

## ALGEMENE VERENIGING VOOR TAALWETENSCHAP

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Aan de leden van de Algemene Vereniging voor Taalwetenschap:

De TIN-dag vindt dit jaar plaats op zaterdag 7 februari 2015 te Utrecht, op Drift 21 en 25. Ook dit jaar maakt de TIN-dag deel uit van de Grote Taaldag, een gezamenlijk initiatief van de AVT, LOT en Anéla. Op de Grote Taaldag vindt ook het jaarlijkse Taalgala plaats, waarop ondermeer de AVT/Anéla-dissertatieprijs 2014 wordt uitgereikt.

In dit boekje vindt u de abstracts van de lezingen op de TIN-dag (AVT) én TTiN-dag (Anéla) in alfabetische volgorde, op naam van de (eerste) spreker. Er werden dit jaar 84 TIN-lezingen aangemeld, die over 10 parallele sessies zijn verdeeld. U vindt het voorlopige programma op de achterkant van het boekje. Houdt u voor eventuele wijzigingen de website van de AVT in de gaten (<http://www.hum.leidenuniv.nl/onderzoek/avt/>).

Tijdens de Grote Taaldag is er de hele dag koffie en thee verkrijgbaar. Sprekers dienen er rekening mee te houden dat ze *geen* gebruik kunnen maken van kopieerfaciliteiten. Iedere zaal heeft de beschikking over een computer en beamer. Als u uw eigen laptop wilt gebruiken, dient u zelf voor de benodigde aansluitkabels te zorgen.

De ledenvergadering van de AVT vindt plaats om 13.15 uur, in de Sweelinckzaal op Drift 21. De agenda vindt u in dit boekje, evenals de notulen van de jaarvergadering van 2014 en de ledenlijst van de AVT.

Wij hopen u op de komende Grote Taaldag te mogen begroeten,

namens het bestuur van de AVT,

Marion Elenbaas



## **Agenda Jaarvergadering AVT**

7 februari 2015, 13.15 uur

Drift 21, Utrecht, Sweelinckzaal

1. Opening en vaststelling agenda
2. Notulen van de jaarvergadering van 1 februari 2014 (bijgevoegd)
3. Mededelingen
4. De LIN-bundel
5. Jaarverslag van de secretaris
6. a. Jaarverslag van de penningmeester
  - b. Verslag van de kascommissie
  - c. Begroting
7. a. Geplande herziening van het bestuur (handout)
  - b. Rick Nouwen is aftredend en niet herkiesbaar. Björn Köhnlein heeft zich bereid getoond het voorzitterschap over te nemen. Anita Auer is aftredend en stelt zich niet herkiesbaar. Het huidige bestuur heeft drie leden bereid gevonden plaats in het nieuwe bestuur te nemen: Elena Tribushinina, Sander Lestrade en Janine Berns. Voorstel voor het nieuwe bestuur:  
  
Voorzitter: Björn Köhnlein  
Secretaris: Marion Elenbaas  
Penningmeester: Suzanne Aalberse  
Ledensecretaris/schaduw-penningmeester: Sander Lestrade  
Leden: Jenny Audring, Elena Tribushinina, Janine Berns
8. Rondvraag
9. Sluiting

## **Jaarverslag AVT**

1 februari 2014, 12.45 uur  
Drift 25, Utrecht, zaal 0.02

1. *Opening*  
Voorzitter Nouwen opent de vergadering om 12.55 uur. De agenda wordt overgenomen.
2. *Notulen van de vorige jaarvergadering (d.d. 9 februari 2013)*  
De notulen worden goedgekeurd.
3. *Mededelingen*  
Secretaris Elenbaas meldt dat het aantal leden 351 bedraagt.

### 4. *LIN-bundel/TIN-dag*

In 2013 waren er meer inzendingen dan voorgaande jaren. De laatste 2 jaar laten daarmee een stijgende lijn zien. De aangepaste call for papers, waarin de voordelen van de LIN-bundel duidelijker benadrukt worden, lijkt hieraan te hebben bijgedragen. Verder is de LIN-bundel inmiddels Open Access beschikbaar (met een window van 3 jaar). Anke de Looper van Benjamins meldt dat de LIN-bundel in de afgelopen 2 jaar 2300 keer is bekeken via Open Access.

