identified and tracked a large number of newly emerging words, which were very uncommon at the end of 2013 but whose usage increased dramatically over the course of 2014 (Grieve et al. 2017), allowing for lexical innovation to be investigated from various perspectives, including general patterns in the structure, meaning, and origin of new words. This research also left various unanswered questions, including notably what factors predict whether or not these newly emerging words will survive over time.

The goal of this study is therefore to determine which of these emerging words that first rose to prominence online in 2014 have continued to be used frequently on American Twitter in 2016 and which have fallen out of usage since this time, and to then consider what predicts the success of these words, so as to begin to understand the main factors that constrain the evolution of the modern American English lexicon, at least in this variety of language.

First, the relative frequencies of the 54 emerging words identified in a previous analysis of lexical innovation in a multi-billion-word corpus of 2014 American Twitter data (Grieve et al. 2017) were measured in a comparable corpus of 2016 American Twitter data. Second, the percentage change in the relative frequency of each of these emerging words between 2014 and 2016 was calculated to measure the amount each increased or decreased in usage over the intervening years. For example, *notif* (i.e. online notification, 98% drop) and *unbae* (i.e. break up with, 98% drop) are two of the words that saw the greatest drops in usage, while *tfw* (i.e. that feel when, 104% rise) and *cosplay* (i.e. costume roleplaying, +93% rise) are two of the words that saw the greatest rises in usage. Finally, the degree to which various factors predict the survival of these words was tested. For example, creative spellings were found to be more likely to persevere, perhaps because they often mark new meanings of that word. Similarly, borrowings tended to survive, perhaps because they are generally associated with concepts for which another English word does not exist. Based on these results, I argue that the communicative characteristics of Twitter causes emerging words with certain functional characteristics to be used more frequently by language users over time, leading to their institutionalisation through natural selection.

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## Neoclassical literary canons and prescriptive grammar in the Enlightenment: some points of convergence

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Until very recently, prescriptive grammar of the English language was treated predominantly from a sociolinguistic perspective as an attempt to impose artificial rules based on linguistic practices of the social elite on actual language usage. However, if we try to situate the prescriptive tradition in a wider sociocultural context, this approach might seem somewhat simplistic (Auer 2006; Dossena, Jones 2006; Beal et al 2008; Tieken-Boon van Ostade, van der Wurff 2009; Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2010; Percy, Davidson 2012). It certainly cannot explain the wide support given to normative tradition not only by social snobs and insecure lower middle class speakers, but also by men of letters and intellectuals.

When studied closely, prescriptive recommendations reveal certain congruency with contemporary philosophy of language (Guermanova 2018), as well as with the aesthetic canons reflected in rhetorical treatises of the epoch. However, the link between prescriptive grammar and rhetoric as evidenced in the works by influential rhetoricians (Blair 1783, Campbell 1776) and in the numerous grammars of the 18<sup>th</sup> century has been largely overlooked.

The contacts between grammar and rhetoric were mutual: while rhetoricians discussed the finer points of divided usage, grammarians, to support their recommendations, drew on rhetoric as a general theory of verbal communication.

In particular, grammarians and rhetoricians found common ground in the neoclassical precept of unities. The unities of action, time and place did not only serve as guidelines for constructing the plot; they also formed the basis for several grammar rules.

Thus, many grammar rules dealing with syntax were supposed to give the sentence unity and cohesion. As H. Blair put it, parts of the sentence 'must be so closely bound together, as to make an impression upon the mind of one object, not many' (Blair 1783: 216). This rule was echoed in grammar: 'all parts of the sentence should correspond to each other: a regular and dependent construction, throughout, should be carefully preserved' (Murray 1805: 211). It led to a more careful differentiation between compound and complex sentences and provoked interest in balanced periods, as well as in syntactic connectors and deictic words. Considerations of unity and cohesion also influenced recommendations concerning word order, especially the place of adverbs ('only', 'at least' etc.). On the morpho-syntactic level, the precept of unity underlay the rules regulating agreement between subject and predicate (there should be formal and/or semantic correlation between parts of the sentence), as well as the choice of tenses: the sentence, in accordance with the unities of action and time, was to have a single temporal perspective.

Thus, the study of the interrelation between grammar and rhetoric may help to trace the sources of normative reasoning and reveal the logic underlying prescriptive recommendations.

In my presentation I propose, firstly, to show the overlapping of the contents of grammars and rhetorics throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Secondly, I will analyse grammar recommendations in 18<sup>th</sup> century rhetorics, focusing on H. Blair's 'Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles-lettres' and G. Campbell's 'The Philosophy of Rhetoric'.

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***You mustn't say that – Recent change in the meaning of modal *must* in spoken British English 1994-2014***

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The core modal verb *must* can express two meanings in present-day British English (BrE): (1) a deontic/obligation meaning ('it is necessary for') and (2) an epistemic/necessity meaning ('it is necessarily the case that') (Coates 1983: 31). The polysemy of *must* is a result of a grammaticalisation process from deontic to epistemic meanings, in which the historically older deontic reading of *must* served as a basis for the emergence of an epistemic reading at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Visser 1969: 1810). Diachronic data indicate a decrease in the frequency of *must* in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in BrE, with a stronger decline in its deontic than in its epistemic sense in written data and an almost equal decline in both senses in spoken data (Leech et al. 2009: 74-88; Close & Aarts 2010: 176-177).

To trace more recent changes in the development of *must* in spoken data, we analysed all occurrences of *must* in BNC-1994-demo and the BNC-2014-sample (N=4,812), representing private spoken BrE of the early 1990s and early 2010s, respectively. The influence of gender, age, and social class was investigated with mixed effects regression models and post-hoc Tukey tests for significance.

Our findings indicate that the frequency of the modal verb *must* continued to decrease in the last 20 years from 630 pmw to 470 pmw. Similar to findings from studies of written data in earlier periods, our analysis also reveals that the decrease remains stronger in deontic than in epistemic *must*, even though it is on the decrease in both senses. With regard to the share of the two meanings, we can therefore see that *must* became even more strongly established as an epistemic marker in the last 20 years, showing an increase in its epistemic proportion from 67% in 1994 to 80% in 2014. By contrast, the use of deontic *must* became more strongly restricted over the last two decades. Self-imposed obligations, formulaic phrases (*I must say/admit*), child-directed speech, and instructions remain typical contexts of use for deontic *must*. Our study therefore suggests that *must* is on its way out as a deontic marker and has practically become a marker of epistemic modality in today's spoken BrE.

The sociolinguistic analysis with regression models further supports this analysis. Epistemic *must* was used less frequently by younger than older speakers at both time points and decreased in frequency for all age groups. Thus, epistemic *must* continues to be used across all generations, but shows a decrease in both real- and apparent-time. Deontic *must* was used in 1994 significantly more frequently by

upper-class than middle- and lower-class speakers and by female compared to male speakers. In 2014, there are no effects of social class and gender, but younger speakers use deontic *must* much less frequently than older speakers (Fig. 1). Thus, a socially marked and gender-marked distribution of deontic *must* has given way to a pattern that suggests that future generations will hardly make any use of deontic *must*.

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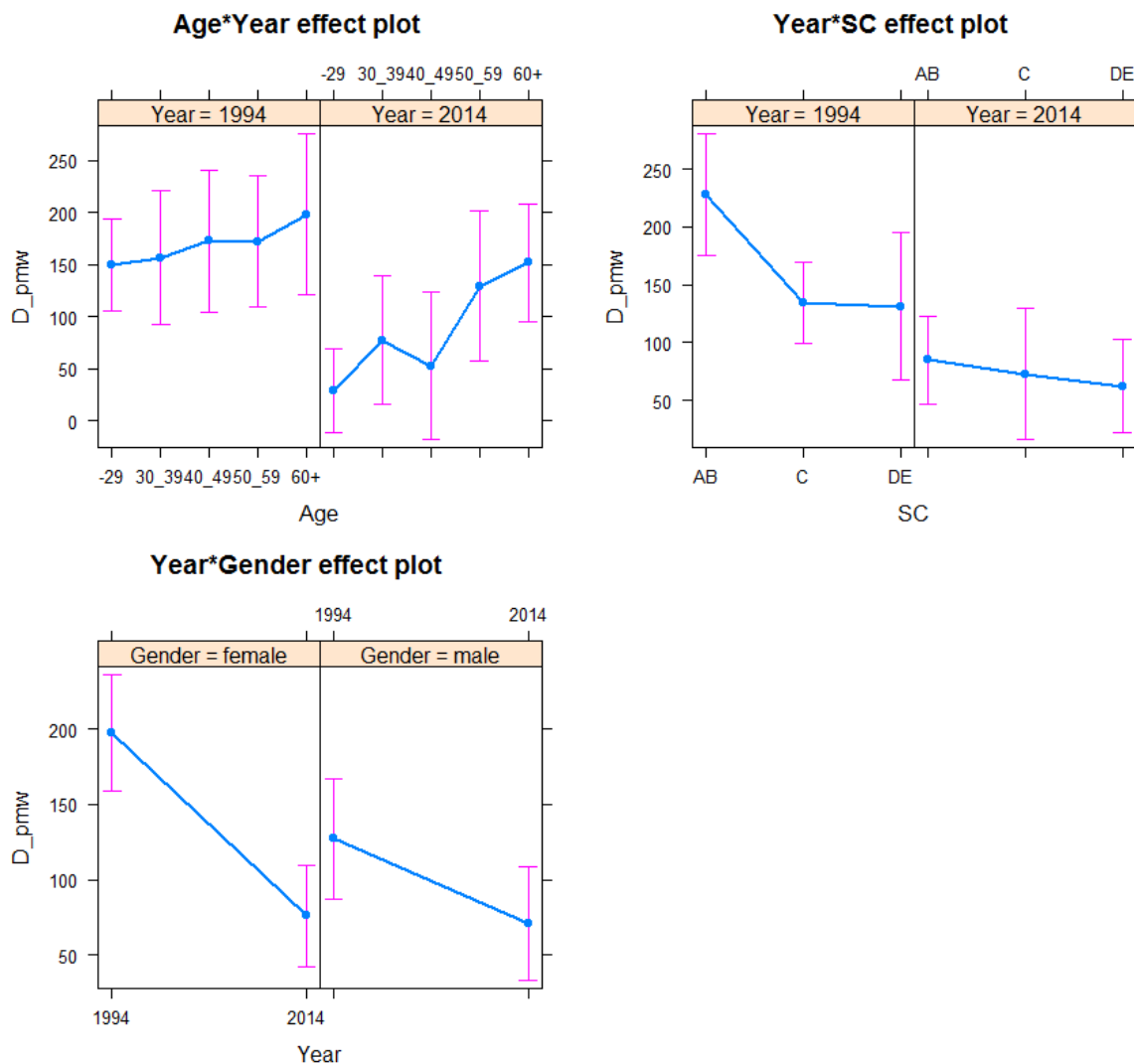


Fig. 1. Sociolinguistic analysis of deontic *must*.

## Globalisation, indigenisation, and language change in the quotative systems of World Englishes

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The quotative system and new quotatives in particular have been extensively studied in ENL varieties (cf. Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999; Macaulay 2001; Winter 2002; Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009; Buchstaller 2014). The focus of research has only recently shifted to quotative systems of ESL and EFL varieties (cf. D'Arcy 2013; Davydova & Buchstaller 2015; Davydova 2016). My study contributes to this body of research with a joint analysis of *be like* in the quotative systems of Canadian English, Philippine English, and Ghanaian English on the basis of the private conversations of the respective ICE corpora (cf. Newman & Columbus 2010; Bautista et al. 2004; Huber et al. fc.). By reading the complete private dialogue sections of each corpus, I extracted roughly 1,400 quotatives (including null-forms) that are in competition with each other. I coded these according to language-internal constraints and language-external factors that are known to govern the choice between old and new quotatives. In this way, I am able to investigate which constraints of *be like* are globally stable, which are regionally variable, and which are diachronically changing. To account for rapid changes in the quotative system, I use the internal diachrony of ICE by tracing developments in the 16 years that lie between the data from ICE-CAN (1995) and ICE-GHA (2011). This approach may seem unconventional at first sight but can clearly be justified by the fact that the use of *be like* has spread from the youngest age group to older age groups from ICE-CAN to ICE-GHA. Despite differences in the structures of the quotative systems, I show that *be like* occupies the same niche in all three varieties, as a form that tends to express internal monologues and often occurs in the historical present. However, despite these globally stable characteristics, we can also see that the gender association of *be like* is negotiated in situ and therefore varies regionally. Furthermore, the person constraint is loosened over time from a clear preference for first-person subjects in ICE-CAN to a levelling of the person effect in ICE-GHA. The content constraint also shows fluctuation over time, with an extension to contexts that report direct speech, even though inner monologues still constitute the preferred content of the quote. Based on these findings, I argue that *be like* has entered different varieties of English in the form of a template (possibly in the form of the stereotyped *I'm like Oh my God*). The template is characterised by the combination of a first-person subject and the historical present, which explains the globally stable constraints of *be like*. It is imbued with locally relevant social meanings, visible for example in the regionally variable gender association. Over time, the template may be deconstructed, thereby making its constituents available for creative manipulation. This process explains the extension of *be like* to other subjects and direct speech. My study therefore demonstrates that the integration of L2 varieties in research on the quotative system can shed interesting light on the complex interplay between globalisation, indigenisation, and language change in World Englishes.

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### ***He, she... they, ze, xe? Is English ready for new pronouns?***

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In recent years, with the growing awareness of a wider spectrum of gender than just 'men and women', a new question has arisen – what pronouns are to be used when referring to someone who does not identify as a *he* or a *she*?

This 'gap' in language has been filled with so-called 'nonbinary pronouns' – pronouns that can be used to refer to someone who does not (exclusively) identify as female or male, and does not wish to be called a *he* or a *she*. These pronouns include the use of singular *they* and several neologisms, 'neo-pronouns' such as *ze* and *xe*.

Nonbinary pronouns are a relatively new phenomenon, and research has yet to address them from a sociolinguistic perspective. This study concerns two main aspects regarding nonbinary pronouns: their 'acceptability' and attitudes towards nonbinary pronouns.

These aspects are explored with online survey data consisting of responses from 1128 participants, including 79 nonbinary participants. The participants were asked to assess the acceptability of the nonbinary pronouns *they*, *ze*, and *xe* in example sentences, and their views on nonbinary pronouns were elicited with open answer questions.

A mixed methods approach is employed to analyze the data. A thematic analysis accompanied by corpus methods is used to reveal reoccurring themes in the participants' views on nonbinary pronouns (open answers), while statistical methods are used to explore relationships between different variables, and to help explain variation in the participants' answers. For this purpose, demographic information of the participants was gathered, and other potentially mediating factors such as attitudes towards transgender individuals were measured.

Preliminary results indicate that the participants reacted differently to nonbinary *they* and neo-pronouns: nearly 70% of the participants found the use of nonbinary *they* acceptable, while only about 30% found the use of *ze* and *xe* acceptable. The open answers showed differences as well, for example many participants were concerned about the number agreement with nonbinary *they*; plural ranked the fifth most common adjective among the open answer reactions (27 per 10,000 words), followed by similar implications with confusing (20 per 10,000 words) and incorrect (18 per 10,000 words). Neo-pronouns on the other hand were described by many as weird (12 per 10,000 words), unnatural (9 per 10 000 words), and even ridiculous (9 per 10,000 words). The thematic analysis of the open answers supported these interpretations, and brought into light many other aspects, for example some participants implied that whichever pronoun a person wished to use was acceptable, while others objected to *ze* and *xe* specifically since the consonants were perceived as foreign to English.

It remains to be seen which nonbinary pronoun(s) will thrive, if any. Studying these pronouns and especially attitudes towards them can help us understand which factors might affect this potential change in English, perhaps even help answer the big question – is English ready for new pronouns?



## Drinking in Berlin. Anglophone resources and urban patterns of consumption

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In this talk, we observe the sociolinguistic implications of the consumption of drinks in public, and how it ties in with the making and shaping of the sociolinguistic economy of urban spaces. Taking Berlin as a social site, we analyze and compare two currently very visible phenomena of late-capitalist consumption, namely *craft beer* and *third-wave coffee*. Both can be seen as cases of conspicuous consumption in the sense of Veblen (1994[1899]), in that they serve, first and foremost, an honorific effect. The drinking of beer and coffee thus becomes associated with an urban and cosmopolitan elite.

These practices of consumption are inseparably tied to linguistic practices, highly reminiscent of Silverstein's (2003) interpretation of *oinoglossia*. Both third wave coffee and craft beer are effusively 'talked into being' (Heritage and Clayman 2010), through annotated menus and tasting notes, through highly detailed product information and marketing materials, and through many other related (meta)linguistic routines. Crucially, English figures as a central language in these discourses, taking on a number of different – and sometimes conflicting – social indexical meanings. Thus, the use of Anglophone resources signals affiliation with a transnational lifestyle, open to locals and non-locals alike, and caters to Berlin's growing community of 'expats' and native speakers; but it is also an efficient tool for drawing in and interacting with tourist crowds.

English is styled as the authentic code of these specialty beverages and yet it also has to compete, for example, with assumptions about beer as an authentically German commodity, and with more general idealizations of local consumption, which may also lead to the use of German, sometimes in highly localized vernacular forms. In the purist discourses of third wave coffee culture, Standard English is strongly dominant; however, German may also take on the role of indexing elitist refinement. Finally, all of these linguistic practices have to be read against the backdrop of cultural anxiety and linguistic purism which often surfaces in German public discourse with regard to the use of English (see e.g. conservative politician Jens Spahn, warning about the spread of English and the marginalization of German in the hospitality industry; Spahn 2017).

Drawing on qualitative data based on interviews, participant observation and media ethnography, we discuss the implications of such Anglophone practices for the status of English in transnational spaces such as Berlin, and more generally in global settings of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

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## Dialect contact and linguistic change in a multinational Anglophone community in Japan

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The purpose of this paper is to investigate how a linguistic change both occurs and progresses in a medium-term dialect contact environment (Trudgill, 1986, 2004). Hence, this study explores a multinational Anglophone community in Japan, which consists of young English speakers of different

nationalities who spent at least one year working in the community as teachers. In addition, this study examines that population's choice of possessive verbs (Jankowski, 2005; Kroch, 1989; Tagliamonte, 2003, 2013a, 2013b; Tagliamonte, D'Arcy, & Jankowski, 2010) to demonstrate the changes in real time. Using a social network approach (Milroy 1980) among native speakers of English (NSEs) in Japan, Hirano (2016) and Hirano & Britain (2017) investigated dialect contact and linguistic accommodation regarding the use of verbs that express possession (*have got*, *have*, *got*). Approximately 1,000 possessive verb tokens were extracted from linguistic data found in 34 hours of casual conversations among 39 NSEs from England, the US and New Zealand. These were recorded in single-nationality dyads, both immediately upon arrival in Japan (first dataset) and after a period of one year (second dataset). Notably, the informants from England diverged from the forms that are typically used by Americans; rather, they used forms that are strongly associated with British and New Zealand English. The English informants used *have* less and *have got* more than they had one year earlier. Social network analyses of the speakers' shifts in variant choice found significant correlation in the English informants: the weaker the informants' social network ties with NSEs, the more they decreased the use of *have* after one year, and vice versa.

By utilising the aforementioned data, the present study examines the linguistic constraints of verbs of possession: subject type (noun phrase or pronoun; first, second or third person; singular or plural), subject reference (generic or non-generic) and object type (abstract or concrete). This paper focuses on the analyses outcomes of the informants from England. SPSS 'logistic regression' analysis, which assesses which linguistic factors are statistically significant to determine a particular variant (*have got*, *have* or *got*) provided the following findings:

- Subject types were statistically significant linguistic factors for selecting a variant of both *have got* and *have* in both the first and second datasets.
- In the first dataset (which was collected when the informants first arrived in Japan) *have got* was favoured by pronouns, and *have* was favoured by noun phrases, while *have got* was favoured by singular subjects, and *have* was favoured by plural subjects.
- In the second dataset (which was collected a year later), although *have* was still favoured by noun phrases, *have got* had increased in percentage use in noun phrases. In addition, while *have got* was still favoured by singular subjects, it was also favoured by plural subjects.

The results demonstrate how the use of *have got* by informants from England extended into different linguistic conditions at the early stage of a dialect contact situation in Japan.

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## The English Comparative Correlative Construction: A Usage-Based Account

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Languages are complex systems that allow speakers to produce novel grammatical utterances that they have never heard before. Yet, linguists differ as to how general and abstract they think the mental representation of speakers have to be to give rise to this grammatical creativity. In order to shed light on these questions, the present study looks at one specific construction type, English comparative correlatives (CC; e.g. *the [more]<sub>FILLER\_C1</sub> you eat, the [fatter]<sub>FILLER\_C2</sub> you get*) that turns out to be particularly interesting in this context: on the one hand it has been described in terms of one of the most abstract and general syntactic rules (a filler-gap construction), on the other hand it clearly shows specific idiomatic structures that are often produced without any variation (e.g. *the more, the merrier*).

While the syntax and semantics of the English Comparative Correlative (CC) construction have received considerable attention in the literature (cf. e.g. Fillmore, Kay and O'Connor 1988; McCawley 1988; Culicover and Jackendoff 1999; Den Dikken 2005; Sag 2010), so far only a small number usage-based analyses have been published on the topic. These either only relied on fairly small databases (i.e. classic one-million word corpora, which only contained 30-40 CC tokens each; Hoffmann 2014a,b) or focussed only on the productivity of one slot in the construction (Zeldes 2013). In contrast to this, the present study analyses more than 1,400 CC tokens sampled from the COCA (Davis 2010-) for the variables FILLER TYPE (i.e. phrasal category of the filler), presence of a THAT-COMPLEMENTIZER (e.g. *the more (that) you eat, the fatter you will get.*), SUBJECT-AUXILIARY INVERSION (e.g. *the more you eat, the fatter will you get.*), DELETION (e.g. *the greater the demand (is), the higher the price (is).*) as well as LEXICAL FILLER TYPE (e.g. *more* and *fatter* in *the [more]<sub>FILLER\_C1</sub> you eat, the [fatter]<sub>FILLER\_C2</sub> you get.*). As a statistical HCFA analysis of these data show (cf. Gries 2008: 242-54), there are several variables (including the choice of LEXICAL FILLER TYPE as well as the DELETION of main verb BE) that are significantly associated across the two clauses that cannot be accounted for by complete-inheritance constructionist approaches. Instead, the data provide further support for usage-based constructionist approaches that analyse CC constructions as forming a complex network of meso- and micro-constructural constructions. The results of the present study thus yield important results concerning English CC constructions, including the schematicity and generality of their mental representations.

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### Nigerian English and Nigerian Pidgin: The emergence of a meshed code?

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In our project, we are exploring the new dynamics of hybridity that seem to be developing currently between Nigerian Pidgin (NP) and Nigerian English (NE) in Nigeria. The two varieties have long existed side by side as distinct codes (Deuber 2005) in Nigeria — NE as the prestigious official language of politics, education, and media, and NP as a widely used informal vernacular that seems to be in the process of shedding its stigma (Faraclas 2012; Mensah 2011; Heyd 2015). In previous scholarly treatments of language contact in Nigeria, co-occurrences of NP and NE have been analysed as code-switching (e.g., Deuber 2005; Akande 2008), with most codeswitches occur[ring] at major syntactic and prosodic boundaries (at clause or sentence level) (Auer 1999:132). However, this account does not seem sufficient for describing the intimate intertwining of resources from the two languages that we observe in our spoken and written data from Nigeria. We argue that a new meshed code (Young et al. 2014) could now be emerging in Nigeria, characterised by *combining* rather than switching between two languages (Young 2014:3).

We present evidence mainly from two sources. Interviews were conducted with forty educated informants in Warri and Ajegunle (a suburb of Lagos), both of which are key areas of NP usage, amounting to a total of 40 hours of spoken data. We also work on an expanded version of the Corpus of Cyber-Nigerian (>840 million tokens), compiled at the University of Freiburg (cf. Mair & Pfänder 2013), stemming from the informal, interactive, and massively popular web discussion forum *Nairaland*. Similar phenomena were witnessed in both datasets: some Nigerians are now producing hybrid phrases that cannot accurately be described with the traditional theoretical tools of lexical borrowing or code-switching. We will discuss instances of meshing mainly in the verb phrase but also in the noun and prepositional phrases. To give an example from the data, in *dis thread can fit to waka dis long mean say d guys dem correct well well* (‘[the fact that] this thread has gone on this long means that the guys are very good’), the hybrid verb phrase *can fit to waka* consists of a NE auxiliary (*can*), a NP auxiliary (*fit*, ‘can’), a NE particle (*to*), and a NP main verb (*waka*, ‘walk, go on’). Furthermore, the noun phrase *d guys dem* combines plural markers from both NE and NP. The phenomenon is not yet quantitatively impressive but we suspect that we have detected a case of budding language change that is likely to become much more common in the next years as the two languages continue to serve the fast-growing, polyglot Nigerian population in a globalized context.

This project not only contributes to a forward-looking sociolinguistics of contemporary Nigeria but also participates in the continuing theoretical discussion of different types and outcomes of language contact.

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**(The) thing is... nobody has looked at focalisers in World Englishes, yet**

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In English, shell nouns such as *thing*, *fact* or *question* are regularly used in the left periphery of the sentence with a (variable) definite article and copula *be*. These semi -fixed *N-is* constructions have developed pragmatic function: they function to launch utterances and to focalise the following information (see example (1)).

- (1) “*The thing is* all our guys have their own medical insurance, which is a really good system, so they’re not going to be a drain on the New Zealand taxpayer.” (NOW Corpus, NZE, 2016-02-09)

Previous research traces the development of the pragmatic function (e.g. Aijmer 2007), looks at copula reduplication (e.g. Bolinger 1987, Curzan 2012, Massam 1999) or variable article use (Stvan 2014). Keizer (2013, 2016) uses a functional grammar approach and corpus evidence to the construction, including evidence from Dutch, as well, while Author/Coauthor (submitted) provide a corpus-based study of German and English focalisers from a construction grammar point of view.

Surprisingly, there is no prior research on variation across different World Englishes, even though preliminary evidence suggests that article use as well as degree of syntactic integration with the main clause are variable across varieties such as US, Canadian and Australian English.

This study uses corpus data from the *New On the Web (NOW)* corpus and a probabilistic grammar approach to investigate syntactic intergration of focalisers across varieties of English as a first (ENL) and institutionalised second language (ESL). Predictor variables include for instance variable article use, the shell noun and modification. The results show that, whereas variable article use largely



depends on the shell noun, for the degree of syntactic integration (and thus constructionalization of the focalizer function) regional variety is a strong predictor, with other predictor variables playing a less significant role.

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## Apologies: A corpus-variational approach

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A corpus-based investigation of specific speech acts must find solutions to two major problems. First, it must come up with search strings that capture surface realisations of what are essentially functional categories and second, the functional categories – more often than not – are fuzzy entities with unclear boundaries and large areas of overlap with neighbouring categories. Apologies are an interesting case in point. Deutschmann (2003) has shown that apologies in the spoken part of the *British National Corpus* are generally realised on the basis of a small set of formulaic expressions involving lexical items such as *sorry*, *excuse*, *apologise*, *forgive* and *pardon*. Lutzky and Kehoe (2017a, 2017b) have located a number of additional forms in their data, the *Birmingham Blog Corpus*, in particular various forms of *oops* or *whoops* and *my bad*. In this paper, I want to focus on the fuzzy edges of the speech act of apology. Two dimensions appear to be particularly important in this respect. On the one hand, apologies may shade off, for instance, into general expressions of regret, where it is no longer clear whether the speaker takes any personal responsibility for the perceived or actual offence affecting the addressee, or into spill cries that are being used for minor mishaps with unclear effects for the addressee. On the other hand, apologies can be placed on a scale of sincerity from truly sincere and heart-felt apologies to ironic and jocular forms, which are realised, for instance, as *oops sorry* or *my bad*, or in the more recent forms *soz*, *soz lol* or *soz bro*, which can primarily be found in CMC contexts, such as WhatsApp messages, blogs or online media user comments (e.g. “soz for the off topic rant, but i also feckin love this debate”, GloWbE US). The investigation will be based on a range of different corpora for Present-day English, in particular the *Corpus of Global Web-Based English* (GloWbE), the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA), the *British National Corpus* (BNC), the *Corpus of American Soap Operas* and the *Birmingham Blog Corpus* (BBC).

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## Finiteness marking in historical Latin-English code-switching

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This contribution addresses finiteness marking in historical code-switching (CS). Modals, auxiliaries and their infinitive complements in mixed clauses from Middle English and Latin sermons (MS Bodley 649; Horner 2006) will be discussed in the light of Myers-Scotton’s (2002) *Matrix Language Frame Model*. The model is based on the assumption that in mixed clauses the syntactic frame is provided solely by one of the two languages involved, the so-called Matrix Language (ML). A second language (Embedded Language, EL) can supply additional content words but cannot add certain grammatical morphemes, e.g. case markers on nominals or tense markers on finite verb forms (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2017). I will show that the application of a theoretical model developed for modern oral CS provides evidence for the diachronic stability of CS patterns and supports the Uniformitarian Principle (Labov 1994) from a rarely explored angle.

With respect to finite forms of modal verbs and auxiliaries on the one hand and infinitives on the other, the data show the following typical mixing pattern (Latin in roman and Middle English in italic font):

- (1) ... nec hostis aliqua cautela guerre **potest**<sub>Aux</sub> illud *wynne*<sub>Inf</sub> vel *asaile*<sub>Inf</sub> it.  
... nor can an enemy by any trick of war win or assail it.
- (2) Iste ramus non **potest**<sub>Aux</sub> **flecti**<sub>Inf</sub> ne *be*<sub>Inf</sub> *crocud*, ...  
This branch cannot be bent or twisted, ...
- (3) ... set it *most*<sub>Aux</sub> **grow**<sub>Inf</sub> *ri3t furthe*.  
... but it must grow forth straight.

In the examples, the finite modal is consistently supplied by the ML of a clause, whereas an infinitive can also be supplied by the EL – as long as the EL does not contain an overt morphological infinitive marker. In other words, a Middle English infinitive can occur in the complement to a Latin modal verb but the reverse is not observed. This suggests that the morphological expression of finiteness on the verb is regulated exclusively by ML grammar – as predicted by the MLF model.

The diachronic stability of finiteness marking in the VP/IP domain is particularly noteworthy as it contrasts with the variation repeatedly described for the expression of case on Latin nouns and adjectives in historical CS (Stolt 1964; McLelland 2004). As this variation cannot be accounted for by the MLF model in its current version, it has been taken as grounds for rejecting the MLF model altogether for the description of historical CS (Auer & Muhamedova 2005). I argue that the cases which the MLF model cannot explain or predict are highly informative with respect to socio-pragmatic context and mode of L2 acquisition, yet in terms of relative frequency they are marginal (about 2.5% for nominal inflection and less than 1% for verbal inflection). I conclude that even though individual languages are subject to continuous change, the nature of the abstract “bilingual grammar” which organizes how two languages are woven together by a bilingual speaker or writer has remained unchanged.

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### What's in a Username? Self-naming practices in British Social Media

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Usernames (also referred to as screen names or nicknames, cf. Aleksiejuk 2016a) are unusual in that users can choose, and therefore name, themselves rather than having a name bestowed upon them by others, e.g. parents (Nübling et al. 2014). How and which username is chosen depends on a variety of factors, including, but not limited to, the type of social media platform (e.g. comment threads vs Flickr), the technical affordances (e.g. character limitations) and the degree to which the users are prepared to disclose information about themselves. Choosing a nickname is thus always accompanied by more or less deliberate and conscious decisions about how much of one's identity to reveal or conceal: Users may want a) to be identifiable for certain (groups of) people they know offline and/or b) to establish group identity online while c) preserving (varying degrees of) anonymity. All of this is done by selective disclosure of information, i.e. revealing facets of one's identity deemed relevant or beneficial in a particular context. Usernames may also be linked to the real name of a user in a way that may require particular privileged information or a high degree of familiarity with the user.

These self-naming practices can be interpreted drawing on psychological, sociological and philosophical/ethical theories of identity, i.e. as acts of establishing identity through symbolic interaction (Mead 1934) and as an expression of personhood as part of a postmodern patchwork identity (Keupp et al. 2002); communicative strategies that establish and signal group membership within social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner 1986) and the Communities of Practice paradigm (Lave & Wenger 1991); and part of discursive identity construction as suggested by the Erlangen school (Kamlah & Lorenzen 1996).

This project, which is part of a larger project analysing self-naming practices across different languages and cultures (Schlobinski & Siever, in prep.), analyses usernames from a variety of different social media sites (Twitter, Flickr, two types of below the line comments and forum threads) to gain insights into self-naming strategies used online in a predominantly UK context. The analysis of 500 usernames is complemented by data from a questionnaire where participants were asked about their self-naming practices.

The deliberate choices made when creating a username seem to suggest that users carefully and selectively foreground information that allows a particular group of people to recognise them for who they are in real life and thus to find and connect with them on social media or provide clues for

likeminded people online without compromising one's anonymity offline in any way (Aleksiejuk 2016b). Interestingly, we could detect a certain reluctance to name oneself and participants reported using nicknames or pet names as a springboard for creating a username, thus to a degree avoiding to self-name.

In addition to this, even though there are potentially an infinite number of ways to self-name, usernames often resemble anthroponyms, at times deliberately evoking and playing with expectations of what a name is. We argue that self-naming constitutes face work and that many strategies found outside social media influence username choice against a backdrop of other research on identity in virtual spaces (Sergeant & Tagg 2014, Bedijs, Held & Maaß 2014).

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## The Pragmatics of Intonation: Fall-rise tones in the SPICE-Ireland Corpus

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Prosody does not have any propositional meaning and thus functions pragmatically. The fall-rise – one of a small number of nuclear tones - conveys some kind of implied meaning. When statements are made with fall-rises, the speaker states one thing but implies something further.

The present data for come from the SPICE-Ireland Corpus (Kirk et al. 2011), which comprises 15 discourse situations encompassing private and public speech, monologues as well as dialogues and multilogues, and totals 626,597 words. This paper will concentrate on the fall-rise tone. The corpus has 1051 fall-rise tones distributed across each of the 15 text categories. In the SPICE-Ireland Annotation Scheme (Kallen & Kirk 2012, Kirk 2016), a fall-rise tone is indicated by capitalisation of the vowel concerned and by prefixing the number 5 to the word concerned. Comparison is made with

British data from the Lancaster/IBM Spoken English Corpus (Knowles et al. 1996), which has 23,855 words and 1221 fall-rise tones (Mindt 2001).

Building on the research literature (see References), I have devised a taxonomy of two mega-pragmatic functions, each with several subfunctions, and applied the taxonomy to a preliminary study of 200 fall-rise tones (100 each from Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland).

The first mega-pragmatic function of fall-rise tones, shown by the great majority of examples in the pilot study, is textual and shows how information is both ordered and focused upon. Attached to adverbial structures (such as clauses, phrases or simple stand-alone adverbs), fall-rise tones indicate that the discourse is still unfolding and ongoing. One textual function is the indication of the status of the information as old, given or negotiated information. Another textual function is to indicate that the information to which the tone is attached is to be interpreted simply as one of a choice of references or expressions or formulations from a range of possibilities which could have been invoked by the speaker in the situation. In these two main ways, fall-rise tones pragmatically provide some textual coherence.

Here is an example showing fall-rise tones at the end of two conditional *if*-clauses:

- (1) <#> <rep> No 11prOblem with that Alistair% @ </rep> <#> <rep> I- mean\* if you 1thInk about 1thAt in the 1cOntext of 1sOciolinguistic 5lliterature% <,> it would be a good 1mEthod% <,> or 1shOUld be a good method to 2Use% because uh you-know\* if you use uh a 5nEtwork% that you 're 1pArt of% 1yOU are more likely to be less 1intImidating to them% and to get better 1spEEch% </rep> <#> <rep> More 1naturalIstic speech% </rep> [ICE-NI-CLD-P1B-001\$A]

The second mega-pragmatic function of fall-rise tones, as evidenced by the remaining examples in the pilot study, is interpersonal and shows a range of attitudes which the speaker conveys towards what he or she is saying. Such attitudes range from reservations, doubt or uncertainty through to polite or partial corrections of what a previous speaker has just said. In this function, fall-rise tones can tentativise a speaker's choice of word indicating contrast or emphasis or simply express politeness. Such pragmatic uses are sometimes reinforced by the accompanying syntax, especially negatives, yes-no questions and feedback responses.

Here is an example from a news broadcast of two fall-rise tones indicating interpersonal tentativeness:

- (2) <#> <rep> It 's 2nIne minutes to 2elEven% </rep> <#> <rep> You 're 1wAtching a 1UTV 1LIve 1spEcial% </rep> <#> <rep> 1GrAssroots 1LOyalists gave an 1Upbeat reaction% to the IRA 1cEASE 2fIre% in a 1spEcial 1phOne-in 1discUssion 2prOgramme% on the 2ShAnkill 1ROAd tonight% </rep> <#> <rep> The 1consensus 5opInion% was a 5cAlm% 1And a 1consIdered one% </rep> [ICE-NI-BRN-P2B-001\$A]

Although fall-rise tones are predominantly attached to nouns in just over half the examples, the present study also shows that most grammatical classes may be accompanied by fall-rise tones, including names.

A working hypothesis is that, given the apparent universality of fall-rise tones, and notwithstanding the predominance of rise tones for which Northern Ireland is renowned, the pragmatic functionality of fall-rise tones should actually turn out not to be dissimilar between both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, or between them and Great Britain

Further research questions concern the relationship between fall-rise tones and the text categories of spoken discourse, and the distribution among speakers in text categories.

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### ***We may say that... Do we still say that?***

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Sparked by a collostructional analysis of the modal *may* presented by Cappelle and Depraetere (2014) at ISLE 3, who distinguished between several constructions involving the modal in present-day English, the present paper investigates the recent development of one particular construction with *may*, namely *we + may + verb of speaking/arguing*, as in (1).

- (1) ... in general **we may say** that the less related two languages are, the fewer will be the traces of the original language left on the new language (*COHA*, NF; Jespersen 1928)

For the present study, occurrences of *we + may + 25 common verbs of speaking/arguing* (e.g. *say, argue, state, (dis)agree*) have been searched for using *COHA* (*Corpus of Historical American English*), concentrating on the time-span 1900-2009. The results are striking. While there are differences between the individual verbs, there is a clear trend of general decline, gaining momentum from around 1990 onwards. Overall, from 1900 to 2009, the construction *we may SAY* (where *SAY* stands for the 25 common verbs of arguing and saying considered) exhibits a decline of – 89 %, which is considerably more pronounced than the overall decline of the modal verb *may* (– 46 %).

The reason for this change is likely to be an adaptation of language use to cultural changes. The construction *we may SAY* serves as a hedge, the speaker showing that they feel the need for permission to pursue the following speech act (asking the hearer explicitly to grant this permission in the subtype of the construction *if we may SAY*). In recent times of increasing democratization and a decreasing overt attention to hierarchical relations (cf. e.g. Mair 2006), it can be assumed that the need for

hedging is decreasing. Converging evidence comes from research on modality in English in general, which shows that the declining modals are not replaced by other epistemic modal elements (Leech 2013).

The decreasing use of hedges may even be, to a certain extent, responsible for the general decline in frequency of modal verbs in English. The present study could thus represent a step towards understanding the puzzling fact that while it is clear that semi-modals (*have to*, *have got to*) are replacing the declining modals in their **deontic** function, previous corpus-based studies have not found markers from the epistemic domain that are clearly rising in frequency and thus replacing the declining modals in their **epistemic** function (Leech 2013, Kranich & Gast 2015). The present results allow us to suggest tentatively that perhaps no replacement for epistemic modals is needed, because expressions of epistemic modality are overall declining in recent times because of the declining use of hedging.

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## Repetition in improvised theatrical fiction: Turning production errors into aesthetic devices

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In this paper, I investigate the functions of repetitions in improvised theatrical fiction. The data I analyse come from performances by *TJ & Dave*, a professional and highly successful duo of improvisers. My aim is to show how repetitions in this type of text combine functions that are typically associated with repetitions in spontaneous conversations with functions that have been described for repetitions in composed telecinematic discourse. My findings contribute to a better understanding of the functions of repetitions and they throw light on the relation between composed fictional texts and conversational interaction.

In conversational interaction, repetition is often associated with production errors, self-repairs and bridging hesitations and interruptions, and it has also been shown to help ensuring understanding and increasing coherence (e.g. Norrick 1987). In telecinematic discourse, in contrast, repetitions have been associated mostly with aesthetic functions (Kozloff 2000: 84), but they have also been said to help create a naturalistic tone (Rossi 2011; Wilson 2013: 121) and to increase comprehensibility (Toolan 2011).

Given that telecinematic discourse consists of highly edited and composed text, repetitions are always used intentionally for specific, often aesthetic effects, while repetitions in spontaneous conversation are often unintentional or even unwanted. However, this does not necessarily lead to a clear-cut distinction in terms of functions. For instance, as Tannen (2007: 83) has shown, repetitions in

conversational interaction can also serve aesthetic functions. The relation between repetitions as production errors and repetitions serving aesthetic functions has remained largely unexplored, though. Improvised theatrical fiction is spontaneous and, as a consequence, production errors occur. At the same time, improvised performances create fictional texts with a clear aesthetic function. As I will show, skilled improvisers regularly transform repetitions resulting from production errors into aesthetic devices. This indicates that the different functions of repetitions are not as clearly distinct from each other as might be thought.

Conversational interaction and telecinematic discourse differ with respect to two dimensions, fictionality and composition; conversational interaction is non-fictional and spontaneous, whereas telecinematic discourse is fictional and composed. By studying improvised theatrical fiction and comparing it to conversational interaction and telecinematic discourse, it is possible to differentiate between these two dimensions and to look at the role each of them plays for the realisation and effect of repetition. Analysing this type of data thus allows for new insight not only on the functions of repetitions, but also on central text characteristics of spontaneous fiction, which so far has hardly ever been studied.

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## On the use of modal verbs in conditional clauses in English

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This paper explores conditional clauses in English, adopting a cognitive-functional approach. Although studies on conditionality have been numerous over the years, it is remarkable to note the scarcity of studies that have employed a corpus-based methodology (Gabrielatos, 2010: 13). This paper intends to fill in this gap in the literature by analysing conditionals in spoken discourse resorting to data extracted from the British component of the *International Corpus of English* (ICE-GB) (Nelson, Wallis & Aarts, 2002).