Het bestuur is voornemens om met ingang van 2014 de call for papers voor de TIN-dag per e-mail i.p.v. per post naar AVT-leden te sturen. Jacqueline van Kampen heeft de lijst van e-mailadressen van AVT-leden geactualiseerd. Anke de Looper geeft aan dat het ook voor Benjamins handig is om te beschikken over deze lijst. Een suggestie van een van de aanwezigen is om AVT-leden van tijd tot tijd een bericht te sturen met daarin de vraag om eventuele adreswijzigingen door te geven. Dit kan momenteel via een webformulier op de AVT-website.

### 5. *Jaarverslag van de secretaris*

Secretaris Elenbaas meldt geen bijzonderheden.

### 6. *Jaarverslag van de penningmeester*

Penningmeester Aalberse bespreekt de jaarrekening. Ze merkt op dat er meer inkomsten dan uitgaven zijn, maar dat er geen sprake is van winst, omdat de rekening voor de Grote Taaldag/TIN-dag 2013 nog niet betaald is en omdat de rente van de LIN-bundel ook pas in 2014 wordt betaald. Deze kosten zijn terug te vinden op de begroting voor 2014 (punt 8).

### 7. *Verslag van de kascommissie*

De kascommissie (die bestond uit Anja Goldschmidt en Jolien Scholten) heeft de boeken gecontroleerd en goedgekeurd.

### 8. *Begroting*

De begroting wordt door de vergadering goedgekeurd.

### 9. *Bestuur*

Er zijn geen bestuurswisselingen. Voorzitter Nouwen geeft aan dat er uitgekeken moet worden naar 2 nieuwe bestuursleden die per februari 2015 tot het AVT-bestuur kunnen toetreden. De tweede termijn van voorzitter Nouwen loopt dan af en hij zal per februari 2015 het bestuur verlaten. Ook Anita Auer zal dan het bestuur, na één termijn, verlaten,

omdat zij een hoogleraarsbaan in Lausanne heeft aangeboden gekregen.

10. *Relatie AVT en het Comité International Permanent des Linguistes (CIPL)*  
Het AVT bestuur heeft via Camiel Hamans het verzoek gekregen om na te denken over een vertegenwoordigingsrol van de AVT in CIPL. De nederlandse vertegenwoordiging voor CIPL wordt nu nog gedaan door de KNAW, en het secretariaat van CIPL is ook in Nederland gevestigd (aangestuurd door Piet van Sterkenburg), maar dit zal in 2015 ten einde komen. Het CIPL geeft de Linguistic Bibliography uit en organiseert het International Congress of Linguistics, en daarnaast ook kleine congressen over nieuwe onderwerpen in de taalkunde). De contributie bedraagt 300 dollar per jaar. Een belangrijke overweging is of het interessant is voor AVT-leden. De vergadering stemt in met de afspraak dat het AVT-bestuur de komende tijd de voors en tegens gaat inventariseren en dan zal besluiten of het de vertegenwoordiging op zich wil nemen.
11. *Rondvraag*  
Hans Broekhuis verzoekt het AVT-bestuur om aanbevelingen die gedaan worden ter verbetering van de LIN-bundel vast te leggen. Het bestuur zegt toe dit te zullen doen.
12. *Sluiting*  
Voorzitter Nouwen sluit de vergadering om 13.25 uur.

## AVT/Anéla dissertatieprijs 2013 - Juryrapport

Voor de AVT/Anéla dissertatieprijs 2013 zijn 13 dissertaties voorgedragen. Gelukkig bestond de jury niet uit 13 maar uit 5 leden: Wolfgang Herrlitz (emeritus Universiteit Utrecht), Sjaak Kroon (Universiteit Tilburg), Marc van Oostendorp (Meertens Instituut en Universiteit Leiden), Esther Pascual (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen). Ondergetekende, Elma Blom (Universiteit Utrecht) was voorzitter. Secretaris van de jury was Ed Elbers, namens Anéla; Jenny Audring fungeerde namens de AVT als schaduwsecretaris.

Bij de toekenning van de dissertatieprijs is het de eerste keer dat het academisch jaar als uitgangspunt wordt genomen in plaats van het kalenderjaar, zoals in voorafgaande jaren. Dit jaar was er sprake van een overgangsregeling, waarbij dissertaties konden worden voorgedragen die zijn verdedigd in een periode van anderhalf jaar, namelijk het kalenderjaar 2012 en het academisch jaar 2012/2013. Ook bij de dissertatieprijs 2014 zal er nog een overgangsregeling zijn.

Ondanks de ruime inzendingstijd was de oogst dit jaar niet speciaal groot. Wel was ze bijzonder gevarieerd en de kwaliteit was hoog. Na weging van een zestal factoren - reikwijdte, impact, originaliteit, vakmanschap, methodologie en helderheid van de verslaglegging – kwamen in het juryberaad drie dissertaties bovendrijven. In alfabetische volgorde zijn de drie genomineerde dissertaties:

- **Titia Benders**, *Nature's distributional learning experiment: infants' input, infants' perception and computational modelling* (Universiteit van Amsterdam).
- **Jacolien van Rij**, *Pronoun processing: computational, behavioral and psychophysiological studies in children and adults* (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen).
- **Matthias Urban**, *Analyzability and semantic associations in referring expressions: a study in comparative lexicology* (Universiteit Leiden).

Alle drie genomineerde dissertaties blinken uit in het verbinden van velden die vaak en gewoonlijk gescheiden behandeld worden. Ze illustreren alle drie dat het onderscheid tussen de meer theoretische en toegepaste taalwetenschap aan het vervagen is. Hiermee zijn de drie genomineerde dissertaties exemplarisch voor de tijdgeest en maken de dynamiek in de taalwetenschap voelbaar. Alle drie dissertaties zijn zonder twijfel excellent; de jury werd op de proef gesteld, mede door de onvergelykbaarheid, maar heeft haar plicht gedaan en een keuze gemaakt. Voordat de winnaar onthuld wordt, volgt eerst een korte waardering van elk van de drie genomineerde dissertaties.

Het proefschrift van **Titia Benders** gaat over het leren van het contrast tussen de korte a en de lange aa in het Nederlands. Aan de hand van dit minimale contrast leidt Benders de lezer van de klankwolken die moeders produceren via de waarneming van babies naar de modellering van het taalverwervingsproces door middel van computerbabies. Het is een proefschrift dat bestaat uit artikelen, maar de spanningsboog heeft van een boek. De jury waardeert de elegantie en onafhankelijkheid van dit proefschrift. Ze was onder de indruk van de wijze waarop Benders haar boodschap overbrengt. De samenvatting aan het eind is van uitstekende didactische kwaliteit. Een saillant detail is dat de Nederlandse moeders die meewerkten aan Benders' onderzoek veel glimlachten tegen hun babies, waardoor het a-aa contrast voor hun babies beduidend lastiger wordt.

**Jacolie van Rij** behandelt in haar proefschrift persoonlijke voornaamwoorden. Volwassenen zijn goed in het oplossen van deze dubbelzinnige woordjes, maar kinderen worstelen ermee. Van Rij geeft ons inzicht in het hoe en waarom en zoekt hierbij een spannend snijvlak van disciplines. Ze verbindt taalkundige vragen met cognitieve modellen en menselijke interactie. Van Rij is van veel markten thuis en presenteert een indrukwekkende reeks aan vernieuwende experimentele methodes. Zo meet ze pupilverwijding en elektrische spanning in de hersenen in plaats van grammaticaliteitsoordelen te verzamelen. Via deze methodes dringt ze door tot onze onbewuste taalkennis, en tegelijk tot de psychologische en sociale realiteit van taal. Dit is een proefschrift dat we ons 15 jaar geleden niet voor hadden kunnen stellen.