The aim of my talk is twofold. First, my objective is to offer a fine-grained typology of conditionals in spoken discourse. Departing from the traditional definition of conditionals as those in which “the situation in the matrix clause is contingent on that in the subordinate clause” (Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 1088), this paper offers a wider approach to conditionality, integrating prototypical uses (e.g. *If it rains, I’ll stay at home*) and other constructions susceptible of being classified as conditionals which do not conform to the prototypical pattern, either because other discourse functions coexist or prevail over conditionality in these constructions (e.g. *If I may say so, that’s a crazy idea*), or because they present a different syntactic structure, as is the case of in subordinate clauses (e.g. *If you come with me*) (Lastres-López, 2018). The paradigm designed combines cognitive and functional approaches, fusing

the cognitive typologies proposed by Sweetser (1990) and Dancygier and Sweetser (2000, 2005), distinguishing between (i) content conditionals, (ii) epistemic conditionals, and (iii) speech-act conditionals; with the three metafunctions distinguished in systemic-functional linguistics (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014): (i) ideational, (ii) interpersonal, and (iii) textual. Second, within this framework, I examine the role that modal verbs play in these constructions in spoken English, with the hypothesis that there are differences in the use and type of modal verbs used in prototypical and less prototypical patterns of conditional clauses, the former favouring the use of modal verbs.

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## **“But I think uh the situation in Hong Kong is different” – DISAGREEMENT in Hong Kong English**

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DISAGREEMENT can be broadly defined as “the expression of a view that differs from that expressed by another speaker” (Sifianou 2012: 1554). In classic politeness theory (Brown & Levinson 1987) and conversation analysis (Pomerantz 1984; Sacks 1987), DISAGREEMENTS have been conceptualised as face-threatening and dispreferred speech acts. However, more recent work, especially in non-Anglo-Saxon settings, has shown DISAGREEMENTS to be highly context-sensitive and multifunctional in that they can enhance, maintain and challenge rapport (Georgakopoulou 2001; Locher 2004; Rees-Miller 2000; see also Spencer-Oatey 2008).

This paper studies DISAGREEMENTS in Hong Kong English whose status has become particularly prone to change since the hand-over of Hong Kong to the People’s Republic of China in 1997. With Cantonese and Putonghua gaining more presence in public life (Lai 2005), the community of speakers of English in Hong Kong has become ever more diverse regarding their cultural and linguistic background. The present investigation involves role plays, retrospective verbal protocols and focus group discussions to answer the following questions:

- a) Which DISAGREEMENT strategies do speakers of Hong Kong English use?
- b) How do speakers of Hong Kong English assess the (in)appropriateness of DISAGREEING in specific contexts?

- c) How do language background and attitudes towards English influence the realisations and evaluations of DISAGREEMENTS?

To study pragmatic variation, role plays constitute a compromise between written discourse completion tasks and recordings of naturally-occurring data with regard to issues of authenticity and controllability, respectively (Félix-Brasdefer & Hasler-Barker 2017). In this study, which is still in progress, DISAGREEMENT scenarios will be acted out in English by speakers from Hong Kong with different native languages (inter alia Cantonese, Putonghua, European languages). The realisation strategies used to DISAGREE will be analysed adopting an interactional approach that takes the speaker's view into account (Haugh 2007; Kádár & Haugh 2013). To have participants reconstruct their pragmatic choices and to elicit meta-pragmatic comments on politeness conventions and constraints when DISAGREEING, retrospective verbal protocols, which have been widely used in second language pragmatics (Taguchi & Roever 2017), are employed. Additionally, participants will discuss language use and attitudes in Hong Kong in focus groups to provide further background information for the contextualisation of the role play data.

The anticipated diversity in the participants' linguistic and cultural background is expected to impact on their realisation and assessment of DISAGREEMENTS in varying contexts. It can be hypothesised that a positive attitude towards a specific lingua-culture will lead to transfer of pragmatic conventions from the respective language. Thus, the elicited DISAGREEMENTS in Hong Kong English are assumed to show identifiable tendencies that can be attributed to the cultural and social values of the different speech communities.

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## Ethnic and gender variation in the use of Colloquial Singapore English discourse particles

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Among the better-researched aspects of Colloquial Singapore English (CSE, also known as Singlish) are its clause-final monosyllabic discourse particles. Often proposed as originating in substrate languages such as Malay, Hokkien, and Cantonese (Gupta 1992, Lim 2007), they share a number of stylistic and syntactic features, and their semantic and pragmatic meanings have been explored to quite some extent (Platt 1987, Gupta 2006, Leimgruber 2013, Brown & Teo 2014). What remains unclear, however, is to what extent their use is constrained by social factors. In particular, few studies to date (among them Smakman & Wagenaar 2013) have taken ethnicity into account in explaining particle use; neither has gender been considered in great detail. Data sampling procedures occasionally present problems in a population with a Chinese majority of 75%. Thanks to a large corpus of instant messages recently compiled from university students of both genders and of a range of ethnic backgrounds, more detailed analysis of a rather more informal speech style (Deuber & Sand 2013, Deuber et al. 2018) has now become possible. In this paper, the first results of an ongoing study into gender and ethnic variation in discourse particle usage are presented. Tendencies of note include ethnic differences in gender variation, overall preferences with regards to certain particles, as well as the correlation of some particles with ethnicity. Beyond providing a better understanding of variation in CSE and its particle system by accessing the informal speech of an educationally specific socioeconomic group, this paper argues for an open-minded take on contact phenomena in the variety: evidence is presented to suggest that the continued presence, in the sociolinguistic settings prevalent in Singapore, of bilingualism in English and other languages, exerts sustained influence on the resultant contact variety, thus considering synchronic transfer phenomena to approach the relevance of diachronic substrate effects.

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## Advice on early 18<sup>th</sup>-century relationship problems: Investigating the pragmatics of an emergent tradition

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The tradition of readers seeking advice on problems concerning love and relationships in agony columns of newspapers and magazines is more than 300 years old (Berry 2003, Hendley 1977, Kent 1979). Modern advice columns and advice exchanges in other present-day contexts have received much scholarly attention in pragmatics and other fields (e.g. Couper-Kuhlen and Thompson 2017, Locher 2013, Locher and Limberg 2012). By contrast, advisory practices, i.e. seeking, giving and receiving advice, are largely neglected speech acts in historical pragmatics (see e.g. Jucker and Taavitsainen 2008). There are only a few studies on the pragmatics of advice in historical contexts (e.g. Fitzmaurice 2002, Schrott 2014, Milfull 2003), while the linguistic study of advice exchanges in early print advice columns remains a research gap (Locher and Limberg 2012: 23).

This paper focuses on giving advice concerning love and marital relationships in the question and answer sections of *The British Apollo* (1708-1711), one of the first advice columns in English periodicals. The research questions are as follows: what are the linguistic forms employed by 18<sup>th</sup>-century advisors in *The British Apollo* for giving advice? What other elements accompany the overall communicative task of giving advice? Advice-giving is investigated with a discursive speech-act approach (see Kasper 2006). Adapting Locher's (2006: 208-2016) methodology to the 18<sup>th</sup>-century dataset, this paper examines how the advisor persona replies to readers' problems by means of a sequence of "discursive moves" in the specific historical context of the problem-advice exchanges in *The British Apollo*.

Preliminary findings indicate that advice-giving in *The British Apollo* tends to be realised mainly through declarative sentences, whereas imperatives – which occur quite frequently next to declaratives in present-day English written advice-giving (e.g. Kouper 2010, Locher 2006: 231-234) – seem to be less important. In comparison with the present-day preference for mitigating advice by means of expressions of solidarity, hedging or phrases conventionally associated with suggestions (see Kouper 2010, Locher 2006: 88, Morrow 2006: 542-546), advisors in *The British Apollo* tend to give more unmitigated advice, as exemplified by the common use of obligative *must* and less frequent displays of solidarity and hedging. Overall, the types and sequentiality of discursive moves in 18<sup>th</sup>-century advisory answers appear to be fairly similar to present-day practices of advice-giving on problem pages (see Locher 2006: 75-85). The advisory voice in *The British Apollo*, however, is designed prevalently as a collective *we* – a society of gentlemen – rather than an individual *I*, in which the periodical follows the practice of forerunner advice columns.

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### ***Lots of alcohol they have: Information-packaging constructions in spoken Korean(ized) English***

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The sociolinguistic situation in South Korea is more complex than visible at first sight. In the not so distant past, South Korea has still been described as “one of the most linguistically, ethnically, and culturally homogeneous countries in the world” (Park 2012: 261) and Korean identity was unequivocally associated with the Korean language (see e.g. Park 2009). A survey of the historical and sociolinguistic background, however, supports Lee and Jenks’ proposition that “English, and not solely Korean, can be a Korean language” (2017: 2). English is generally learned as a foreign language in South Korea, but enjoys enormous prestige as status symbol (Shim & Baik 2004), “key to upward social mobility” (Park 2009: 37), and “necessary factor for success in life” (Shim & Baik 2004: 182). The desire for English as a glorified commodity has indeed become so strong that it has alternatively been designated a national religion (Park 2009:1) or a sickness (i.e. *English Fever*; Shim & Park 2008). As South Korea was briefly under American rule after World War II (1945–1948) and due to the continuing deployment of American troops to the peninsula, American English is the uncontested input variety in education and the visibility of English in many domains of Korean life remains relatively high. This setting provides an ideal context to study information-packaging constructions in an Expanding Circle context with a focus on topicalization and left-dislocation.

Leuckert (2017) suggests that the phenomenon of topicalization only infrequently appears in learner varieties as its acquisition is blocked by SLA processes. Topicalization, as a discourse feature, is more likely to spread naturally via informal spoken English input which is, in turn, less likely to occur in classroom settings. Korean, however, is a topic-prominent language (cf. Li & Thompson 1976; Jung 2004; Jun 2015) and potential substrate language effects support the use of topicalization and left-dislocation in Korean English speech. We therefore examined occurrences of topicalization and dislocation in the *Spoken Korean English Corpus* (SPOKE; Rüdiger 2016; 2017) with the aim of determining the status of these non-canonical features in the Korean English feature pool (see Mufwene 2001; 2008; Leuckert & Neumaier 2016; Percillier 2016). In total, a word count of roughly 300,000 tokens has been read and annotated manually. We found only sporadic and idiolectal occurrences of topicalization but a relatively high amount of left-dislocation, which has been noted as being more frequent than topicalization in other Asian varieties of English (cf. Lange 2012; Winkle

2015). In the discussion of our results, we consider the influence of the substrate language and learner effects as well as other potential forces (e.g. explicitness, cf. Rohdenburg 1996, or cultural factors such as politeness strategies) on the use of information-packaging constructions in spoken Korean(ized) English.

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## From Phasal Polarity expression to aspectual marker: grammaticalization of *already* in Colloquial Singapore English

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The paper focuses on the aspectual marker *already* in Colloquial Singapore English (CSE) and argues that the CSE *already* has shifted its grammatical function from what is referred to as a Phasal Polarity (PhP) expression implying a reference point at a prior phase in English as well as in other European languages (cf. Van der Auwera 1993; Van Baar 1997), to an aspectual marker marking the perfective aspect (both the completive and inchoative aspect), as shown in (1) and (3). We submit that such grammaticalization results from contact induced interference introduced by the important Sinitic substrates (i.e. Hokkien, Cantonese, and Mandarin) spoken in the area (see (2) and (4)).

The aim of this contribution is to offer some first glimpses on the history of Colloquial Singapore English, especially by exploiting an unused data source, namely the Oral History Interviews held by the National Archives of Singapore (OHIs-NAS). The informants of OHIs-NAS come from all walks of life, and various ethnic backgrounds – including Chinese, Malay, Peranakan, Indian, Iraqi and British. As the OHIs-NAS represents a data a few decades before Colloquial Singapore English was sampled in ICE, it offers valuable sources for diachronic studies in Singapore English.

The study further compares the ratios of substrate-influenced *already* in the Oral History Interviews with ICE-SG and ICE-GB and suggests that they offer no convincing evidence for a shift away from CSE to “Standard English” in Singapore English. The research will extend to the additive marker *also*, the experiential marker *ever* and the contrastive foci maker *one*, three other words in CSE which have acquired Chinese-derived grammatical functions. The preliminary results show that the frequencies of these substrate-influenced variants are determined by social and ethnic background, but not by age.

### (1) Colloquial Singapore English (Completive)

*I see the movie already.* (Bao 2005: 239)

‘I saw the movie.’ or ‘I have seen the movie.’

*I stopped already working.* (Oral History Interviews 000284/Reel 5)

‘I have stopped working.’

### (2) Mandarin Chinese

*Zuótiān wǒ kàn le zhè ge diànyǐng*

Yesterday I see *le* this CL film

‘I saw the film yesterday.’ (CLL Contemporary/Prose 3/Xiao Q.)

### (3) Colloquial Singapore English

*He already studied there. But after some time, I went there, I can’t find him.* (Oral History Interviews 000009/Reel 23)

‘He had started to study there, but I didn’t find him when I went there.’ (Inchoative)

### (4) Mandarin Chinese

*wǒ érzi shàngxué le*

my son go school ASP

‘My son has started school.’

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## Category-specific prosodic phrasing and lemma frequency affect the acoustic realization of noun-verb homophones – converging evidence between corpus and experimental data

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In recent years a number of studies have shown that many words, traditionally thought of as homophones, do in fact exhibit subtle, yet systematic phonetic differences. The present paper contributes to this line of research by investigating the factors that lead to differences in the acoustic realization of noun-verb homophones in English, e.g. *face(V)* vs. *face(N)*. Traditionally, differences in pronunciation have been attributed solely to prosodic effects brought about by the typical sentence positions nouns and verbs occupy (Sorensen et al. 1978).

However, recent research indicates that noun-verb homophones may be influenced by further factors revealing a more complex picture of what is underlying their phonetic differences: First, Watson et al. (2006) find that when nouns and verbs occur in similar sentence-medial contexts, the likelihood of an intonational phrase boundary is greater after nouns than verbs. This means that beyond general effects of intonational phrasing, there may be an independent effect of grammatical category on prosodic boundary strength co-determining pronunciation differences. A second factor that may impact the acoustic realization of noun-verb homophones is differences in category-specific lemma frequency, with the more frequent category being pronounced with shorter duration (Wang & Xu 2017).

This paper reports analyses from a corpus study and a reading experiment that test these hypotheses. The corpus study is based on data from the Buckeye corpus of spontaneous speech (Pitt et al. 2007), from which 3,781 tokens instantiating 71 noun-verb pairs were extracted and acoustically analyzed. Secondly, a production experiment in which participants pronounced noun-verb homophones in maximally similar sentence-medial contexts was carried out. For that experiment twelve monosyllabic noun-verb pairs were chosen that instantiate different vowels and encompass both noun-dominant (=the noun is more frequent), as well as verb-dominant pairs. The test sentences were embedded in paragraphs and were read by 80 undergraduate students at North Dakota State University, yielding 3,840 tokens.

The acoustic analysis of the data reveals converging results across the two empirical studies: The findings indicate a number of phonetic differences between the two grammatical categories, the most robust being that nouns are pronounced with greater duration than verbs. An analysis of prosodic boundaries shows that this is due to a tendency for more pronounced prosodic boundaries following the nouns as compared to the verbs. At the same time, differences in lemma frequency also yield an impact, with the dominant category being pronounced with shorter duration.

The findings from the two studies have at least two important theoretical implications: The difference in prosodic boundary placement shows that there is a category-specific effect that needs to be taken into account by theories of the syntax-prosody interface. The effect of lemma frequency is at odds with speech production models assuming frequency inheritance between homophones (e.g. Levelt et al. 1999, see also the discussion in Gahl 2008).

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### Constructionalisation: corpus-based and cross-linguistic

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The extremely rich corpus-linguistic working environment which is available for the study of Late Modern English and Present-Day English has inspired numerous studies of variability and change, grammaticalisation and lexicalisation. Improved corpus resources and statistical techniques have stimulated innovations in usage-based theoretical modelling, and these conceptual innovations have inspired new corpus studies.

Building on Traugott and Trousdale's (2013) theoretical work on constructionalisation, I will use the "BYU" corpora (COHA, COCA, GloWbE, NoW) to chart the emergence of a new constructional subschema, namely "make NP want to VERB". 19th century examples of this sequence of catenative verbs, such as: "What makes him want to send his children here?" (COHA, Fiction, 1852), are normally fully compositional, transparently combining the notions of causation (*make*) and volition (*want*) and hence paraphrasable as "What causes his desire to send his children here?" Recent examples, by contrast, show a strong tendency towards collocation with verbs denoting semi-voluntary physical urges or violent physical activity (e.g. "Makes you want to vomit / scream / blow him up with dynamite," etc.). Unlike older examples, they also come with an invited inference that the urge was suppressed or the violent act was not carried out.

The present paper not only adds another case study to an existing line of corpus-based research on constructionalisation (Hilpert 2013, Fanego 2016), but also breaks new ground in exploring the English diachronic process in a crosslinguistic perspective. The database for this part of the study is provided by InterCorp, a large multilingual translation corpus. A comparison of the English examples with their German and Spanish translations shows recurrent correspondences in both languages, namely "würde am liebsten ..." in German and "... dar ganas a NP de hacer algo" in Spanish. This shows that while the morphosyntactic implementation of a constructional subschema is highly language-specific, the semantic resources which provide the starting point of the process, and its pragmatic motivation, are not at all dissimilar crosslinguistically.

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## Repetitions as the instances of conceptual metaphors in the fictional discourse of Ernest Hemingway

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In this paper, we consider different types of repetition in language extensively used in the fictional discourse of E. Hemingway (Lodge 2011, etc.) from the perspective of their role in shaping two conceptual metaphors – *Ideological Differences are War* and *Life is Journey*. E. Hemingway creatively employed various repetitions, which traditionally function to build cohesion and coherence in discourse (Halliday & Hasan, 1976) as the instances of these conceptual metaphors prioritizing literal language over figurative language. Probably, this circumstance has been the main reason for criticism of his style.

There are two polarized positions on the relationship between cohesive elements on the one hand and concepts and conceptual metaphors on the other hand.

One extreme, strongly associated with Contemporary Metaphor Theory, maintains that among linguistic devices only metaphorically used words represent conceptual or cognitive metaphors (Lakoff 1993, etc.). This is because metaphorically used words are considered as the reflections of the conceptual metaphors, which can also be shaped by gestures, cultural traditions, color, etc. Meanwhile Gibbs further develops this issue in a more pluralistic way suggesting that not only metaphorical expressions can shape conceptual metaphors (Gibbs 2009).

In contrast is a functional approach that merges the notions of grammar and coherence in discourse. (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004) More recent publications in this field deal with the role of context focusing attention on its social and cultural aspects, which have a systematic impact on grammatical form (Alturo et al. 2014):

In general terms, this approach suggests that cohesive elements are, first of all, rule-based as they construct grammatical and lexical cohesion in discourse. By doing so, they build coherence and, in the ultimate issue, a notion of harmony amongst concepts. This is the key factor for the repetitions as the cohesive elements in discourse to play the role of instances of the conceptual metaphors in any type or genre of discourse, including fictional discourse.

Thus, the first part of the paper focuses on the way how the repetitions under analysis shape the conceptual metaphor *Ideological Differences are War* in the novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, whereas the second part is dealing with the role of the repetitions as the instances of the conceptual metaphor *Life is Journey* in the novel *The Old Man and the Sea*.

As imagery and language create common connotation and implication for E. Hemingway's readership, the analyzed conceptual metaphors gain socio-cultural value in the process of their shaping in his fictional discourse. And the social motivation of such shaping helps to define certain relations between discourse participants, i.e. between E. Hemingway and his readership.

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## Vocatives in Early Modern English manuscript letters

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English prose was in a transitional state during the early modern period, 1500-1750. In particular, scholars have noted that early modern English (hence EModE) epistolary writing contains ‘speech-like’ features (cf. e.g. Palander-Collin (2010: 658), Culpeper and Kytö (2010: 16-17), Elspaß (2012: 157–159), Rutten & van der Wal (2014: 8), Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (2016: 29), Marcus (2017)). However, despite the fact that Biber et al. (1999: 1108-1113) note that the use of vocatives is a characteristic feature of modern conversational speech, relatively little attention has been paid to their use in EModE letters thus far.

This paper therefore focuses on the use of vocatives in a small corpus of EModE letters from Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury (commonly known as Bess of Hardwick), dating from 1550-1608. Using Biber et al.’s 1999 corpus-based research in Present Day English (hence PDE) as a benchmark, it assesses the extent to which the use of vocatives in these EModE written letters reflects their use in PDE speech. It also investigates the presence of any variation according to scribal hand, letter recipient and content, and contextualizes results in relation to the Corpus of Early English Correspondence (CEEC).

There are some grammatical similarities between how vocatives are used in these EModE written letters and how they are used in PDE conversation, such as the examples of some vocatives appearing in clause-final position. However, the paper will show that it is when vocatives such as SIR and MY LORD are used in an obviously interpersonal, or what Busse (2006: 12) calls ‘attitudinal’ way that they are most reflective of the PDE spoken medium. In relation to scribal variation, the paper will demonstrate that although there is variation in relation to the different types of vocative used across the holograph and scribal letters, specifically in relation to the use of familiarizers in the holograph letters, it is relatively minimal. There is no tangible variation in relation to the grammatical position and function of individual vocatives across the holograph and scribal data sets. In relation to social variation, it is shown that although there are no over-arching trends in relation to the contextual factors of letter recipient and primary communicative function, the interpersonal aspect of vocatives is very much apparent in Bess’s use of the MY LORD honorific in three letters to George regarding the same marital discord during the mid-1580s. The observations made about the socio-pragmatic use of this vocative chime with the observations of Busse (e.g. 2006: 447) and Nevala (2004: 139). Finally, the comparison with other epistolary material in CEEC contextualizes the findings of this paper, and highlights several similarities, showing that Bess’s use of vocatives, at least in letters to her immediate family members, is relatively conventional. Overall, this paper demonstrates that vocatives are as important as indicators and indexers of social relationships in early modern English writing as they are in present day English speech and that any analysis of them in early texts should take contextual factors into account.