In zijn proefschrift bespreekt **Matthias Urban** lexicale strategieën in een ogenschijnlijk bonte verzameling talen. Hij scoort hierbij een fundamenteel punt: het lexicon is meer dan een appendix van de grammatica. Door een combinatie van zorgvuldige selectie en het toepassen van kwantitatieve en kwalitatieve technieken op de analyse van meer dan honderd, grotendeels exotische, talen, reduceert Urban talige pluriformiteit tot enkele basisprincipes, zonder de details uit het oog te verliezen of zichzelf in details te verliezen. Het proefschrift is klassiek te noemen en getuigt van grote belesenheid en geleerdheid. In het historisch-theoretisch overzicht schroomt Urban niet om ideeën uit de 16de eeuw te verbinden met hedendaagse inzichten. Door de breedte en diepte zal dit werk van grote invloed zijn op de vergelijkende taalwetenschap en daarbuiten.

Vanwege het meesterschap, de indrukwekkende presentatie en de manier waarop de auteur in het hele proefschrift de lezer het gevoel geeft boven de materie te staan, heeft de jury besloten de prijs dit jaar uit te reiken aan **Titia Benders**.

Elma Blom  
1 februari 2014

## Alfabetisch overzicht van ingediende abstracts

### Lobke Aelbrecht

Universiteit Gent

*And if it moves?* Revisiting the VP-ellipsis site in V-stranding VPE languages

Akmajian & Wasow (1975) and Sag (1976) observed that, aside from the main verb, English VPE always elides auxiliary *being*, whilst *been* is optionally deleted. Aelbrecht & Harwood (to appear) capture this pattern by arguing English VPE targets the progressive aspectual layer, including *being*. Optional *been* deletion arises from the auxiliary optionally raising outside the ellipsis site.

This talk extends this analysis to other VPE-languages, focusing on European Portuguese (EP). Unlike English, EP displays V-to-T movement of the main verb and is considered a V-stranding VPE-language (Goldberg 2002): when the main verb is finite, it raises outside the ellipsis site and escapes deletion. I examine cases with non-finite main verbs and find that main verbs inflected for progressive aspect are elided, parallel to *being*, but if inflected for perfect aspect, they only optionally delete, just like *been*. I argue that the same constituent is targeted in EP as in English, and that the optional deletion similarly arises via optional raising of the EP main verb out of the ellipsis site.

### Boban Arsenijević & Marko Simonović

Universiteit Utrecht, University of Potsdam

The prosody of Serbo-Croatian locatives: Some preliminary remarks

The standard grammars of Serbo-Croatian describe a system in which the locative and the dative case can only be distinguished by prosody. The difference is limited to monosyllabic noun stems belonging to two declensions which have null desinence, and is strictly limited to items which have a non-animate referent. Moreover, the difference is always of the same type: the locative form shows a rising accent (a span of two syllables with a high tone) where the dative form has a falling accent (the first syllable has a high tone).

(Capitalised letters mark vowels with a high tone, double letters mark length.)

Nominative	Dative	Locative
knEEz 'count'	knEEzu	knEEzu
knEEz 'Knez Mihajlova St.'	knEEzu	knEEzU

We discuss two important 'cracks' in this system. First, Martinović (2012) shows that CC-final nouns do not allow the locative suffix to carry a high tone (e.g. pArku \*pArkU). Second, many modern speakers seem to extend the locative prosodic shape to the dative forms (or, as an intermediate step, to all dative forms with a preposition).

### Bernat Bardagil-Mas

CLCG, University of Groningen

Panará and the case of weak pronominals

This paper presents original data from Panará (Jê family, Brazil) with the aim to explore its ergative properties and to put forward a hypothesis of their motivations, as well as to identify the obstacles of such an approach.