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### Accent variation in secondary schools in Trinidad

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In Trinidad and other anglophone Caribbean islands, different trends have recently been observed in the development of local standards of English. Tendencies of endonormative re-orientation in line with Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model for postcolonial Englishes seem to co-occur with exonormative orientations (e.g. Leung 2013; Deuber 2013; Hackert 2016; Wilson 2017) in a "forcefield" of local, regional, and global linguistic influences (Hackert 2016:106). While these tendencies have been observed in some domains of Standard English, the educational context is underresearched regarding the question of exo- or endonormativity despite it being an important domain for the negotiation and inculcation of linguistic norms.

Studies of structural nativization provide important insights into this question. However, previous studies of Trinidadian English (TE) phonology differ considerably in their descriptions of consonantal and, to a larger extent, vocalic features, especially concerning diphthongs, of which currently only impressionistic but no acoustic accounts exist (e.g. Youssef & James 2004; Leung 2013; Wilson 2014; Ferreira & Drayton 2017).

Therefore, this paper analyzes accent variation in the speech of teachers and students in Trinidadian secondary schools and aims to contribute to the question of whether and to what extent an endonormative standard is emerging in Trinidad at a structural level. The following research questions are addressed more specifically:

- a) Focusing on vowels whose descriptions have differed considerably or that have not yet been analyzed (acoustically), namely NURSE, TRAP, MOUTH, NEAR, and SQUARE, what are characteristic vocalic features of TE? What are characteristic consonantal features?
- b) To which extent can homogenous and endonormative tendencies be observed?

Reading passages and word lists read out by 35 teachers and 66 students provide the data basis for this study. Recordings are analyzed by means of an acoustic analysis using the software PRAAT for vowels belonging to the above-mentioned lexical sets and an auditory analysis for a selection of consonantal features, namely TH-stopping and /-t,d/ deletion in coda clusters.

First results show a number of endonormative trends, which are, however, not necessarily homogenous across all speakers. NEAR and SQUARE seem to be merged and are mostly realized as the centralizing diphthong [ɛə]. NURSE tends to be raised to central close-mid [ɘ:] and realizations of MOUTH seem to be close to [aʊ] in most cases. Other endonormative developments, namely rhoticized pronunciations in the NURSE set and TRAP [æ], seem to occur variably and were particularly observed in the speech of students and only to a smaller extent among teachers. As regards the investigated consonantal features, inter-speaker variability was generally high: TH-stopping and coda cluster reduction were overall common in the speech of students and found much less frequently among teachers, although many within-group differences were also observed in the student sample.

These results provide new insights into TE phonology and a new perspective for discussions regarding the emergence of standards in Trinidad, the wider anglophone Caribbean, and other small postcolonial



speech communities where different local, regional and global linguistic norms affect (spoken) language use.

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## **Spread of English at the grassroots? Sociolinguistic evidence from two post-protectorates: Maldives and Uganda**

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Whilst most research on World Englishes has focussed on varieties of English spoken by the educational (and often also social) elite of countries, there is a growing body of research that investigates the spread of English at what might be called the grassroots of societies (Meierkord 2012, Schneider 2016), i.e. by lower social classes and individuals who have received less to no formal education. Studying the spread of English at the grassroots seems timely, given the ever growing number of people who use English on a more or less daily basis to pursue their professions or to master the challenges of migration.

This paper investigates the heterogeneity of English at the grassroots by looking at two post-protectorates, Maldives and Uganda, two countries who have also largely escaped linguists, both sociolinguistic and variation linguistic, attention so far, with the notable exception of the papers in Meierkord, Isingoma & Namyalo (2016) and Meierkord (2017 *fc*). It provides concise analyses of how English has been available to and used by individuals in the two countries, by describing both the social histories of English as well as its present-day status and use in the countries' linguistic ecologies.

Both nations were British protectorates – the Maldives from 1796 and Uganda from 1890 – but as regards the history of English, they differ drastically. Whilst Uganda, despite having a low settler strand, attracted British administrators and colonial personnel, Maldives did not have any British personnel until 1941, when a military base was established on the island of Gan. And whereas English was quickly established as a medium of instruction in Uganda, largely by missionaries and due to the leading ethnicity's, the Baganda's, demand, this domain has only been occupied by English in Maldives since the 1960s. Contrary to these histories, it seems that today there has been a reversal in that English seems to spread at all levels of society in Maldives. It is being encountered by all children in school and spoken by 97.2% of the 15-19 years olds, whilst in Uganda there exists a sharp divide

between rural and urban areas and the various socio-economic status groups. Also, many different varieties of English are imported to Maldives by its large expatriate workforce.

Drawing on analyses of historical archive material and official publications, the paper serves to illuminate those factors that impact on the degree and quality of the spread of English at the grassroots. Drawing on initial results, the socio-economic status of a nation and its citizens, the main sectors the country's economy relies on, its education policies, migration patterns and demographics seem to be crucial factors.

Based on the full results, the paper will conclude with a discussion of how the grassroots uses of English can be integrated into existing models of World Englishes and develop these further.

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## Speech Roles and Games We Play

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The paper focuses on the speaker's identity and the phenomenon of verbal mimicry as they are presented in modern literary dialogue. The research project is based on applying the Gestalt analysis to linguistic studies and dwells on the problem of differentiating the true and the imposed identities of the speaker. Taking the speaker's identity as "a production in the process of formation" (S. Hall, 1995), we argue about a possibility of disguising one's lingual profile by changing the verbal organisation of one's speech party and presenting another public image to the audience in order to produce a certain impact on them.

The term "mimicry" falls back to biology and is employed here to define a specific way of adjusting one's speech models to those of some other individual or social group. Consciously or unconsciously, the speaker remodels his/her speech utterances so as to make a new verbal self-presentation, different from his/her real personality. In many aspects, one's verbal behaviour reflects the social surrounding one comes from. Hence, in the process of communication the language user tends to build up his/her speech in accordance with the language stereotypes natural for his/her education, morals and social status.

Our main goal is to highlight the differences between the speaker's hidden *true* self and his/her *imposed* identity as those are manifested in the process of speech interaction. Thus, we shall try to pin down the key verbal elements unmasking the speaker's hidden identity. The research gives an in-depth account of Gestalt figures associated with the speech organisation typical of three social groups – the elite (the upper class), the middle class and the lumpen (W.L. Warner, 1969).

A close study of 2,000 original modern literary dialogues has shown that essential shifts in the speaker's verbal Gestalt testify to the changes in his/her social identity projected in conversation and unveil verbal mimicry. The latter is treated as a specific subtype of psychological defence tactics which enables the speaker to bring his/her message across to different individuals or groups of people.

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***Collywobbles and poppycock: Indexing Britishness for American audiences***

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Studies of sociolinguistic attitudes and stereotyping have generally tested the indexicality of pronunciation features (Eckert 2008, Moore & Carter 2015). Though lexis has been less studied in terms of orders of indexicality (Silverstein 2003), words also signal group-belonging and therefore as a means to identify, stereotype and parody other groups. This paper examines the social-symbolic nature of lexical items at the national level. Specifically, we investigate the types of lexical items that acquire salient indexical meaning and propose properties that make words good candidates for identifying their users as a distinctive group.

This paper investigates the indexical value of lexical items promoted as “Britishisms” to American audiences. We address this by collecting lists of such items by non-linguist authors. These are regularly published on news and entertainment websites under titles like “17 British slang terms Americans should start using immediately” (Buzzfeed) or “The Best Brexit Britishisms” (Quartz). Such lists include both Britishisms and mistaken Britishisms (such as the American words *bumbershoot* and *poppycock*), whose misinterpretation as British might stem from the ascription of certain linguistics properties as quintessentially British. This data-collection method allows us to access hundreds of tokens of “Britishness” alongside public-domain commentary on the words. These

are supplemented by a more serendipitously collected set of fake Britishisms used in American comedy to parody British speech.

We analyse the collected expressions for phonological and morphological properties, semantic field, and “translatability” into the other dialect. Initial analysis of the American lists of “Britishisms” indicates, for example, a profusion of certain phonemes (e.g. /ɒ/ vowels with *o* spellings—a particularly “foreign” pronunciation for most American dialects); infrequent and non-morphemic syllables (e.g. *kerfuffle*, *collywobbles*); and attention to risqué vocabulary (e.g. synonyms for *penis*). In our analysis of indexical meaning we also draw on Engelthaler & Hills’ recent lexical humour index (2017) and prior work on US–UK linguistic stereotyping (e.g. Bayard et al. 2001; Coupland & Bishop 2007).

This analysis allows us to discern which properties of a word that make it a candidate for inclusion on such a list and their role in making the words powerful enough to serve as emblems of ideological stance (Milroy 2000). The conclusions allow us to identify possible paths of development of indexical meaning and propose a refined framework of indexicality which accounts for lexical and semantic variation.

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## Lone pronoun tags in Early Modern English

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Tags are widely acknowledged as an important feature of colloquial English and thus have been the subject of a good deal of research. The kind of question tags that are found in Present Day (*He likes me, doesn't he?*) and Early Modern English (*he shall not be incident, shall he?* Jonson: *The Case is Altered*, 1597) have, for instance, been investigated by Tottie & Hoffmann (2006, 2009). This work has provided important insights into the form and functions of tags.

In contrast, lone pronoun tag (ProTag) constructions such as those in (1) have received relatively little attention despite being present in corpora of Present Day British English (PDBE); notable exceptions are Snell (2008), Moore & Snell (2011), and Mycock (2017). This may be due to their more limited distribution because, while for some speakers they are not acceptable, in other varieties of British English the following are perfectly natural sentences.

- 1a. It's terrible, **that**. b. He likes me, **him**.

Lone pronoun tag constructions are also found in Early Modern English (EModE). Visser (1963: 56) states that they appear “with striking frequency in the dramatic works of Ben Jonson, Shakespeare and contemporaries”.

2a. This may have credit and chimes reason, **this!** (Jonson: *The New Inn*, 1631)

b. Chiron, we hunt not, **we**, with horse nor hound (Shakespeare: *Titus Andronicus*, 1588)

The most immediately obvious difference between the PDBE construction and the one found in earlier varieties of English is the case of the personal pronoun when it appears as a ProTag: while the objective form is used in the relevant varieties of PDBE (*him* in 1b), earlier versions include a pronoun in the nominative case (*we* in 2b). This is unsurprising when one considers that the objective became the default case for pronouns in late Modern English, the nominative having previously fulfilled this role (Denison 1996). Beyond this observation however, the facts about the form and functions of lone pronoun tags in earlier varieties, and the extent to which these may be shared with the PDBE construction, remain to be established.

This paper reports findings of the first systematic investigation into the defining characteristics of ProTag constructions in EModE. Being overwhelmingly a feature of spoken English, tags represent a challenge for historical studies. The closest available approximation to speech is text from contemporary dramas. Using Early English Books Online, examples of ProTags in EModE drama texts have been identified and classified in terms of their form and function following the approach to ProTag construction categorization in PDBE adopted in Mycock (2017), which drew on Barron et al.’s (2015) work on tag question functions. This enables a direct comparison to be made between ProTag constructions in EModE and PDBE.

By providing a diachronic perspective on an understudied construction this research contributes to our understanding of not only ProTag constructions, but also tags and discourse-pragmatic variables more generally.

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**When a hurt body is a dictatorship:  
Creative pain descriptions in Stephen King's prose**

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Pain is a mysterious, albeit common, phenomenon which actively resists definition. The elusive character of pain experience has been pointed out both by scholars [Biro 2010; Jackson, 2003; Scarry 1985] and writers [Styron 1992, Woolf, 2012]. However, pain is not exactly incognizable and unnamable, as contemporary Anglophone culture provides scores of conceptual and verbal resources which enable us to grasp the essence of pain and effectively convey it in speech. The problem is that most of these resources are of metaphorical character, which results in pain vocabulary being diffused in the vast space of everyday language and becoming "invisible" to researchers.

One of the most inventive pain conceptualizers of nowadays is Stephen King, whose books demonstrate the scope of linguistic creativity in depicting this type of sensations. King employs a wide range of conventional pain metaphors and expands them, thus revealing their hidden potential (*gnawing pain – the pain was gnawing like sharp weasel's teeth*). On the other hand, he actively experiments with motion (*pain raced up his arm*), sound (*muttering, snarling, sobbing, singing pain*), color (*a horrible red pain*), mechanical (*my hip was throbbing like a big motor*), animal (*slash of pain like cat's claws*), natural disaster (*there was a forest fire in my guts*), somatic (*his heart hurt like a headache*) and other types of metaphor. At the same time, King combines and mixes metaphors managing to capture different aspects of pain experience within one compact utterance (*a spear of hungry pain bolted up her forearm*).

The presentation aims to reveal the main groups of pain metaphors in S. King's prose and analyze the specific techniques the author uses to convey the qualitative and quantitative characteristics of pain. The research is based on 20 novels and two collections of stories dated 1974-2016, and traces patterns of linguistic creativity in over 300 creative pain descriptions.

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**Authority, speech acts and modals in courtroom interaction:  
An analysis of the trial record of King Charles I**

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This paper explores how speech acts are performed with the aid of modals in the flux of power in courtroom interactions (Archer 2005) along the lines of historical pragmatics (Jucker & Taavitsainen 2015). The text used for the present investigation is the trial record of King Charles I in the Socio-pragmatic Corpus (Archer & Culpeper 2003), where the King was put on trial on the charge of high treason. The questions here are: (1) who has the power in the interaction in the trial, Lord President (the judge) or the King (the defendant); and (2) what speech acts they perform with the aid of modals in this interaction.

In order to address these questions, the present research first examines vocatives (Shiina 2014), nominal phrases and grammatical subjects as well as performative verbs. Lord President emphasizes the authority of the Court, while the King relies on the authority of the Kingdom. However, the social hierarchy with the King at the apex clashes with the judicial hierarchy of the courtroom where the judge is supreme: that is, the authoritative power of Lord President seems to be stronger than the King's. Our analysis shows, however, that the judge is only a voice through which the true authority of the Court exerts its power.

This paper then carries out qualitative and quantitative analyses of speech acts performed with the aid of modals (Nakayasu 2009), taking modality (Palmer 2001) and distal meanings of modals into consideration. The King performs the request most frequently, whereas Lord President does not perform it at all. Likewise, some other speech acts such as the proposal and the promise are performed only, or much more frequently, by the King. Most of these speech acts are related to dynamic modality, whose conditioning factor is inside the relevant individual (i.e. the King), and this reflects the King's authority as a defendant. By contrast, the speech acts performed solely by Lord President are the order, the prohibition, the announcement, and so on. All these speech acts are strongly related to deontic modality, whose conditioning factor is outside the relevant individual (i.e. Lord President), and this supports the finding of this paper that authority resides in the Court rather than the judge.

The analysis of authority, speech acts and modals also reveals that, as the trial proceeds, the King becomes less authoritative, particularly after the sentence is pronounced. For example, this is demonstrated by the frequent use of WILL, rather than SHALL, particularly by its interrogative form to make a request at the end of the trial. By contrast, the authoritative power of the Court, which is reflected in the speech acts performed by Lord President, stays the same throughout the course of the trial.

This research shows how the judge and the defendant interacted with each other within a fluctuating power relationship, opening up a new horizon in the theory and practice of historical pragmatics.

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## Analysing talk-in-interaction-in-culture – conversational patterns in varieties of English

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Conversational interaction is inevitably shaped by the cultural context it is situated in. This has long been claimed in literature on intercultural communication (cf. FitzGerald 2003) and has also been described in World Englishes (e.g. Kachru and Smith 2008). If interactional patterns are culturally sensitive, however, the scope of traditional Conversation Analysis (CA) must be expanded from a study of “talk-in-interaction” to analysing “talk-in-interaction-in-culture” (Carbaugh 2005). Second, as postcolonial and global Englishes are situated in culturally diverse contexts, conversational structures are also likely to differ between varieties. That is, different realisations of turn-taking or speaker change might be due to cultural preferences rather than being deviations from a universal norm (as, e.g., claimed in Reisman 1974). Given the abundance of anecdotes on culturally varying speaking styles, it seems surprising that detailed quantitative analyses of interactional patterns are still lacking for World Englishes (an exception being Sidnell 2001).

In my study I aim at closing this research gap, employing a mixed-methods analysis to investigate if culturally distinct varieties of English differ in their turn-taking routines, and if they do so in a systematic way. To that end, I created detailed CA transcripts of five hours of unscripted face-to-face interactions, using data and audio files from the *Asian Corpus of English* (ACE) and the *International Corpus of English* (ICE-Jamaica and ICE-Trinidad and Tobago). The transcripts were tagged with respect to the type and scenario of speaker change observable at Transition Relevance Places (TRPs) as well as to the strategies speakers used to claim or hold a turn. This allowed for combining quantitative and qualitative analyses, and facilitated a comparison of the data.

In this presentation I will show that all the interactions analysed follow the turn-taking model described by CA and use a similar set of strategies to accomplish turn allocation. However, the study also revealed that varieties differ with respect to which of these strategies they prefer and how they realise them in conversation. In the Caribbean data group, for instance, almost half of all TRPs involve self-selections of a next speaker, whereas Southeast Asian conversations exhibit a greater amount of ‘clear’ speaker changes, i.e. speaker change without gap and overlap. Furthermore, the speaker groups differ in how they defend or claim a turn. Caribbean interactants, for example, frequently use “machine-gun-style” repetitions or changes in volume to prevent potential next speakers from starting up. Whereas they often address other conversationalists directly (e.g. through pre-announcements), Southeast Asian speakers prefer more indirect strategies, such as “points of maximum grammatical control”, thereby also exploiting variety-specific resources, such as the possibility of topicalisation (Schegloff 1996; Sidnell 2010). These observations strongly support the hypothesis that even though the general conversational framework might be culturally independent (cf. Sidnell 2001), interactions are also shaped by a number of culturally sensitive features.

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### **Mobility and the perception of local varieties in St. Kitts**

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St. Kitts forms part of the island state of St. Kitts and Nevis, located in the Lesser Antilles of the Eastern Caribbean. It was the first island to be settled in the region in 1623, and many other locales were explored from there (Parkvall 2000: 123). The mobility of its inhabitants from early on has resulted in St. Kitts having been claimed to be the location from where certain features, or even an “embryonic” basic variety of English (Baker 1998: 347), may have spread to other islands in the region. Its historical impact on regional varieties of English in the Eastern Caribbean is thus undisputed (Huber 1999).

Yet, St. Kitts English and the mobility of its speakers are not only interesting from a diachronic perspective. In fact, the mobility of its speakers continues to shape the island’s everyday life and the linguistic practices of its speakers. Many islanders go abroad for tertiary education, and family ties connect them with other islands of the Caribbean or the near mainland. Thus, St. Kitts and its speakers lend themselves well to perceptual research in order to gain a better understanding of how different regional as well as overseas varieties are perceived today. Moreover, no previous research on the perceptions in St. Kitts has been conducted, which makes this study vital for the study of perceptions within the Caribbean region. In the present research, a special focus is laid on the local Kittitian variety and Jamaican English, as well as on more traditionally researched varieties from the UK and the USA. On the basis of first-hand data collected in the island’s capital as well as in more rural areas in sociolinguistic interviews, map drawing tasks and the listening to sound files from Caribbean locations as well as from the US and the UK, we propose that the perception of certain varieties that were traditionally seen as being of a rather low status, such as other Caribbean vernaculars (Hackert 2016), is being re-negotiated.

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### **“What cause you were knackered?”**

#### **The reactive *what-x* construction in two corpora of Present-Day spoken English**

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Many studies have investigated lexico-grammatical items that have undergone change in Present-Day spoken English (e.g. Leech et al. 2009; Bowie et al. 2013; McEnery et al. 2017), but most of them

have been concerned with time spans of up to 20–25 years. With the compilation of the London-Lund Corpus 2, we are, for the first time and in a truly comparable way, able to track changes in spoken English over the past 50 years. This study focuses on one of these changes, the rise of the reactive *what-x* construction.

(1) A: thank God you added in Judith she'd been so upset

B: *what with her photograph not being* [credited]

A: [well no] no no no no no<sup>1</sup>

*What* in (1) is not a typical interrogative pronoun but a syntactically “aberrant” and prosodically integrated construction with an attitudinal function, enhanced by the falling intonational contour at the end of the tone unit. B does not only elicit information from A but does it in a way that makes the speaker's negative attitude explicitly known. This study is couched in the framework of Construction Grammar (Fried & Östman 2005; Goldberg 2006). By systematically studying the usage constraints of the reactive *what-x* construction and its functions in dialogues, we show that the construction is a novel one in contemporary English and has acquired, and continues to acquire, other functions in addition to the interrogative one.

The data come from two comparable corpora of spoken British English consisting of half a million words each, the London-Lund Corpus (LLC-1) and the London-Lund Corpus 2 (LLC-2). LLC-1 contains data from the 1950s–1980s, and LLC-2 from 2015–2018. In this study, we focus on private face-to-face conversations, and an equal number of such texts were drawn from each corpus. All instances of *what* were first automatically extracted and then manually checked for cases where *what* was utterance-initial and prosodically integrated with the rest of the utterance, which could be phrasal or clausal. These constructions were analysed with respect to a number of formal and functional parameters, such as syntactic structure, speech act and addressee uptake, to determine how those are cognitively and interactionally organised. The results of the analyses in LLC-1 and LLC-2 were then compared with respect to the occurrences of the different uses.