Panará exhibits an alignment split in the paradigm of weak pronominals, with an ergative alignment in the realis mood and an accusative alignment in the irrealis mood (Dourado, 2001). Our analysis suggests an account of Panará ergativity in which structural case assignment forces the transitive subject to be adpositionally licensed in the sentence as a full



constituent. It would seem that irrealis sentences requires quirky-like morphological case to be realized (a) on the ergative clitic in transitive constructions, or (b) by default on the absolutive clitic in intransitives. Thus, case assignment and a mood-related functional category (Nonato, 2013) both conspire to generate an alignment split in pronominal clitics, deriving the nominative alignment in the irrealis mood, and to provide an ergative marking of full NPs.

### **Margot van den Berg & studenten TW3V14102**

Universiteit Utrecht

Variatie in het gebruik van positie-werkwoorden en locatieve adposities in het Nederlands en het Sranantongo

We rapporteren in deze lezing over ons onderzoek naar variatie in beschrijvingen van statische spatiale relaties in het Nederlands en het Sranantongo. Data zijn verzameld in Nederland in 2014 door middel van interviews met mannen en vrouwen (jongeren, volwassenen, ouderen), waarin gebruik gemaakt werd van vragenlijsten en Bowerman en Pederson's (1992) elicitatie stimulus genaamd "Topological Relations Picture Stimulus", kortweg BowPed. Geïnterviewden kregen afbeeldingen van ruimtelijk gesitueerde objecten (x) te zien en werden vervolgens gevraagd de locatie van het object te benoemen ('waar is x?'). Onze bevindingen verdiepen bestaande inzichten in het gebruik van positiewerkwoorden en adposities in het Nederlands met betrekking tot codeerverplichting, codeerkeuze en codeervariatie, en dragen zo bij aan het onderzoek naar grammaticalisatie van positiewerkwoorden. Verder vergelijken we onze Nederlandse Sranantongo data met eerder onderzoek naar statische spatiale relaties in het Sranantongo van Suriname (Essegbey 2005) en onderzoeken we of de gevonden verschillen verklaard kunnen worden door taalcontact met het Nederlands.

### **Tessa van den Berg, Frank Hakemulder & Hannah De Mulder**

Universiteit Utrecht

De Author Recognition Test: De relatie tussen het lezen van fictie en taalvaardigheid

De Author Recognition Test (ART; Stanovich en West, 1989) is een veelgebruikte maat om te bepalen hoeveel mensen lezen. De participant wordt gevraagd om op een lijst met allerlei namen de namen van bestaande auteurs aan te kruisen. Mensen die veel lezen kennen meer auteurs en scoren hoger. Het leesgedrag kan dus zo gemeten worden zonder het risico dat participanten sociaal gewenste antwoorden geven.

In de huidige proefstudie is onderzocht of een ART ook ingezet zou kunnen worden om het leesgedrag van kinderen in kaart te brengen. Vierentwintig 8- tot 10-jarige kinderen kregen een kinderversie van de ART voorgelegd alsmede een aantal maten om de taalvaardigheid te bepalen. Uit de resultaten blijkt dat er een sterke significante positieve correlatie is tussen de kinderversie van de ART en technische leesvaardigheid. Deze bevinding suggereert niet alleen dat de blootstelling aan boeken via deze test gemeten kan worden, maar ook dat wanneer kinderen meer tijd besteden aan het lezen van boeken, zij beter zullen zijn (of worden) in technische leesvaardigheid.

## **Geertje van Bergen & Lotte Hogeweg**

Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, CLS, Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen  
Dutch discourse particles in terms of (inter)subjectivity

Dutch connectives have been analyzed quite extensively in terms of (inter)subjectivity (e.g. Pander Maat and Degand 2001, Spooren et al. 2010, Sanders et al. 2012). Dutch discourse particles, such as *toch*, *wel* and *eigenlijk* have not been described as systematically with this notion. In this talk we will discuss how (inter)subjectivity can be a useful and maybe even indispensable notion in accounting for the differences between seemingly similar particles. For example, whereas *wel*, *toch* and *eigenlijk* are all related to expectancy, these particles are not mutually interchangeable. We will argue that their division of labor is determined by differences in speaker-hearer perspectives.