The analysis revealed that there are two major uses of the reactive *what-x* construction: question proper and intersubjective use. The questions proper roughly correspond to Stenström's (1984) primary question acts and incorporate question types that vary in terms of syntactic structure and discourse orientation. They were found in both corpora. The intersubjective use, however, was only found in LLC-2, which suggests the development of a new function. We propose that, in dialogic discourse contexts, the reactive *what-x* construction has developed from primarily framing questions into primarily expressing speaker attitude with a backgrounded interrogative function, as illustrated in (1) above.

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<sup>1</sup> Square brackets represent overlaps.



## Deadjectival nominalizations in *-ness*: Mind the gaps

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The focus of this paper is on deadjectival nominalizations in English, and particularly on deadjectival nominalizations with *-ness* and *-ity*. The two affixes will be taken to be equivalent whenever their semantic interpretation is equivalent (on differences and similarities of interpretation of *-ness* and *-ity* nouns see for example research by Riddle (1985) and discussions of it in Plag (2003) and Bauer et al. (2013)). A central question in the paper is what systematic gaps exist in the derivation of *-ness* nouns, i.e. which adjectives can't give rise to such nominalizations. Once gaps are established, the next task of the paper is to propose an explanation for them.

The semantics of *-ness* nouns is quite general. Indeed, Lieber (2004) remarks that *-ness* means simply 'an abstraction having to do with X' where X is the denotation of the base. A similarly general semantics is proposed in Lieber (2015) and in Bauer et al. (2013: 259), where *-ness* nouns are referred to as quality or state nouns.

Despite the productivity of *-ness* nominalizations, gaps exist. These are discussed, for example, in Roy (2010). Roy reaches the conclusion that nominalizations are possible only from adjectives that can be used predicatively. Conversely, nominalizations are not possible with adjectives that can only be used attributively. The gap is related to this difference in syntactic behaviour and its modelling relies on a syntactic account.

This would predict that nominalizations from adjectives like *utter*, for example, would be impossible, as such adjectives would typically not be allowed in predicative use:

- (1) a. This is an utter failure.
- b. \*This failure is utter.

This paper examines nominalizations of adjectives in English and claims that the gaps are not as big or well-defined as previously claimed. For example, searches through corpora, the internet and the OED find *-ness* nominalizations from adjectives like *utter*, e.g. *utterness of failure* and *utterness of her collapse* are attested in the Oxford English Dictionary.

Where the gap seems most categorical is in deriving nominals from relational adjectives like *presidential* and *industrial*, at least in their meaning as relational adjectives (i.e. related to presidents, related to industry). The availability of nouns like *industrialness* (attested in the OED) from non-relational meanings of the adjectives shows that this isn't a formal restriction.

The paper argues that the rarity of nominalizations from relational adjectives can be linked to their analysis as transpositions. On a transposition account, deriving a relational adjective from a noun is the result of a change in the syntactic category but not the semantic representation of a lexeme. Deadjectival nominalizations have also been analysed as transpositions (see Spencer (2013) and references therein on transpositional analyses, see however Lieber (2015) for dissenting views). Deriving a transposition from another transposition can be limited via the notion of morphological redundancy (see Lieber (2004: 161)): transposing into a noun what has just been transposed from a noun should fail to add useful informational content and would therefore be restricted.

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### **The (inter)subjective construal of specification vs. predication: Epistemicity and gradability in English copular clauses**

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A central distinction in English copular clauses is between specification and predication. Specificational clauses (1) set up a pragmatically presupposed variable, e.g. *the real problem*, to which S assigns a more specific value, e.g. *your lack of trust*.

- (1) If she has given you no cause to doubt her fidelity, *the real problem is your lack of trust*. . (WB)

Predicative clauses (2), on the other hand, describe an entity by attributing categorizing features.

- (2) Courage is a very attractive virtue. (WB)

Previous research (Van Praet et al. 2016) argued that specification and predication foreground different functional meanings (De Smet & Verstraete 2006) in the variable and predicative NP, *viz.* intersubjective meaning, e.g. *the real problem*, and ideational or ideationally subjective meaning, e.g. *a very attractive virtue*, respectively. Picking up on previous pilot studies (Van Praet 2013, 2014), this paper argues that similar differences in functional meaning are manifested at the level of the clausal copular relation as well, specifically in the use of epistemic modals and stance modifiers.

In a dataset of 500 definite specificational, 500 indefinite specificational and 500 predicative corpus examples from *WordbanksOnline*, this study compares modal vs. non-modal and graded vs. non-graded examples, and probes the semantic nature of the epistemic modals (cf. tentativity, certainty, etc.) and of the grading expressions (cf. negative, e.g. *hardly*, vs. positive, *very much*) across the copular types.

I hypothesize that the specificational clause's intersubjectivity – whereby S directs H's attention to a specific value as against 'competitor' values – correlates with a higher incidence of epistemic modals, expressing S's (lack of) commitment to the goodness-of-fit between the variable and value, e.g. (3).

- (3) There's the luxurious Formentor hotel, *though a less overwhelming choice might be the Illa d'Or*. (WB)

Distinguishing also between definite (1) and indefinite (3) specificationals, I predict the latter's non-exhaustiveness – i.e. other values than the one identified may satisfy the variable – to be more conducive to epistemic modals expressing possibility and tentativeness.

The ideational or ideationally subjective function of predicationals is expected to be more conducive to stance modification, in particular verbal gradability, i.e. the graded assessment of the correspondence between the subject referent and the attributed type designation (e.g. *Ezekiel is very much a visionary*). While characteristic of predicative clauses (Declerck 1988), verbal gradability – I hypothesize – can also (marginally) occur in reversed indefinite specificationals (e.g. *Instructions is very much a better term*) but not in non-reversed ones (e.g. *\*A better term is very much instructions*).

I will argue that both epistemic modality and verbal gradability signal S's subjective evaluation of the copular relation – but to different ends. In specificationals, epistemic modals will often serve as 'face-saving hedges' whereby S avoids to commit to the validity of the variable-value relation: its attitudinal intersubjective meaning is, I will argue, in line with the specificational function's own intersubjectivity. In predicative clauses, verbal gradability and stance modification are used to comment on the degree to which the type-attribution applies to the subject referent, which is promoted by the predication's ideationally subjective function.

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### On Grammaticalization and Short-term Diachronic Change in Spoken English

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Based on the assumptions that grammatical structure stems from but also forms context-specific language use in time (Hopper 1987) and that social factors mediate grammatical change and variation (Hundt & Mair 1999, Traugott & Heine 1991), this paper explores the short-term diachronic change and on-going grammaticalization of *he said* as a quotative construction in a genre of spoken Present-Day English.

There has been a recent interest in quotative constructions from different perspectives (e.g., Arendholz et al. 2015, Buchstaller 2014, Buchstaller & van Alphen 2012). Although it is agreed that *say* is a transitive verb, there is an equally common understanding that it is not a prototypical member of its class: It does not passivize easily and the complement clause, in particular when formatted as direct speech, does not behave as a (regular) complement (e.g., Buchstaller 2014: 39-41, Munro 1982, Quirk et al. 1985: 1022-1023, Vandelanotte & Davidse 2009). Thompson (2002) argues that this behavior is typical of epistemic, evidential and evaluative complement-taking predicates (CTPs) in spoken English. In line with Hopper (1991), her research shows that a high frequency of epistemic CTPs correlates with the reanalysis from epistemic formulaic fragments to epistemic phrases (Thompson & Mulac 1991: 319, cf. also Bybee 2011). Similarly, the frequency and formulaicity of quotative constructions “makes them a prototypical locus for grammaticalization.” (Deutscher 2011: 646). Features of grammaticalization in spoken discourse include mobility in position, phonetic reduction, semantic bleaching, subjectification, and decategorialization (Bybee et al. 1994, Hopper 1991, Thompson & Mulac 1991, Traugott 2010).

Proposing an approach to examine change in spoken language informed by Interactional Linguistics (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 1996, 2001), our study is grounded in three data sets taken from British Prime Minister’s Questions (PMQs), spanning 36 years in total: 1) 1978-1988 (22 audio recordings, ca. 5.5 hours), 2) 2003 to 2013 (44 video recordings, ca. 22 hours), and the correspondent 3) Hansard (the official report of proceedings in the British parliament). To allow for linguistic and interactional detail, examples were transcribed in GAT2 (Couper-Kuhlen & Barth-Weingarten 2011). Guided by the general analytic question whether we can observe variation and change in quotative clauses with *say*, the study reveals an enormous increase of quotative *say*-clauses in 2003-2013 compared to the 1978-1988 sample, which correlates with a more prominent role of the Leader of the Opposition at PMQs. It is argued that this provides the backdrop of processes leading to formulaicity and grammaticalization in the 2003-2013 data set. Among quotative clauses, there is a sharp rise of 2003-2013 candidates for formulaic fragments, with *he said* being most frequent. It is argued that *he said* has entered a path of grammaticalization, involving the following continuum of constructions: HE

SAID<sub>1</sub> as a fixed, formulaic construction, with primary accent, full semantics and projecting function; HE SAID<sub>2</sub> and HE SAID<sub>3</sub> reanalyzed as an adverb, without primary accent and with bleached semantics, used as a parenthetical; and HE SAID<sub>4</sub> reanalyzed as an evidential particle (phonetically reduced, semantically bleached, redundant).

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## ***Puggling through Kintle for Bobby-Dazzlers in the Evolving English VoiceBank***

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*'Me mam' – it means 'your mum' or summat like that.* These are the words of a twelve-year-old girl from Hull recorded at the British Library's 'Evolving English' exhibition in 2010. 'Evolving English: One Language, Many Voices' was a major exhibition that explored the evolution of the English Language over 1,500 years through the Library's extensive collection of manuscripts, printed books, newspapers, sound recordings, digital media and ephemera. The exhibition celebrated historic and contemporary diversity by presenting examples of English usage across time and space. Visitors were encouraged to contribute a voice recording to create a snapshot of spoken English at the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. They could either submit a word or phrase they felt was somehow 'special' in their variety of English or recite a reading passage designed to capture their accent.

The public and media response to the exhibition confirmed enormous enthusiasm for debate about many aspects of the English Language, but above all demonstrated our fascination with, and affection for, features of English with which we connect on a personal level – the accents, dialect, slang and nonce-words that express our sense of individual and shared identities. The exhibition attracted over 147,000 visitors, approximately 10,000 of whom – such as the contributor from Hull – submitted recordings that resulted in a substantial audio archive: the *Evolving English VoiceBank*. This paper describes progress in accessioning the VoiceBank and reflects on the opportunities and challenges faced by crowdsourcing as a means of creating a substantial present and future linguistic research resource. The paper outlines plans for making the data set available to researchers worldwide and explores how different audiences – academic linguists, teachers and learners, creative industries and the general public – are already engaging with the material as it becomes more widely available.

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## **Negation as a detransitivising constraint: The replacement of direct objects or directly linked gerunds by prepositional ones in English**

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In many languages, in particular eastern European ones, the contrast between negated and non-negated clauses tends to be associated with different kinds of object marking (see e.g. Moravcsik 1978; Lockwood 1968:10). Clause negation typically triggers the replacement of a direct case such as the accusative by a less direct one like the genitive in Russian or the partitive in Finnish. Although they have generally been neglected so far, there are a few verbs in English displaying similar tendencies. The English parallel concerns the contrast between directly linked complements and their prepositional counterparts. The purpose of this corpus-based paper is to explore the relevant behaviour of two verbs, *lack (for)* and *shirk (from)*, in both British and American English. The category of negated clauses adopted here is a broad one including both *not*-negation and *no*-negation in the sense of Tottie (1991) as well as examples like (1), where the actual negator is found outside the clause containing either *lack* or *shirk*.

- (1) Not that they shirk (from) their duties.

Among the major observations made are the following:



- a) With both *lack* and *shirk*, we find that negated clauses definitely promote the use of prepositional objects in British and American English. This is particularly true of *lack*: in both regional varieties the prepositional object is virtually confined to negated clauses. A brief survey of historical corpora suggests that with both *lack* and *shirk* the special affinity between prepositional objects and negated clauses may have strengthened over time.
- b) The same kind of contrast is found in British English with the corresponding gerundial alternatives after *shirk*. However, the share of the prepositional gerund is very much higher than that of the prepositional object.
- c) American English is more sensitive to the effect of clause negation than British English. With both verbs, American English displays a distinctly greater contrast than British English between negated and non-negated clauses.
- d) In both British and American English, the prepositional variant is virtually absent from the passive of *shirk*, thus completely neutralizing the negation factor. Voice asymmetries like these are argued to be due to the pervasive tendency to avoid preposition stranding in favour of alternative transitive uses (Rohdenburg 2017).
- e) With *lack* in negated clauses, the rivalry between the direct or prepositional object is also constrained by certain tendencies promoting ideal prosodic structures (see e.g. Schlüter 2005, 2009; Eitelmann 2016). In the *Los Angeles Times*, for instance, the prepositional variant clearly favours determinerless initially stressed single nouns in sentence-final position. By contrast, it disfavors NPs involving various determiners.

Apart from the BNC and the OED quotations database, the text corpus available to me consists of two text types: a) a large collection of full-text British and American newspapers from the 1990s to the early 2000s and b) a number of fictional British and American datasets covering the 18th to the early 20th centuries which are provided by Chadwyck-Healey and the Gutenberg Project.

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## Substrate influence as a predictor of variability in sentential verb complementation: The case of Hong Kong English

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Many of the innovative patterns of World Englishes tend to occur in the verbal complementation system, where grammar and lexis intersect (Schneider 2007: 86). Olavarria de Ersson and Shaw (2003: 138) describe this as “an all-pervading structural feature of language and thus likely to be more significant in giving a variety its character than, for example, lexis.” Similarly, Mukherjee and Hoffmann (2006: 149) refer to verbal complementation as an area “in which regional differentiation figures prominently.” Studies on this issue in World Englishes have thus far been confined to transfer-cause-motion constructions and ditransitive verbs, which involve noun phrases and prepositional phrases as complements (cf. Olavarria de Ersson and Shaw 2003; Mukherjee and Hoffmann 2006; Mukherjee and Schilk 2008; Mukherjee and Gries 2009; Schilk et al. 2012, 2013; Bernaisch 2013; Nam et al. 2013; Gries and Bernaisch 2016 for discussion); within sentential verbal complementation, only the variation between *to*-infinitive and *-ing*-clauses after verbs has received attention so far (Deshors 2015, Deshors and Gries 2016). In contrast, there is a plethora of in-depth studies on the verbal complementation system in the metropolitan varieties of English, from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives. Cuyckens et al. (2014) in particular study the complementation profile of three retrospective verbs (REMEMBER, REGRET, and DENY) in Late Modern British English. This group of verbs is characterized by a functional distribution between the *to*-infinitive and *-ing* patterns. However, the choice between *that*- clause and the gerundial *-ing* is non-categorical or probabilistic, which means that the speaker’s choice between the two structures seems to be independently motivated. In this presentation, I want to extend the study of the complementation profile of one of these retrospective verbs, REGRET, to include present day British and American data as well as data from an ESL (English as a Second Language) variety, Hong Kong English (HKE). The aims are to determine whether HKE shows any innovative trends regarding the complementation profile of the verb REGRET, and whether these can be attributed in any way to the influence of Cantonese, and (ii) to ascertain, by means of statistical tests, which language-internal factors are relevant to the choice between finite *that*/zero patterns and the non-finite *-ing* pattern in the three varieties (e.g. the complexity of the complement clause, the presence of negative markers, the voice and meaning of the verb in the main clause, and so on). A preliminary view of data from *Corpus of Global Web-Based English* (GloWbE, Davies 2013, 1411 examples) shows that HKE presents a somewhat higher proportion of finite patterns, which might be explained in part by the fact that Cantonese expresses sentential complementation through paratactic constructions (Matthews and Yip 1994: 174, 293). Other potential explanations are also taken into consideration, such as the fact that finite patterns involve an increase in isomorphism and transparency, and that their frequent use could be motivated by SLA processes and L2 language development in language contact situations.

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### 21th-Century Trends in BrE Mandative Constructions – A Statistical Multivariate Analysis

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Though many scholars agree that an unexpected revival of the mandative subjunctive (MS) brought this once-obsolescent English mood back into productive use in the 20th century (Weekley 1952: 36-37; Barber 1964: 133; Visser 1966: 825; Leech *et al* 2009: 52), no standardized methodology exists for its quantitative analysis. British English has been identified as the variety most resistant to the resurgence of the MS, with a periphrastic *should*-construction reportedly high in frequency (Quirk *et al* 1985: 1013f). Another option, the indicative, has also been termed characteristically British (Algeo 2006: 263). Owing to methodological diversity, however, no agreement exists either on the present distribution of the three main variants in BrE or on the direction of the diachronic development. Conflicting reports have been provided on the situation between the MS and the *should*-variant by Övergaard (1995: 52), Crawford (2009: 262), Serpollet (2001: 541), and Waller (2017: 209), respectively, and many studies omit the indicative altogether. Secondly, very little work has been done to investigate which syntactic or semantic variables are statistically significant predictors of the choice of variant. Such analyses have mostly been limited to the lexical item governing the mandative clause.

This corpus study addresses these two issues through a rigorous variationist approach and statistical multivariate methodology. The corpus consists of two 9.5-million-word subcorpora of identical

design, representing British news from around 1990 (supplied by the BNC) and post-2015 (collected by the author). The analysis begins by empirically identifying the pool of over 50 most frequent subjunctive-triggering expressions that collectively account for >90% of all MS's. Then all inflectional forms of each trigger are retrieved from the corpus. Each mandative *that*-clause found under a trigger is coded for the observed variant and explanatory variable values. Thus collected, the dataset comprises 3,800 observations.

Bivariate cross-tabulation of diachrony and the dependent variable shows a rise in indicatives from 30% to 40% and a decline of *should* from 29% to 16%, with the rates of other periphrases and the MS essentially unchanged. This overall diachronic change is highly statistically significant. Multivariate analysis using baseline-category logit (Agresti 2015: 203-207) indicates that trigger type is the most significant predictor of variant choice. As mandative triggers, extraposed adjectives very strongly favor the indicative. Predicative adjectives favor modal periphrases, and monosemous verbs favor the MS. Nouns and polysemous verbs are the reference group, showing the most even distribution. Other significant predictors include matrix tense, sub-clause polarity, voice of subclause, independent sub-clause modality, and *that*-omission, which appears to favor the subjunctive (*MPs demanded something be done*). This last finding lends some credence to earlier hypotheses that the MS has been reanalyzed as an omitted-auxiliary construction rather than an inflectional form (Kjellmer 2009: 253). Surprisingly, syntactic contexts where the indicative-subjunctive distinction is neutralized do not seem to favor periphrases.

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## Novel English compounds: how do we know what they mean?

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Although novel English compounds are open to a variety of plausible interpretations, it is equally ‘acknowledged that the nature of the compounded elements ... does have some effect in circumscribing the range of meanings conceivable for any given attributive compound’ (Bauer, Lieber & Plag 2013: 474). What is unclear is how the lexical semantics of the constituents interacts with other sources of information, such as encyclopaedic knowledge and context. There is ample experimental evidence that not all compounds are equally ambiguous or difficult to interpret when presented in isolation, suggesting that constituent identity may be more constraining for some compounds than for others (e.g. Gagné et al. 2005). Furthermore, there is interdependence between the strength of an interpretation in isolation and its availability in the context of a single sentence or paragraph (Gagné et al. 2005, Middleton et al. 2011). However, all previous studies have used artificially constructed novel compounds, casting doubt on the generalisability of these results to actually occurring compounds. It is also unclear *why* some compounds are easier to interpret than others, and what determines the range of possible meanings. We fill these gaps by using attested novel compounds to investigate what properties of a compound’s constituents affect its ease and range of interpretation out of context.

We selected 22 noun-noun compounds that occur only once in ukWaC, a 2 billion word corpus of British English, restricting our search to nouns for which Bell & Schäfer (2016) provide family-level semantic annotations. Sixteen native speakers of British English provided paraphrases of each compound presented in isolation, and rated the difficulty of doing so on a 10-point Likert scale.

Initial results suggest that context-free readings vary even more widely than previously supposed, with only three compounds achieving majority interpretations, i.e. agreement between more than eight subjects. The least diversity was shown by *ivory wall*, with just three different interpretations, and the greatest diversity by *engine egg*, with 12 distinct readings. These findings are challenging for theories in which out-of-context interpretation is driven mainly by lexical semantics (e.g. Asher 2011). Nevertheless, the number of different readings was strongly correlated with average difficulty of interpretation ( $r = 0.77$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). There was also a small negative correlation between perceived difficulty of giving a meaning and degree of convergence on a particular reading. This suggests that, at least for some participants and for some compounds, certain readings arise more easily than others, providing support for the notion of default readings in the sense of Jaszczolt (2016), who regards default meanings as those that arise without conscious inferential effort. Furthermore, such readings are more likely than others to be shared between language users, which suggests that they may also be default (though weakly so) in the ‘presumptive meaning’ sense of Levinson (2000). We will present models of variation in meaning and ease of interpretation, with properties of the constituent families as predictors, to shed light on what determines the extent to which any given compound approaches a default reading.