## **Marleen Berkhout, Angela Stevens & Peter Coopmans**

Utrecht Institute of Linguistics OTS

Subject-Object Asymmetry in Dutch Children's Relative Clause Comprehension?

The subject/object asymmetry found in studies on the comprehension of wh-questions has also been documented for relative clause comprehension by Dutch children (e.g. Duinmeijer et al. 2014). Here we report on the results of a study which investigated how Dutch children interpret structurally ambiguous relative clauses when factors like animacy and prominence are perfectly balanced. Children heard stories with two salient events in which three equally prominent, animate characters were involved (e.g.: *X painted Y & Z painted X*). Children then had to refer to the antecedent of the relative clause:

- (1) Ik zie het dier dat X schilderde  
'I see the animal that X painted/painted X'

The choice of referent directly reflected the child's interpretation of the relative clause. The order of events in a story was controlled for to investigate the influence of the last-event. There was no significant difference between the number of subject and object interpretations and no effect of last-event was observed. This suggests that in a clean, ambiguous setting the subject/object asymmetry may disappear. We will discuss possible reasons for this observation.

## **Janine Berns**

CLS, RU Nijmegen

Low vowels in Belgian French

French inherited two low vowels from Latin, which displayed for a long time a clear distinction in anteriority. The vowel in *patte* ('paw'), for instance, was front, whereas the vowel in *pâte* ('pastry') was clearly back. In France, this contrast has become unstable during the last decades: the back vowel tends to move forward and to merge with its anterior counterpart. Sometimes a clear distinction is maintained in vowel quality and/or length, but in a considerable number of cases, the difference becomes partially or fully neutralized. This phenomenon has attained all regions of France, and seems to be diffused through the community by the younger generations. Still, the Belgian speakers of French are said to maintain a systematic length difference between the two vowels, but this observation has never received any clear sociophonetic attention. This talk considers three varieties of Belgian French, provides a description of the degree of contrast maintenance in these varieties, and compares the situation in Belgium to the French findings.

## **Jelke Bloem, Arjen Versloot & Fred Weerman**

University of Amsterdam

Verbal cluster order and linguistic processing complexity

This study discusses the relation between the processing complexity of a construction, and grammatical variation. In certain cases, such as Dutch verbal clusters, a speaker of a language can choose between different word orders or constructions to express essentially the same meaning:

- (1) Ik denk dat ik het [begrepen heb]
- (2) Ik denk dat ik het [heb begrepen]

Corpus studies have shown that a range of factors contribute to this order variation. We conducted a large-scale corpus study in order to investigate what these factors have in common. One likely explanation is processing complexity, which has been linked to other variation phenomena such as the dative alternation. We show that several factors indicating higher sentence complexity are associated with order (1) which is acquired first, while several factors indicating lower complexity are associated with order (2) which is acquired later. This indicates that speakers will produce the more entrenched word order, when the context is more difficult to process. There is also some conflicting evidence however, which we will discuss.

## **Gerrit Bloothoofd & David Onland**

Universiteit Utrecht

150 jaar verandering in het aantal voornamen

Een voornaam kiezen ouders niet zomaar voor hun kind. Ze worden in de keuze beïnvloed door hun sociale omgeving en de tijd waarin het kind zal opgroeien. In grote lijnen werd tot het midden van de vorige eeuw een kind in de eerste voornaam naar een grootouder vernoemd, terwijl daarna naamgeving als een modeverschijnsel beschreven kan worden en de bevolking veel meer differentieert in voorkeuren. Maar ook het aantal namen dat aan een kind wordt gegeven is modegevoelig, en dat gaat terug tot ver voor de 20ste eeuw. Zo was in het midden van de 19e eeuw één naam de norm in Noord-Nederland en twee in het zuiden. In de afgelopen 150 jaar veranderen de verhoudingen in het aantal voornamen echter voortdurend, zonder geslachtverschil. Er zijn gemarkeerde perioden waarbij vooral 1916 opvalt door een spectaculaire en langdurige reactie op een wetsvoorstel voor een voornamenbelasting die nooit geheven is. De huidige stand van zaken, en welke namen op welke positie de voorkeur hebben (in tijd en plaats) zal worden besproken.