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### **Formal and functional variation in constructional spaces: The concessive conjunctions *although*, *though* and *even though* in twelve varieties of English**

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This paper investigates variation in concessive clauses involving the subordinators *although*, *though* and *even though* in six L1 varieties (BrE, IrE, USE, CanE, AusE and NZE) and six L2 varieties (JamE, NigE, IndE, SingE, HKL and PhiE) of English, using the respective components of the *International Corpus of English* (cf. Greenbaum 1996; Nelson, Wallis & Aarts 2002). Concessives are treated as constructions (cf. Goldberg 2003; Trousdale 2012) in that not a single parameter (e.g. clause position or semantics) but specific combinations of functional (semantic) and formal (syntactic) parameters are of interest. To this end, this paper proposes and demonstrates a quantitative approach to constructional variation that makes use of what we will call *constructional spaces*.

At least three dimensions of variation are relevant in the study of concessives: (i) On the functional side, they can belong to one of the three semantic types discussed by Sweetser (1990; cf. Crevels 2000; Hilpert 2013), here called *anticausal*, *epistemic* and *dialogic concessives*, depending on the kind of relationship between the two propositions in the construction; (ii) subordinate clauses can be in initial, medial or final position relative to the matrix clause; and (iii) the clause complementing the subordinator can be finite, nonfinite or a case of *though*-inversion (cf. Culicover 1976). Based on those formal and functional parameters, a constructional space for one of the conjunctions is essentially a contingency table containing the proportions of all possible variants. It is then possible to calculate *n*-dimensional distance matrices between constructional spaces, where *n* is the number of possible variants, each with a specific form and function.

Apart from a general discussion of constructional spaces, their potential applications and the relevant parameters of variation involved in the study of concessive clauses, the following findings will be discussed:

- *Although* and *though* are mostly used in the encoding of dialogic concessives, while *even though* is much more likely to encode anticausal concessives; at the same time, subordinate clauses introduced by *though* and particularly by *even though* are more likely to follow the matrix clause, due to information-structural and emphatic functions, as we will argue. Thus, in terms of constructional distance, *although* and *though* can be grouped together mainly based on shared semantic/functional characteristics, but *though* and *even though* also gravitate towards each other based on shared syntactic characteristics.
- Differences between constructions in L1 and L2 varieties are limited.
- Written language generally has a homogenizing effect on constructional variation for all three conjunctions, i.e. based on constructional spaces, clausal concessives form more compact groups in writing than in speech, i.e. their functional and formal properties are more similar.

In sum, this paper proposes constructional spaces as a quantitative approach to constructional variation and, using this approach, contributes to a better understanding of the differences between the etymologically related conjunctions *although*, *though* and *even though*.

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### **A Corpus-Based Analysis of the L1-Acquisition of Amplifiers in American English**

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This corpus-based study examines the L1-acquisition of amplifiers in pre-adjectival slots (cf. 1) in American English based on the Home-School Study of Language and Literacy Development (HSLLD) component of the Child Language Data Exchange System (CHILDES).

- (1) a. the very hungry caterpillar (HV1/BR/acebr1)  
b. a very very beautiful color (HV1/BR/brabr1)  
c. a very welcome sight (HV2/BR/diabr2)

The aim of this study is to ascertain whether a usage-based approach to language acquisition (cf. Tomasello 2003) can explain the L1-acquisition of amplifiers and to test predictions based on the statistical learning theory (Saffran 2001). According to Tomasello (2003), children first acquire item-specific constructions which are subsequently generalized into pivot schemas, i.e. combinations of fixed strings and slots which are filled by members of a class of words. Only then are more general and abstract constructions derived from the input children receive (cf. Hilpert 2014: 155–178). If this model described the acquisition process of amplifiers correctly, then the type-token-ratios (TTRs) of amplifiers would increase more slowly compared to the TTRs of amplified adjectives since the adjective slot should show more variation during the pivot phase. In addition, statistical learning theory predicts that high-frequency items are not only be acquired first but they would also occur over-proportionately in the output of L1-learners causing a noticeable difference in the variety of amplifiers occurring in the output of L1-learners compared to the variety of amplifier-types occurring in their input.

The data selected for the present analysis consist of transcripts of formal (e.g. reading tasks) and informal speech situations (e.g. family conversations during meals) and represents 85 children as well as their mothers' speech. The age of children ranges from 3;6 to 12 and since each child was visited five times, the data allow the longitudinal observation of the development of L1-learners. To extract all adjectives, the corpus data was POS-tagged by implementing a maximum entropy part-of-speech tagger. For each adjective, it was determined whether or not it was amplified and which type of amplifier was used. The automatic coding was manually confirmed.

The results of this study substantiate the predictions of the usage-based model as the TTRs of amplifiers do indeed increase at a slower pace compared to the TTRs of amplified adjectives. In addition, the study shows that the child-directed-speech (CDS) of the mothers differs from adult-directed-speech (ADS) as the mothers' TTRs of amplifiers are substantially lower when compared to the TTRs of intensifiers in ADS derived from the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SBC). This last finding is interesting as it substantiates previous research which claimed that mothers adapt their speech by using more prototypical constructions and a lower lexical diversity so that it is easier for children to extract recurring patterns from their input. Finally, the results confirm the predictions derived from statistical learning theories since high-frequency amplifiers are substantially over-represented in the children's output.

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## A Multidimensional Description of Online and Offline Registers of Pakistani English

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Pakistani English has been extensively studied using corpus linguistics-based methodology in the last decade or so for individual features (e.g. Mahmood 2009a, Mahmood 2009b, Mahmood et al. 2011, Mahmood & Ali 2011) as well as for situational varieties or register variation (e.g. Shakir 2013, Ahmad & Mahmood 2015, Alvi 2013, Hussain 2016). While efforts are already underway to create a comprehensive corpus of Pakistani English using the International Corpus of English (ICE) model and study register variation (Hussain 2016), there have been difficulties in applying such a categorisation to a non-native variety, e.g. the absence or scarce availability of registers like private conversations, phone calls, legal cross examinations, legal presentations, and social letters. At the same time, the internet has become an important place where Pakistani users of English are communicating in different situations, e.g. Facebook status updates, tweets, blogs (individual, technology, news), comments and Facebook groups. Hence, the aim of present research is to create a comprehensive dataset from maximum possible situations available to Pakistani users of English in three modalities (i.e. computer mediated discourse or CMD, and spoken and written registers from ICE) and explore register variation in the variety using Biber's (1988) Multidimensional Analysis framework. The data was tagged using Biber tagger (Biber 1988) for lexico-grammatical features. An Exploratory Factor Analysis in R resulted in a 4-factor solution with 58 linguistic features explaining 30% of variance in the data. Dimension 1 'Oral versus Literate Discourse' is the largest set of linguistic features. The registers on the Oral side include public and private dialogue (S1) and most online registers, while the Literate side includes most of the written registers, monologue (S2), and blogs (tech and news). The second dimension 'Expression of Stance' has private and public dialogue (S1), and comments as the highest scoring groups on the positive side. Dimension 3 'Abstract Evaluation versus Narration' has academic (W2A) and student writing (W1A) as the highest scoring evaluative registers, while creative writing (W2F) and most of the online registers are on the narrative side. The fourth dimension 'Reporting versus Descriptive Focus' has high scoring texts from news reports (W2C) and scripted monologue (S2B) on the Reporting side. The subcategory of commentaries, which is included in unscripted monologue (S2A), and tweets have the highest mean scores on the descriptive side of the dimension. The results show that while literate or informational discourses may be prevalent due to

the non-native context of Pakistani English, oral or personally focused discourses are also being created due to expanding use of English, especially in the contexts emerging on the internet. These results also highlight the need to include an additional modality, i.e. CMD and a representation of relevant registers present in this modality in already established corpus collection frameworks, e.g. International Corpus of English. Such an addition would be helpful to investigate non-native English varieties in a greater detail and to a certain extent compensate for the absence of certain register categories in other more traditional modalities, e.g. spoken registers.

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## Constraints on the categorization of *do*

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This paper investigates *which* PRP<sup>2</sup> *do* (cf. [1]), *that* PRP *do* (cf. [2]) and *this* PRP *do* (cf. [3]) sequences and the apparent transitivity of the verb *do* in its aforementioned uses. The aim is to determine whether such transitivity can be explained by the presence of a lexical *do* in these structures or if *do* is in fact an auxiliary (i.e. a grammatical verb).

- (1) Perhaps she thinks it sounds n— better. *Which it does* really. Well it does really, yeah. (BNC)

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<sup>2</sup> Personal pronoun

- (2) 'Would you like my place? It's rather a tight fit,' she said apologetically, and the woman beamed at her. 'Thanks ever so, miss, I do call that kind,' she said breathlessly. 'I wish there was more like you, *that I do!*' (BNC)
- (3) I remember one subject that required that she lay flat on the ground, and *this she did* for hours on end while I drew her. (BNC)

To determine whether *do* is an auxiliary or a lexical verb, this study will focus on the following questions:

- a) Can *do* be negated (this property being characteristic of operators)<sup>3</sup>?
- b) What types of antecedents does *do* have in such structures? Purely stative antecedents (e.g. *sound better* in [1]) are extremely rare with proforms containing a lexical *do* (cf. Lakoff & Ross 1976, Culicover & Jackendoff 2005), particularly with the proforms *do it*, *do this* and *do that* (in which, contrarily to *do so*, *do* is transitive).
- c) How often is *do* modified by an adjunct? Adjuncts are rare when an operator is in charge of the anaphora (cf. Miller 2011), i.e. in cases of post-auxiliary ellipsis.

The electric corpora reveal that, in the syntactic structures *which PRP do* and *that/this PRP do*, *do* is sometimes auxiliary (e.g. when it refers to a predicate denoting a purely stative event), sometimes lexical (e.g. when it is modified by an adjunct), but that the syntactic properties used as identification criteria for an auxiliary / lexical verb are not always iconic of the semantic-discursive criteria which appeared prototypical of each form of *do* in other structures. The properties of the lexical verb appear to spill over into the auxiliary, more particularly in the COCA.

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## Variation in the individual and the community in earlier African American English

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The relation of the community and the individual has been a controversial issue in sociolinguistics. Much of the research on sociolinguistics, particularly in the Labovian tradition, has focused on the variation of socially stratified groups. The resulting assessment of intra-individual speaker variation as unimportant implies that speakers of a group are assumed to speak in very similar if not identical ways. This is what Wolfram and Beckett (2000) have criticised as the homogeneity assumption. They argue instead that the study of individuals should receive more attention and that it offers new insights into patterns of language change in the community, particularly in the reconstruction of African American English. The aim of this chapter is to shed light on the relation between the individual and the community in earlier African American English by drawing on a recently compiled major data

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Huddleston (1976: 333) and the *NICE* properties (Negation, Inversion, Code, Emphasis).



base, the Corpus of Older African American English. It is the largest and most diverse collection of pre-1900 African American English and comprises more than 1,500 letters from almost 1,000 different writers stemming from 18 states. The corpus is not only diverse in its size and the extent of regional variation, it is also heterogeneous with regard to its writers and their individual literacies. There are writers from whom only a couple of lines survived. This is particularly problematic in regions or periods for which only a small number of letters are available anyway, since the evidence might not be conclusive and in case of negative evidence we cannot say whether a feature simply did not exist or whether it just didn't occur in the extant sources. However, we fortunately have also those authors who wrote a whole series of letters, stretching across a considerable time span, sometimes a lifespan. Two such letter writers in the corpus are Lucy Skipwith, an emancipated slave and member of a family whose correspondence was published by Miller (1980), and Henry Stewart, a Georgia priest who emigrated to Liberia (Wiley 1980). Such series of letters allow us to study the language of semi-literate individuals in more detail and thus to assess how consistently vernacular features are used. The letters of Lucy Skipwith and Henry Stewart will be analysed according to selected features such as *was/were* variation, verbal *-s* and past time reference and compared to earlier findings from African American communities in the nineteenth century (Siebers 2015). The main question to be addressed is to what extent individuals mirror the conditioning of a particular feature in the community. It is argued that the study of individuals throws light on general processes of change in the development of African American English and the relation of the individual and the community in such changes.

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## A normalization procedure for auditory vowel descriptions: Method and application

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The cardinal vowel diagram (Jones 1918) was devised to serve as a universal reference grid for the auditory description of vowels. Its margins span the physiological limits of the vowel space, with 16 cardinal vowels providing auditory anchors for the classification of vocalic sounds. As such, vowel charts have become a standard tool for the description and comparison of vowel inventories (see, e.g. Cruttenden 2014). In this paper, we propose a method for normalizing auditory vowel descriptions. This method establishes comparability across different accounts in the literature, both within and across languages or accents. Given that vowel quality is indicated relative to the cardinal vowels, the derived normalized positions are directly comparable and can be superposed in the same display. We illustrate the added value of this technique in the context of socio-phonetic research by focusing on two types of application: (i) conducting literature surveys and (ii) assessing the correspondence between acoustic measurements and perceptual values.

A neglected aspect in the employment of vowel diagrams is the fact that, like any type of experimental or observational data, auditory assessments are subject to empirical variation and measurement error. Heterogeneity may arise from perceptual biases, different notions of the accent of interest, or simply human error. A normalization procedure bears potential in that it allows for direct comparison of different accounts in the literature. Rather than having to rely on a single authoritative reference, the

researcher can opt for a meta-analytic approach to previous work (Schmidt 1992, 1996). To illustrate, Figure 1 offers a survey of auditory descriptions given in previous studies on Standard Southern British English ( $n = 12$ ) and General American ( $n = 6$ ). Clearly, there is considerable variation between authors, and it seems risky to rely on any single account.

In the domain of acoustic phonetics, normalized scores derived from auditory charts can be employed to gauge the validity of instrumental measurements. In most applied work, the purpose of acoustic analysis is the quantification of perceptible differences. To this end, psychoacoustic transformations and normalization procedures have been devised to reflect more closely auditory differences between vowels and to neutralize physiological differences between speakers (cf. Watt et al. 2010; Thomas 2011). Normalized auditory locations can serve as a frame of reference for the assessment and comparative evaluation of different types of psychoacoustic transformation (e.g. Hertz, Bark, mel) and the plethora of methods proposed for vowel normalization (see Adank et al. 2004; Flynn 2011). This form of external substantiation, which appears to have been neglected in the context of acoustic vowel analysis, can shed new light on the relative merits of different techniques and provide guidance for methodological decisions in applied research. We illustrate the advantage of an auditory standard of comparison in the context of distance measurements between vowel categories within and across British and American English. Specifically, we show how perception-based auditory scores may inform the choice of psychoacoustic transformation method in different regions of the vowel space.

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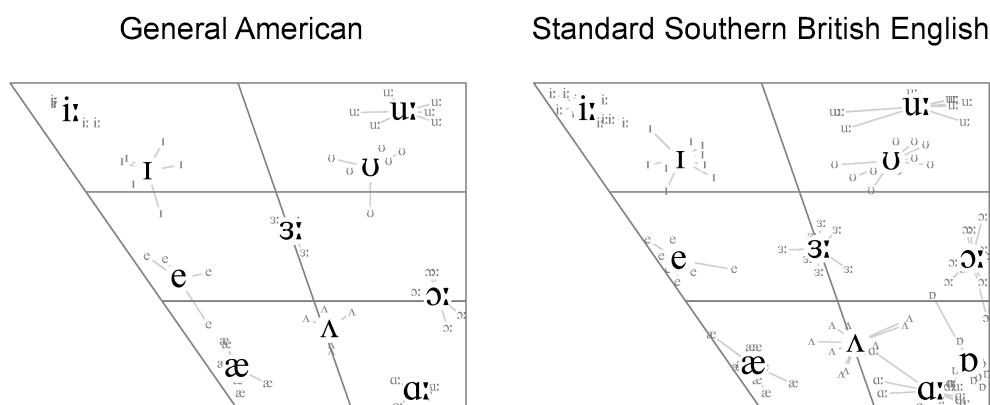


Fig. 1. Vowel quality in General American and Standard Southern British English: Survey of auditory descriptions of monophthongs. Small grey IPA symbols show the locations given in different references. Black IPA symbols denote the average location across all studies. The graphs summarize the results of studies on GA ( $n = 6$ ) and SSBE ( $n = 12$ ).

## Frequency effects in the English comparative alternation: A reassessment

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The comparative degree of English adjectives can be formed by means of inflection (suffixation by *-er*) or periphrasis (with the degree adverb *more*). Competition between these variants yields synchronic variation in degree marking, with a considerable number of adjectives allowing both strategies (e.g. *happier*, *more happy*). Empirical work on the comparative alternation has identified a wide range of probabilistic constraints (e.g. Kytö & Romaine 1996; Leech & Culpeper 1997; González-Díaz 2008; Hilpert 2008; Mondorf 2009; Cheung & Zhang 2016). Thus, the choice between the inflected and the periphrastic form appears to be sensitive to type-specific properties (i.e. properties of the adjective, such as phonological, morphological, lexical, and semantic features) and contextual constraints (e.g. position in the phrase/clause, syntactic complexity and discourse-pragmatic factors). As to the question of whether a more general mechanism may unite these constraints, Mondorf (2009) proposes cognitive complexity as the driving mechanism. She argues that the comparative alternation reflects analytic support, that is, the preference for analytic variants in cognitively demanding contexts. This essentially psycholinguistic claim finds partial support from experimental studies (Kunter 2017).

In previous work, the observation that frequent adjectives tend to prefer the inflectional variant has been interpreted as follows: Frequent adjectives with a strong lexical representation are easy to process. Hence, they do not require analytic support in the form of *more-periphrasis*, which in turn serves as a compensatory strategy for less frequent, slowly processed bases. This interpretation is coherent with the complexity-based line of argumentation adopted by Mondorf (2009). While intuitively plausible, this effect is small in magnitude compared to other constraints. This appears surprising given the central role of frequency in current usage-based accounts of language structure (e.g. Bybee 2006; Diessel & Hilpert 2016). This paper argues for a reassessment of frequency effects in the English comparative alternation. Based on a reanalysis of the data provided by Hilpert (2008), we propose frequency to interact with properties of the adjective. Specifically, two key factors in English adjective gradation, the number of syllables and the final segment, appear to gain in probabilistic strength with increasing frequency of the lexical base. While our findings also hold when considering the frequency of the positive form, the crucial measure appears to be ‘gradation frequency’, the frequency of comparative forms. The latter gauges language users’ experience with degree marking in a particular adjective and thus reflects the rate at which language users opt for, or process, the comparative form of a given base. Low gradation frequency seems to be associated with weaker establishment of type-specific constraints. Higher frequency, on the other hand, appears to strengthen probabilistic patterns, yielding more consistent language use. As a result, we observe a tendency towards more categorical behavior at higher gradation frequencies, as opposed to a global trend towards morphological variants.

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### **Constructional Change in the Lifetime: *it*-Cleft Foci as a Case Study for Change in Individuals**

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Change is necessarily a function of individual grammars: the variation and change in the grammar at large is essentially the result of substantive changes in the mental grammars of actual language users. These changing mental representations are a core component of constructionist approaches to change, which model grammatical items as schematic form-meaning nodes in a hierarchical and dynamic associative network. The associative nature of the network implies *inter alia* that constructions and the links between them are subject to change through analogical attraction, both in terms of formal and semantic make-up, but also frequency (Hilpert, 2014). The systematic pressures of analogy and frequency are also primarily applicable to the individual grammar: the connections and relationships these pressures represent can only be conceived of as existing in the language system of a single speaker. We tackle this key problem through analysis of individual-level change in the case of *it*-clefts, and the ramifications for related constructions, information structure and communicative function.

Data come from a sample of the EMMA-corpus (*Early-Modern Multiloquent Authors*), a new large-scale longitudinal corpus comprising the writings of 50 individuals from the 17<sup>th</sup>-century London-based elite, all of whom were prolific during their adult lives. Features of the *it*-cleft construction are proposed to undergo substantial change during the period with the rise of new possible foci in clefts, such as the time adverbial in (1), as well as performative uses of the construction which exhibit backgrounding of subject matter and opinion-as-fact framing functions (demonstrated in (2)) (Ball, 1994).

- (1) “It is not yet that the general Rule fails, because of this Exception...” (L’Estrange, 1680, The Answer to the appeal expounded)
- (2) Aman. Pray be so just then to me, to believe, ’tis with a World of Innocency I wo’d enquire, Whether you think those Women we call Women of Reputation, do really ‘scape all other Men (1696 VANBR-E3-P1, 43.108 from Patten, 2012)

Growth of permissible focus types in the *it*-cleft seems to proceed systematically, with adverbials of means and reason attested prior to those of time and place (Patten 2012). Not only this but cleft focus type may also extend in a staged manner, from the strict definite NP-only constraint at the start of the construction’s appearance to free accommodation of indefinites, prepositionals, and adverbials later in the period (Patten, 2012), with a range of influences contributing to the relaxation of constraints at each stage. We present corpus evidence that tentatively suggests that parts of this development are also manifested at the level of the adult individual.

These ‘contentful’ grammatical shifts coincide with a process of schematicisation: a process by which the cleft construction undergoes constructional change to a more abstract, ‘procedural’-level

construction (Traugott & Trousdale, 2013). Schematic constructions exhibit higher degrees of non-compositional meaning and, as such, the constraints on the configuration of the cleft are relaxed, licensing more contentful variation. Renegotiation of a construction's relationships to others in the network can lead to fundamental neoanalyses of construction-internal relationships between form and meaning: change can encourage innovation.

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## Givenness as a trigger for OV word order: Information structure in the history of English

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Earlier English famously allowed variation in the order of the object and the verb, as the examples in (1) illustrate:

### (1) a. OV order in OE

We nu willaþ *ure saula smerian* mid mildheortnesse ele

We now wish our souls anoint with mercy oil 'We now wish to anoint our souls with oil of mercy.'

(coblick: HomS\_21\_[BIHom\_6]:73.136.927)

### b. VO order in OE

se wolde *ofslean þone cyning Daid*

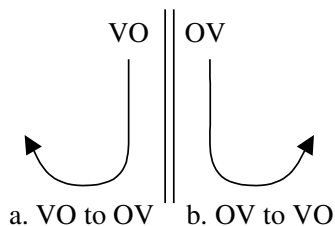
... who wanted kill that king David

'... who wanted to kill that king David.'

(coaelhom: +AHom\_23:39.3722)

The case study discussed in this talk will focus specifically on the nature of OV word orders and test the hypothesis that these objects are preverbal because they are given, as illustrated in (2a). This leads to different predictions than the opposite hypothesis in (2b), i.e. VO as the result of heaviness and/or newness. Taylor & Pintzuk (2012) take the approach in (2b) for a subset of their data, VAux clauses, and find that VO orders contain new and heavy objects, but also non-heavy given objects. This is unexpected under the assumption that these are derived from an OV order. Our hypothesis here is that OV word order is derived from VO order. This leads to the expectation that OV orders are homogeneously given, in both VAux and AuxV clauses, while VO does not have to be exclusively new or heavy.

### (2)





To test this hypothesis, we carried out a corpus study on a dataset with original (i.e. non-translated) OE material from 850-1050, collected from the YCOE corpus (Taylor et al. 2003). We only included subclauses with two verbs and a referential direct object. The data were analysed with a mixed-effects multinomial logistic regression model, which compares the reference order AuxVO to all other occurring orders: OAuxV, AuxOV, OVAux, VAuxO. The predictors included in the model are information structure, which was annotated using a binary given-new annotation scheme (based on the Pentaset guidelines (Komen 2013)), with the given category as a combination of Identity, Inferred and Assumed objects) and weight, measured as the base 2 log of the number of letters. TextID was included as a random factor, to control for individual variation within texts. The results show that both information structure and weight are significant predictors of OE OV/VO variation. Furthermore, the objects in preverbal word order are almost exclusively given, while VO is a mix of given, new and heavy objects, which confirms the predictions that the analysis in (2a) makes.

Earlier studies (such as Bech 2001 and Taylor & Pintzuk 2012) do show that the given-before-new hypothesis (Gundel 1988) to some extent applies to the observed variation, but none of these studies have been able to directly correlate one word order with one IS-category. The results presented here clearly indicate such a correlation exists, which supports an analysis which allows IS-driven movement from a VO base.

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## T-Glottalization as a Barbadian reinvention? Investigating the Barbadian English accent in its West Indian context

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This paper investigates similarities and differences between Barbadian English and other Caribbean Englishes with special focus on the phonological variable of glottalization of syllable-final /t/.

Barbadian English, the official language of Barbados, is spoken alongside Bajan, an English-based vernacular, which is the de facto national language and commonly referred to as “the dialect” by its speakers. The many similarities between the Barbadian varieties and British Englishes are among the reasons why Barbados is considered “Little England” within the Caribbean, and there is a particularly high demand for Barbadian teachers in neighboring countries.

Investigating the morphosyntactic and phonological structures of Barbadian English and Bajan, one will indeed find more features associated with British dialects of English than it is the case for most other Caribbean Englishes, many of which are creole languages. The glottalization of syllable-final /t/, which is analyzed in this paper, is one of the distinct features that have enabled scholars to link the roots of Barbadian English to specific regions in England and Ireland, where this variable existed in the past and/or is still in use today (cf. Wells 1982). Though identified as a characteristic feature of Barbadian English and Bajan by various researchers (cf. Wells 1982, Blake 1997, Belgrave 2008), no

quantitative analysis of empirical data exists up to this day that investigates this pattern in detail. This paper seeks to close this gap with a pilot study analyzing the pronunciation of syllable final /t/ of a first study group of 20 respondents in two different speech styles (reading and free speech). In a second step, the realization of syllable-final /t/ in Barbadian English will be contrasted with the performance of speakers from other Caribbean English-speaking territories with regard to this variable. In 1982, John C. Wells argued that “Although T Glottaling is characteristic of many British accents, in the West Indies it is distinctly Barbadian, and may be a local invention” (1982: 584). In a comparative approach, this hypothesis will be revisited and examined in terms of topicality.

Preliminary findings indicate major differences between the different speaker groups as well as in the performance of the speakers according to speech style. The data for the phonological analysis of the study was collected in Barbados in 2016 whereas the information for the comparative analysis was provided by experts of the English varieties spoken in several territories, including Jamaica, Trinidad and the Bahamas.

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## How many probabilistic grammars does it take to model a world language?

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There is an extensive literature on how to determine the grammatical similarity of varieties and dialects based on dialect atlases or survey data (see, e.g., Szmrecsanyi & Kortmann 2009). Using naturalistic corpus data to measure the grammatical similarity of varieties is a trickier task without well-trodden methodologies. In this talk, we sketch a corpus-based variationist method for calculating the similarity between varieties: what counts is not if and/or how often people use particular constructions, but how they choose between “alternate ways of saying ‘the same’ thing” (Labov 1972:188). As a case study, we discuss similarity patterns between regional varieties of English, fueled by a variationist analysis of three alternations in the grammar of English:

- (1) The dative alternation (see, e.g., Bresnan & Hay 2008) ( $N = 13,171$ )
  - a. *I’d given Heidi my T-Shirt* (the ditransitive dative variant)
  - b. *I’d given the key to Helen* (the prepositional dative variant)
- (2) The genitive alternation (see, e.g., Rosenbach 2014) ( $N = 13,798$ )
  - a. *the country’s economic crisis* (the s-genitive)
  - b. *the economic growth of the country* (the of-genitive)
- (3) The particle placement alternation (see, e.g., Gries 2003) ( $N = 11,514$ )
  - a. *just cut the tops off* (verb-object-particle order)
  - b. *cut off the flowers* (verb-particle-object order)

These alternations are studied in nine regional varieties of English (British English, Canadian English, Irish English, New Zealand English, Hong Kong English, Indian English, Jamaican English, Philippine English, and Singapore English), based on materials from the International Corpus of

English (ICE) and the Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE). Relevant observations of the (a) and (b) variants above were annotated for approximately 10 probabilistic constraints including e.g. the principle of end weight (longer constituents tend to follow shorter constituents; see e.g. Wasow & Arnold 2003) and animacy effects (animate constituents tend to occur early; see e.g. Rosenbach 2008). To evaluate the similarity between region-specific variation patterns, the method draws inspiration from the comparative sociolinguistics literature (e.g. Tagliamonte 2001): are the same constraints significant across varieties? Do the constraints have similar effect sizes? Is the overall ranking of constraints similar? Regression and conditional random forest analysis indicate that the probabilistic grammars regulating variation between the (a) and (b) variants are overall fairly similar across varieties of English – in other words, we are dealing with a rather solid “common core” (in the parlance of Quirk et al. 1985:33) of the grammar of English. That said, we do find more or less subtle probabilistic differences both between regional varieties as well as between syntactic alternations. We will show that in the bird’s eye view, the varieties under study can be grouped into a rather small number of clusters – for example, there is a split between L1 varieties and indigenized L2 varieties of English – which is another way of saying that it takes no more than a couple of probabilistic grammars (at the level of abstract constraints on syntactic variables) to model variation across World Englishes.

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## Genre map of medical writing 1650-1800: A sociopragmatic assessment

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Genres are inherently dynamic cultural schemata, used by discourse communities to organize knowledge and experience through language. They unfold with more or less conventionalized linguistic expressions that display variation and undergo change when the functions of the genre change. The aim of this empirical study is to discover genre dynamics in medical writing 1650-1800; this period has not been charted in detail before. By focusing on the core question of continuity and change, I hope to cast some new light on the diachronic developments of medical writing in a multi-layered view.

I shall adopt the prototype approach to genres and apply multiple methods, including meta-communicative expression analysis, corpus linguistics and sociopragmatic discourse analysis to relate the emerging patterns to the broadening audiences of the time, to professional medical doctors and to lay readers in polite society, as well as clients in the growing medical market at the time of rising consumerism. As my tool I shall use the notion of *genre script*, i.e. typical patterns of language use and recurring sequences in macro level structures. Genre scripts have already proved helpful in revealing textual affinities, and my analysis will show how modifications come about in time. With the help of triangulation, it is possible to point out aspects of cultural genre dynamics, how the old and the new become intertwined and how the field develops.

A broad repertoire of texts is needed for historical genre analysis so that they can be assessed in relation to one another within the whole domain. My data comes from the digital corpora *Late Modern English Medical Texts 1700-1800* (fc 2018/9) and *Early Modern English Medical Texts* (2010). Genres created for the Royal Society (1662-) continued in use in the eighteenth century, but new genres were created for the polite society; the authors of these texts are mostly educated medical doctors. Some genres were prompted by the widening market of the period for more heterogeneous writers and readers. The label “essay” was frequently employed as a label of professional medical texts for learned audiences, often with connotations of modesty (with the meaning ‘a draft’). Other labels include “dissertation” (without the present connotations), “pamphlet” (also overlapping with essay), and “oration” and “lecture” referring to the mode of original presentation. Old genres like recipes and case studies continue, but new genres like “histories” branched off and the traditional structure of recipes derived from the medieval period became modified. Scholastic top genres, recognizable by their genre script, found afterlives in popular literature with e.g. advice based on medical astrology and prognostications.

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## **A Stylistic Approach to Spanish Loanwords in the History of the English Language: A Corpus-Driven Study Based on *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED3)**

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The English language has always been characterised by the presence of a large number of words from a wide range of different languages (around the globe): “[u]nlike the vocabularies of all other Germanic languages, the word stock of modern English is strongly mixed in character” (Schneider 2017: 341). According to Durkin (2014: 10-12), three different approaches can be identified in the study of loanwords. The *external approach* (to the linguistic system) explains the main historical rationale behind their adoption; i.e. how the loanwords entered the language, the language from which they were borrowed, and the time at which they were transferred, etc. A second *internal approach* is concerned with how loanwords have affected the structure of the vocabulary. The third approach, as identified by Durkin, is a *stylistic approach*, whereby “it is possible to approach [loanwords] primarily from the point of view of their stylistic or pragmatic effects in different text types from different periods” (Durkin 2014: 10). The historical study and analysis of loanwords has scarcely relied on this last approach, and this presentation will seek to remedy this problem by analysing all Spanish loanwords, as recorded in the *OED3* (as of October 2016-July 2017), used throughout the history of

the English language from a stylistic point of view. Attempts will be made to present a general description of Spanish loanwords concerning the main linguistic levels (i.e. morphology, semantics, phonetics...), and to address how the stylistic approach presented herein may advance our knowledge about Spanish loanwords in the history of English.

To undertake this study, a glossary of the 526 Spanish loanwords analysed here has been manually compiled and edited from the data retrieved from the *OED3*. The term ‘Spanish’ (Sp.) has been searched in the dictionary’s etymological section (‘language of origin’ option tab), which is available within the ‘advanced search’ option tab of the *OED3*. By doing so, a total number of 1,789 hits have been retrieved, the majority of which are cases of words whose histories have largely been shaped by Spanish. The data have been classified according to a series of criteria: usage (*allusive, archaic, derogatory, humorous, ironic, euphemistic, rare, regional, irregular, historical, disused, poetic and literary, and colloquial and slang*), words originating immediately from Spanish (*etimologia proxima*) and those items for which Spanish is not the ultimate donor language (*etimologia remota*), and the geographical distribution of these words. All these data have been examined drawing on a corpus-driven approach. Some of the conclusions extracted from the analysis relate to the chronological coverage of Spanish loanwords. In this regard, Spanish loanwords stylistically marked are particularly frequent during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, unlike Spanish loanwords which are not thus marked. It will also be shown how Spanish loanwords that are stylistically labelled can be semantically classified in a wide range of semantic categories. Besides, the data have likewise suggested that the Spanish loanwords marked with a stylistic label in the *OED3* are much more frequent in American and Canadian English. Finally, this conference talk will also try to ascertain some of the patterns whereby the pronunciation of Spanish loanwords has been adapted to English.

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## **Obviously undergoing change: Adverbs of evidentiality in the UK and Canada over 100 years**

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English has a cohort of sentential adverbs that allude to “generally shared knowledge, attitudes or beliefs” (Holmes, 1988:52), including *naturally, evidently, clearly, of course*, and *obviously* which are ubiquitous in spoken data, (1-2).

- (1) I’ve done tarot cards. Didn’t work *obviously*. (F, 1980, UK)
- (2) Years ago, *of course*, they didn’t run cars in the winter. (M, 1902, Cda)

While these evidential forms (e.g. Hoyer, 1997) are widely discussed in the literature, their social and linguistic patterns have received little attention. This gives us the opportunity to explore a new area in the linguistics of English.

Our data come from community based spoken dialect corpora from the UK and Canada, with over 1000 individuals born from the late 1800s to the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. We conduct an exhaustive distributional analysis of 6000 evidential adverbs and test linguistic, discursive and social factors. Mixed effects regression (Team, 2007) and conditional inference trees (e.g. Tagliamonte & Baayen, 2012) enable us to illustrate absolutely parallel development across countries. *Obviously* advances rapidly, overtaking *of course* among individuals born in the 1960’s in both the UK and Canada. Comparing community types within countries shows diffusion of *obviously* from urban to rural locales and notable lifespan change within individuals, but with no gender effect. No strong linguistic patterns



are evident. Instead, the choice of *obviously* over *of course* aligns with the general development of *-ly* “as a marker of category membership” for adverbs (Payne, Huddleston & Pullum, 2010:73). These findings suggest that the development is lexical replacement rather than grammatical change.

In sum, this study demonstrates key attributes that are beginning to emerge from the study of many discourse pragmatic features. They are essentially “off the shelf” changes (Milroy, 2007): 1) linguistically simple, 2) easily borrowed; and 3) receptive to global trends.

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## Curious English-Chinese Parallels: The Frozen Scope of Subject Contact Relatives

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The constructions in (1) are known as Subject Contact Relatives (SCR) (Jespersen 1961) and are a feature of casual registers of multiple varieties of English, from Ireland to Appalachia.

- (1) a. There’s a girl wants to talk to you.  
b. We’ve got lots of students don’t speak English.

At first glance, the construction seems to be merely a relative clause (RC) with an unpronounced relative pronoun. However, noted by Henry (1995) and others, SCRs are different from canonical RCs in significant ways. First, the noun at the boundary between the two clauses (the *anchor*) must be indefinite and specific:

- (2) a. \*They met the man sang your favorite song. definite anchor  
b. \*They bought fruit went bad in 10 days. *nonspecific anchor*

Second, the matrix clause must be “presentational” in nature, introducing something new into the discourse. As such, they only allow a limited set of “presentational” predicates like “there be”, “meet”, but not, say, “injure,” while simultaneously restricting anchor nouns to objects.

- (3) a. \*A girl wants to talk to you just walked in your office. subject anchor  
b. \*I injured a boy was nothing but nice to me. *non-presentational*

Third (a new observation), SCRs induce scope freezing, whereas RCs allow inverse scope:

- (4) a. I met a redhead went to every country. ( $\exists > \forall$ ,  $*\forall > \exists$ )  
b. I met a redhead that went to every country. ( $\exists > \forall$ ,  $\forall > \exists$ )

Interestingly, Chinese has a similar-looking pattern known as the Existential Coda Construction (ECC) (Huang 1987) that parallels English SCRs in all three above-mentioned respects:

- (5) a. Wo renshi yi-ge/ \*na-ge xiaohai hui kai che  
I am acquainted with one-CL that-CL child can drive car  
'I know a/ \*that kid can drive'
- b. \*Xiaohai hui kai che bu duo  
children can drive car not numerous  
'\*Children can drive aren't numerous'
- c. Wo jian-guo sangge xuesheng hui jiang meizhong yuyan  
I meet-ASP 3-CL students can speak every language  
'I met three students can speak every language.' ( $\exists > \forall$ ,  $*\forall > \exists$ )

We claim these parallels are not a coincidence. Rather, both English SCRs and Chinese ECCs share a unified structure, where the verb of the matrix clause selects an embedded TopicP in which the anchor noun is the Topic head and the subject contact relative clause is the comment – a syntactic implementation of the restriction to “presentational” matrix verbs. Moreover, under this approach, the unavailability of inverse scope can be ascribed to the same mechanism that freezes scope in Chinese simple transitives (Wu et al 2017), whose subjects are de facto Topics. This also has the added benefit of explaining why SCRs allow a Chinese-style inalienable possession interpretation between an anchor and a following nominal even without any pensive pause, which is otherwise ungrammatical in English:

- (6) a. I met an old lady (,) husband never said a kind word to her.  
b. She's an old lady \*(,) husband never said a kind word to her.

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## How many smileys does it take to make a joke here? Metapragmatic negotiation of jokes in discussion-forum interaction

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This paper discusses a practice specific to mediated interaction, namely the use of smileys to indicate a joke. The use of smileys and other emoticons and emojis can be idiosyncratic and varies according to context and situation (see e.g. Dresner & Herring 2010; Thompson & Filik 2016). In order to throw light on the use of smileys as resources in discussion-forum interaction, the present paper focuses on instances in which the interactants enter into a metapragmatic negotiation on smileys, i.e. comment on their own and their fellow interactants' use of smileys (on metapragmatic negotiation, see e.g. Kleinke & Bös 2015; Tanskanen 2007). The material for the study comes from the Student Room, the “largest online student community in the world”.

Consider the following examples:

- (1) A: It was a joke.

B: Well put a 😊 at the end then!

- (2) C: Wow...okay...wasn't expecting this. If I caused all this anger (no smiley's except for one gave it away) I would have done the PM had I known this was coming at me.

It's okay...I'm fine, I'm sorry to have been a douche...I thought it was joke n'all but okay. Have fun annnd enjoy life 😊

D: What?? Noooo dukey!! Not angry!!!! Haha now it looks like I'm angry- I'm honestly not?? Damn it totally came out the wrong way then!

You haven't been a douche! It was a joke and everything!!

NOOO DONT GOOOOOO

(editing to add smileys)

I was trying to cut down so you don't think I'm a total freak! :P

In example (1), interactant A, who has previously stated something that the others have perceived as offensive, claims to have been joking. Interactant B then tells him that he should have indicated the joke with a smiley. One smiley would have been enough in this interaction, but this is not the case in example (2), in which we see the culmination of a discussion between C and D, who have both been joking and using smileys throughout their discussion. Interactant C is referring to an earlier message by D which only had one smiley and which C consequently treats as showing anger. Interactant D replies with an explanation and addition of smileys. For all these interactants, smileys (and the number of smileys) are clearly powerful resources in the interaction. By analysing such metapragmatic negotiation the paper contributes to our understanding of the use of smileys as markers of intention.

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## The development of digression adjuncts into hedges on significant topic-shifts

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Mittwoch et al. (2002: 779) list *by the way*, *incidentally*, *parenthetically* as clause adjuncts that in contemporary English “indicate a change of topic or digression, generally suggesting that the new information is less important”. Quirk et al. (1985:640) characterize such use of *incidentally* and *by the way* as “a polite way of changing the subject”; Yule (2013) refers to “a hedge on relevance”. In this paper I discuss how the three adjuncts developed, how a constructional schema of digression markers arose over time, and how network links with the topic change schema evolved. Data are drawn from electronic English historical corpora.

The three digression markers originate in location and manner adverbs (‘on/by the road’, ‘in an incidental/parenthetical manner’). In initial, sometimes final, position, they came to be used as discourse structuring markers, *by the way* in the 17<sup>th</sup>C, *incidentally* and *parenthetically* in the mid-

19<sup>th</sup>C. Critical contexts enabling change (Diewald & Smirnova 2010) include contexts referring to talk (*Whereupon traouling* ('traveling') **by the way**, *we fell into our olde accustomed talke* [1597, CED]; *he incidentally mentioned that ...* [1861, COHA]). By the 20<sup>th</sup>C all three, most especially *by the way*, came to be used to introduce not only background information (Giora 1990) but also shift to a new, significant topic. This topic is hedged and presented as if it was unimportant (*and, by the way, mother, I have a great surprise for you. We are starting for India at the end of this month* [1894, CLMET3]). Significance is measured in terms of the degree of persistence of the new discourse topic (Givón 1983).

I show how the original adverbial meanings and the contexts in which the three expressions were used restricted the possibilities of their later function. This provides evidence against Kaltenböck et al.'s (2011) proposal that syntactically independent markers, including discourse structuring markers, are derived by cooptation to a "thetical" grammar and that "the meaning of the coopted unit is shaped by its function in discourse" (p. 875) (also Heine 2013). Kaltenböck et al.'s hypothesis does not explain the choice of a specific expression for a particular pragmatic function (also Brinton 2017: 37), nor the critical contexts which enabled the choice.

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## The local productivity of a morphological process.

### The derivation of abstract deverbal action nouns in *-ation* with names of states

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Certain suffixation patterns in English can be called productive, despite definitional difficulties with the concept of morphological productivity (see, e.g., Aronoff 1976: 35; Bauer 2006). One such productive suffix, and the process in which it participates, is the nominalizing suffix *-ation* (or *-ization*). This suffix is assumed to be the most productive among all suffixes forming abstract deverbal action nouns – *Nomina Actionis* (NA) (Adams 2001: 28; Bauer et al. 2013: 201). While the mechanism of appending *-(iz)ation* to various word-formation bases appears to be productive (in any sense of the word), it also proves to be inconsistently productive.

This talk focuses on a fragment of *-(iz)ation* derivation. The word-formation bases selected for this presentation are names of (political) states (i.e., *Bulgaria*, *Gabon* etc.). After some formal modifications of certain descriptive name variants (e.g., *Republic of Equatorial Guinea* ~ *Guinea*), approx. one hundred and ninety word-formation bases have been established. In principle, there is no hindrance over the attachment of the key suffix to any of these base names. Besides several phrase-

like names (e.g., *Central African Republic*), the vast majority of the names serve as potential bases. The data for this research have been drawn from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) (Davies 2008–) and selected specialist literature. The examples obtained show interesting tendencies and gaps in the system. The numbers of relevant nominalizations and *hapax legomena* are impressive, which makes this phenomenon look productive, albeit irregularly productive.

Our initial observations show that specialist (academic) discourse is more prone to generate diverse formations in *-(iz)ation* than non-specialist (non-academic) discourses. Our prediction would be that NA in *-(iz)ation* with state names are best represented in academic texts, less so in journalistic texts and are least visible in fiction. Developments in corpus linguistics have cast new light on morphological productivity and how to quantify it (see, e.g., Baayen 1989; Baayen and Renouf 1996: 74). However, once Baayen's productivity indices are calculated for the three written genres ("academic", "journalistic" and "fiction") involved in this study, our initial assumptions are, oddly enough, reversed. The calculations show that the productivity index for "fiction" is the highest, the one for the "journalistic" genre is second and the one for "academic" texts is the lowest.

Morphological productivity is reconsidered here to be a more local phenomenon, operating in certain areas of a given category, rather than all over the place. The phenomenon in question is productive only partially, depending on local motivating sources to designate "something nameable" (Plag 1999: 40; Bauer 2006: 43). This paper proposes to analyse all relevant cases as being sanctioned by local schemas, rather than global word-formation rules. The productivity of the suffix *-(iz)ation* needs to be considered on a micro scale. Relevant nominalizations are better understood as sanctioned by local schemas (Langacker 1987: 381, 1991: 48). A general rule, or a top-most schema, is too distant from its concrete instantiation to provide the latter with enough specification, which will make it compatible with the schema as required.

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## Complementation patterns of English illocutionary shell nouns

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The literature on complementation has concentrated mainly on the verbal category. Not much research has been carried out on the complementation of nouns.



In this paper we focus on illocutionary shell nouns, i.e. the class of abstract nouns reporting an illocutionary act and its propositional content (*As egregious was his **assertion** that the town of Hebron is essentially an Arab town*), with the aim of checking for the correlation (i) between the meaning of these nouns and their preferred complementation patterns, and (ii) between their semantic similarity and their similarity in the distribution of complementation patterns.

We report the results of the investigation of a dataset of 181 illocutionary shell noun types belonging to a corpus of 335 illocutionary nouns developed by the author on the basis of speech act literature and grouped, following Searle, into the five classes of assertive (*assertion, claim, guess*, etc.), commissive (*promise, vow, offer*, etc.), directive (*request, order, edict*, etc.), expressive (*apology, complaint, boast*, etc.) and declarative (*abrogation, christening, excommunication*, etc.) shell nouns.

Two types of analysis were carried out in order to investigate the semantic and grammatical characteristics of these nouns. The semantic analysis was based on insights from speech act theory and the philosophy of language, and consisted in the development of the bundle of specifications – attributes and attribute values – that make up the conceptual structure of each lexical item. The results were tallied with a corpus-based grammatical analysis aimed at investigating the occurrence of individual tokens in grammatical constructions according to their unique specifications. Two hundred tokens of each noun type were randomly sampled from the Corpus of Contemporary American English. Using these data, the 181 nouns were subjected to an analysis of the relative frequencies of their complementation patterns.

Results indicate that the semantic match between noun and complementation pattern is fairly confirmed in the prototypical core of each class of illocutionary shell nouns, where the more prototypical meaning of each shell noun type and the prototypical meaning of each grammatical pattern show the highest degree of semantic compatibility. It is much less confirmed in the less prototypical and more specific nouns.

Using the framework provided by Cognitive Grammar, the distribution of the patterns among the shell nouns is motivated in terms of profiling effects. In the conceptual dependence relation between head and complement, the complement elaborates a salient feature of the head. The occurrence of a shell noun in a specific pattern highlights specific portions of the noun's conceptual structure, i.e. specific attributes and values, leaving the rest in the background. Elaboration of specific attributes and values accounts for the major or minor compatibility between noun and construction.

### **20 really good years – tracing the role of social factors in intensifier changes in BrE, 1994-2014**

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Intensified adjectives – phrases like *so good* or *really nice* – are ubiquitous, especially in colloquial English (e.g. Tagliamonte 2016, Fuchs 2017). Recent studies indicate rapid changes in the intensifier system, which introduces new forms and recycles old ones at relatively short intervals (e.g. Tagliamonte 2008, D'Arcy 2015). Moreover, research has shown that the oldest and still most widely-used intensifier generally, *very*, is now retreating to more formal and written registers, while more modern *really* and – even more recently – *so* are taking over its job in younger people's colloquial speech (and women's in particular; Aijmer 2017, Fuchs 2017, Fuchs & Gut 2016, Hessner & Gawlitzek 2017). In addition, the general public seems to be subconsciously aware of these patterns and associates certain intensifiers with certain (groups of) people (cf. Beltrama & Casanto 2017), and popular culture is adequately adopting these ongoing changes, visible for example in 'appropriate' usage patterns in American TV shows when compared to spoken language (e.g. Tagliamonte & Roberts 2005, Quaglio 2009).

The present paper focuses on recent changes in the intensifier system in British English in real and apparent time, based on the ten most frequent adjectival 2grams combining with *very*, *really*, and *so*

*serving as input for conditional inference trees and regression analyses.* In almost 15,000 tokens from the spoken samples of the two versions of the *British National Corpus* (BNC1994 & BNC2014), changes in collocational preferences are traced across age, gender, and socioeconomic class. Importantly, it is shown that the earlier change from *very* towards *really* is a typical change from above, led by the (lower) middle classes, while the later change towards *so* shows change-from-below tendencies (cf. Labov 1966). In detail, the results show that variation in BNC1994 is constraint first and foremost by age, then class, with the inner classes (C1, C2) most advanced in the period's key change, away from *very* towards *really*; gender effects only rank third.

In BNC2014, age and class still occupy ranks 1 and 2, but the major age split occurs between the two middle-aged groups (<45, >45); moreover, the key change at this stage, towards *so* as an intensifier, is lead by the youngest women (< 24) from the lowest social class (DE).

Combining age and gender serves as the best predictor across both datasets: young women separate themselves from young men, who pattern with women and men aged 25-44. Subsequently, working class young women display the highest *so*-rates, while the middle and upper class young women lead in *really* use overall. Not surprisingly, the stronghold of *very* is with the older men and women of the middle and upper classes (AB, C).

Widely differing results for each investigated adjective suggest that each intensifier-adjective-combination has followed (and is still following) its own trajectory of change. Given that this is the case even among the highest-frequency collocates, present and future research should incorporate collocate status.

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## Bad grammar and metalinguistic awareness: the case of pronouns

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This paper will contribute to the discussion of the relationship between developments in Modern English grammar and prescriptive meta discourses about usage (Curzan 2014, Nuria Yáñez-Bouza 2015, Anderwald 2016, Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Percy 2017). The focus will be on the acceptability of non-standard uses of English pronouns, with an eye towards the taxonomy of linguistic prescriptivism developed in Curzan (2014). The discussion will be based on results from a study of acceptability and language awareness that looked at how strongly speakers, especially language professionals (such as teachers and editors), feel about linguistic constructions often identified as “bad grammar” and whether or not they allow for any type of linguistic variation. Specifically, I will examine if greater metalinguistic awareness leads to more nuanced or to harsher acceptability judgments and if speakers respond differently to different types of prescriptive rules – standardizing, stylistic, or politically responsive -- , as defined by Curzan.

In an electronic survey, 200 speakers of English, about 1/3 of them language professionals, rated the acceptability of 14 sentences (the number was kept low to ensure that participants would not get tired of providing responses and comments) as ‘generally acceptable,’ ‘acceptable only in speech or informal writing,’ or ‘not acceptable’ at all. All sentences exemplified some kind of non-standard grammatical use, including flat adverbs, preposition stranding, singular *they* with generic and specific antecedents, and non-standard case forms of pronouns (e.g., *a problem for my husband and I*). Additionally, speakers were invited to provide comments on test items as they saw fit. Comments (n= 270) were categorized with regard to whether or not they made reference to an existing prescriptive rule and whether or not they showed awareness of linguistic variation. Results from the survey show the following:

1. Acceptability: Constructions that are often cited in linguistic textbooks as classic targets of prescriptivism, such as preposition stranding or split infinitives, received high acceptability rates. By contrast, the non-standard use of pronouns received the lowest acceptability rates. This suggests that if we want to study the role of prescriptivism on language use today, we should look at pronouns rather than at preposition stranding.
2. Comments and taxonomy: Sentences with non-standard pronouns also elicited a high number of comments. The use of accusative pronouns in subject positions (*Harry and me went to the store*), labeled as “standardizing” prescriptivism by Curzan, received the lowest acceptability rate and also exclusively negative comments, often mere corrections or brief references to a rule. The use of nominative pronouns in object positions (*for my husband and I*), classified as an example of “stylistic” prescriptivism by Curzan, received higher ratings and respondents showed awareness of register variation. The use of singular *they*, an example of “politically responsive” prescriptivism, received the highest number of comments, and comments often referred to specific speech situations.
3. Expert status: Language professionals tend to provide more comments and show greater awareness of variation patterns than non-professionals.

Based on these results I will argue that Curzan’s strands of prescriptivism can be backed up with empirical data. A prescriptivism taxonomy therefore could also be built around speakers and their attitudes rather than just around institutional goals.

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### Omission of subject complements in written English

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Complete sentences in English generally require an overt subject. However, omission of the subject, such as in (1) below, is not infrequent in informal conversation (cf. e.g. Biber et al. 1999: 1048; Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1540–1541).

(1) Hope everything's alright.

While such 'null subjects' have tended to receive much attention from research within the Generative tradition, especially with respect to the pro-drop parameter, empirical investigation of the phenomenon is more sparse. Existing empirical studies have been concerned predominantly with the omission of subjects in spoken discourse and have found subject expression to be influenced by a range of semantic, syntactic and, in particular, cognitive factors, such as priming/persistence, topic continuity or verb phrase complexity (e.g. Wagner 2016; Torres Cacoullos & Travis 2014).

Factors governing the expression of subject complements in written English have not yet been systematically investigated. The few studies available for written English have mostly been concerned with the identity of the omitted pronoun or the verb, as well as with the distribution of unexpressed subjects across registers (e.g. Teddiman 2011; Teddiman & Newman 2007; Nariyama 2004). In addition, due to the near absolute restriction of the phenomenon to a certain set of registers, unexpressed subjects have been described as an essentially register-dependent feature (Ruppenhofer & Michaelis 2010).

The paper will present preliminary results of a pilot study with a focus on subject complement omission in written English using a variationist approach (Labov 1982) with the aim of exploring the conditions that govern subject expression in written English. The study includes a comparison of factors conditioning subject expression in spoken and written English. The data consist of selected written registers from the British English component of ARCHER (period 1950-99) and the spoken component of ICE-GB. Relevant finite verb phrases with expressed and omitted subjects are retrieved and annotated for a set of semantic, syntactic and cognitive factors. The predictive import of the factors included is evaluated using a random forest analysis (Breiman 2001). Preliminary results indicate that subject omission in written English registers is likely to be licensed by similar cognitive factors as have been found to operate on spoken English, suggesting that register plays a less important role in view of more general cognitive demands. This implies that subject omission in English is probably best analysed at two different levels. On the one hand, more generally, across registers where it is subject to similar general cognitive constraints. On the other hand, within registers, where idiosyncratic properties of individual register-specific subject omission constructions will be paramount.

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**The relative adverbs *where* and *when* reclassified:  
A reanalysis of the restrictive relative construction**

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In relative clauses, traditional grammars tend to regard the words *when* and *where* as relative adverbs because of the adverbial functions they play within subordinate clauses (e.g. Quirk et al., 1972, 1985; Biber et al, 1999). Due to the semantic and syntactic features that relatives demonstrate as corresponding to time and location adjuncts respectively, Huddleston & Pullum (2002) classify *where* and *when* as relative prepositions because the functions of time and location adjuncts are usually realised by PPs in canonical clauses. Current approaches tend to oversimplify the role of relatives by underestimating the idiosyncrasy of relative clauses: the relations among antecedents, relatives and gaps should be properly accounted for. This paper, working within a modern descriptive English grammar framework, will use attested examples from previous work and from corpora, and will propose an account of those relationships by conceiving of a mediation model across clauses: relative words, in whichever type of relative clause, serve to mediate the correspondence between antecedents and gaps.

Based on this model two hypotheses are proposed and assessed with regard to how well they deal with the syntax of *when* and *where*:

- a) *The Fusion of Function Hypothesis*, inspired by Huddleston & Pullum (2002) and Payne et al. (2007) in which the syntactic function of a non-overt head is fused with the function of an adjacent dependent. This theoretical framework applied, *where* and *when* are analysed as pronouns functioning as fused head-complement of PPs to handle the semantic and syntactic inconsistency between the two words and their antecedents, as well as their function as mediators – though the theory itself needs further clarification.
- b) *Periphery Hypothesis*, which is favoured by historical evidence concerning the formation of relative clauses. It will argue that *where* and *when* are best regarded as marginal prepositions as their mediating function is weaker and the semantic/syntactic relations between them and their antecedents are fuzzier. Clauses involving *where* and *when* are seen as separate from more typical relative clauses with *who* and *which*. I will also argue that both hypotheses shed light on semantic and syntactic fuzziness within certain grammatical structures from different perspective.

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### The dative alternation in Middle English: a binary choice?

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The present paper discusses the history of the dative alternation in English. As is well known, this phenomenon refers to ditransitive verbs alternating between two different patterns, namely a nominal construction on the one hand (DOC, 1a), and a prepositional pattern with *to* (or *for*) on the other hand (POC, 1b). This variation is highly pervasive and systematic in Present Day English, and there is evidence that it is represented in speaker minds as such (e.g. Perek 2015).

Nevertheless, looking at these two patterns in isolation – as earlier studies have typically done (cf. e.g. McFadden 2002; De Cuypere 2015) – is problematic, since “[m]ost linguistic decision that speakers make are more complex than binary choices” (Arppe et al. 2010: 12; cf. also Mukherjee 2005). Ditransitives are no exception to this: For instance, communication verbs like *tell* are frequently also used in a construction in which it is the theme that is marked by a preposition (1c). This means that there are in fact three common alternants (when all arguments are overtly expressed).

- (1) a. Mary told **John** the news.  
b. Mary told the news **to John**.  
c. Mary told **John** about the news.

In the paper, we address this issue, focussing particularly on the role of such additional options in the emergence of the dative alternation. This process is usually located in Middle English; therefore, the methodological basis of the paper is provided by a quantitative analysis of instances of ditransitive verbs in different argument structure constructions in the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English* (PPCME2), using logistic regression modelling. Precisely, we investigate tokens of DOCs and *to/for*-POCs, but also (i) POC-patterns involving other prepositions, (ii) prepositional theme constructions, and (iii) possessive patterns. As illustrated in examples (2a-c), these alternative patterns often involve verb classes that could be used in the DOC in earlier times, but cannot do so anymore in Present Day English.

- (2) a. Mary stole the book **from John**. (\*Mary stole **John** the book.)  
b. Mary robbed **John** of the book. (\*Mary robbed **John** the book.)

c. Mary broke **John's arm**. (\*Mary broke **John the arm**.)

The results demonstrate that the alternate options were consistently present and increased over the course of the period; at the same time, *to* and *for* crystallised as the main POC-variants. These changes correlate with the ousting of certain verb classes such as of stealing and malefaction from the DOC, as a result of which the pattern became more coherently associated with 'transfer'.

Although the persistence of communication verbs in the construction needs to be explained, we then take these changes to be causally related, and propose that the availability of alternative patterns (with distinct word order preferences) is one of the driving factors in the semantic restriction of the DOC. Finally, on a more theoretical level, these developments are viewed as reflecting changes in the strength of horizontal links between constructions at various levels of schematicity (Traugott & Trousdale 2013; Van de Velde 2014; Diessel 2015).

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## Statistics on Chinese Loanwords in English: A Semantic Field Approach

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Language contacts between Chinese and English have existed for centuries, resulting in a gradual exchange of words, phrases, and other linguistic elements between the two languages. Loanword, a linguistic hot topic, is one of the most common products of language contact. However, few studies in the literature have investigated exactly why and how Chinese loanwords come into the English lexicon. To have an accurate idea of the causes and processes of Chinese words being accepted by English, this study is concerned with the lexical borrowings from Chinese to English with an approach based on semantic fields. The data of the study are extracted from *The Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* and the semantic fields are categorized following the classification and naming by *The Historical Thesaurus of the OED (HTOED)*. In the study Chinese loanwords are identified and grouped based on these two resources, and several aspects of this topic will be displayed on the poster: (1) the extensive range of semantic areas of Chinese loanwords, along with a breakdown of all fields and a sketch of some major ones, (2) the semantic fields with 'zero' Chinese borrowings, especially those 'basic vocabulary' fields of English, (3) a timeline of Chinese loanwords accompanied by the significant historical events that used to influence lexical borrowing, like for some areas, loanwords

were more likely to be borrowed together into the English language in certain prolific periods, (4) the numerical facts about the *OED*'s treatment of loanwords and other types of borrowing and, (5) the statistical evidence that prove the 'subtle' relationship between different *OED* editions and the input of loanwords by semantic fields. By using statistics to support the foregoing aspects, this study faithfully reflects the contacts between two languages and two cultures, and contributes to making predictions about the trends of Chinese loanwords being adopted by the English lexicon in the near future.

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## Lexical retention in contact grammaticalisation in Singaporean and Malaysian English

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Amongst the problems of contact grammaticalisation research in past studies has been, first, the problem of searching for diachronic evidence in relatively 'new' language situations, something which was advocated by Bruyn (2009), amongst others as essential to contact grammaticalisation research. Another, more critical argument raised is that, in the case of replica grammaticalisation in contact, the speakers of the replicating language do not have access to diachronically earlier stages of the model grammaticalisation of a function in order to be able to replicate it stage-by-stage using material from the lexifier. The present study considers both these problems, revealing the presence of lexical persistence in the age-graded distribution of the perfective marker *already* in Singaporean and Malaysian English. *Already* is widely used as a perfective marker in Singaporean and Malaysian, ostensibly carrying all the functions of Mandarin *le* or Hokkien *liao* (e.g. Bao 2005). However, it has been found to be constrained from use in predicates referring to accidental events in Singapore English, while in Mandarin and Hokkien, it can be used freely in such environments. A brief, spontaneous online survey of speaker intuitions examines the role of the lexifier model in contact (rather than that of the substrate model) already discussed in Ziegeler (2014), and demonstrates that ordinary, contact-induced grammaticalisation may be just as gradual as monolingual grammaticalisation processes. The findings of the survey reveal a greater tendency for lexical retention in the grammaticalisation of *already* with older speakers in both dialects, and a general tendency for Malaysian speakers of all ages for higher levels of lexical retention in the distribution of *already*. The study also questions the hypothesis of Total Systemic Transfer of the Chinese perfective aspectual system in Singapore English (Bao 2001, 2005, 2015), and suggests an extended function for the Lexifier Filter in contact.

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### Directive speech acts and variation in collaborative map tasks

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This paper first sets out to define and illustrate a subcategory of directive speech acts in experimental discourse data: customized map tasks were used to elicit spatial as well as interactional directives, by having a speaker give verbal instructions to a hearer on how to reproduce the missing route on an otherwise identical map. In comparison to other directives, the resulting subcategory of speech acts that I term ‘direction-giving’ is characterized by lower levels of imposition and obligation due to the collaborative nature of the experimental task, in which compliance lies in the interest of both speaker and hearer. It is thus similar to other speech acts with focus on the hearer’s interest, such as providing advice or instruction. Nevertheless, the forms that were observed in the data rank on a scale of perceived imposition from e.g. imperatives (*pass the house*) to modals of obligation (*you have to stop*), other frequent deontic constructions (*you want to turn left*, *I need you to go between*), present simple (*you go to the house above*) and progressive (*you’re going down*), future tense (*you’re going to draw a line between*), existential constructions (*there’s a single pine tree*), or epistemic modals (*it should be curving up now*). Influencing parameters are e.g. difficulty of task or introduction of topic, spatial versus interactional directives, and linguistic constraints of text position and adjacency (see e.g. Ervin-Tripp 1976, Mauri and Sansò 2011).

The second part of my paper takes on a variational pragmatic perspective. As the data consists of two sets of map task experiments (N=50) conducted in the context of different ethnic heritage communities (British Indian, N=18, and American Chinese, N=32), they allow for a variationist analysis of the social parameters of ethnicity, age, gender and speaker/interlocutor generation as well as for a comparison of intra-speaker variation according to in-group versus out-group interlocutor. Additional factors could be cultural notions of politeness, for example with regard to interactions with parent generation interlocutors (e.g. Leech 2014).

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