## **Minne G. de Boer**

ex Universiteit Utrecht, Italiaans

Voorzetselsystemen vergeleken

Ik zal een vergelijking maken tussen het voorzetselsysteem van het Nederlands en het Engels. Mijn corpusmateriaal is Frederik van Eedens *De koele meren des doods* en de Engelse vertaling *Hedwig's Journey*. Allereerst zal ik een frequentieoverzicht geven van de voorkomende voorzetsels. Dit houdt een aantal beslissingen in over wat een voorzetsel is. Voorzetsels drukken relaties uit: de eerste vraag is daarom welke soort relaties er onderscheiden kunnen worden en hoe we die kunnen indelen. De volgende vraag is tussen wat voor entiteiten die relaties gelegd worden: dat is voor een groot deel een syntactische vraag. De comparatieve vraag is hoe de gevonden relaties gelexicaliseerd worden en in hoeverre de verwante vormen en de bijbehorende betekenisnetwerken elkaar overlappen. Bij

*in* zal er een grote overlap zijn, bij *over* is dat veel minder het geval, bij *aan* en *on* is de overlap minimaal. Het resultaat van dit onderzoek moet een vergelijkmodel opleveren dat aan ander materiaal en aan andere talenparen getoetst kan worden.

### **Lucas van Buuren**

Linguavox.nl

More on rhythm and cognition in Dutch

In last year's paper (see [www.linguavox](http://www.linguavox.nl)), using Dutch examples like

waaROM verhinderde ze 't 'm je te telefoneren?

waaROM verhinderde zij het hem jou te telefoneren?

(WHY prevented she it him you to telephone?)

I tried to show that 'sentence stress', i.e. rhythm, reflects syntactic process in the speaker's brain. Making a distinction between T(onic), S(tressed) and u(nstressed) words I further suggested that T means 'contrast', i.e. 'new', u means 'given' or 'old' information, and S means neither old nor new but 'present perception pointed at'.

The old-or-new status of S-words is (still?) a hot potato in the literature, leading inter alia to the idea that it depends on the 'scope' of the tonic or pitch accent. Selkirk (1995:554) indeed qualifies it as 'the central problem in the characterization of the prosody-focus relation.' van Buuren (2006) argues that 'scope' is a red herring. The unique choices in Dutch between stressed and unstressed pronouns appear to lead to the same conclusion and I hope to pursue this matter further in my talk.

### **Ava Creemers & Jeannette Schaeffer**

Universiteit van Amsterdam

Grammatical and pragmatic properties of the DP in children with Specific Language Impairment (SLI) and in children with High Functioning Autism (HFA)

This study investigates whether grammar and pragmatics are separate linguistic components or not (cf. Fodor, 1983 vs. Rumelhart & McClelland, 1987), and whether children with SLI and children with HFA have similar or distinct etiologies (cf. Bishop 2010). Hypothesizing that children with SLI are impaired in grammar, but not in pragmatics, and children with HFA in pragmatics, but not in grammar, we predict a double dissociation between grammar and pragmatics.

We investigated two DP-related phenomena, one grammatical, and one pragmatic: the mass-count distinction (grammatical) (Borer, 2005) and the choice for a definite/indefinite article (pragmatic) (Schaeffer & Matthewson, 2005). We tested 28 children with HFA aged 6-14, age and gender matched to 28 children with SLI, and 28 TD controls on a Quantity Judgment Task (mass-count) and an Elicited Production Task (article choice). Our results show that pragmatics can be impaired independently from grammar (in HFA) and vice versa (in SLI), providing evidence for domain-specificity of grammar and pragmatics, and against shared etiologies for SLI and HFA.

### **Marijke De Belder**

FWO/KUL/CRISSP

On the syntactic relevance of an epenthetic consonant

In this talk I discuss the epenthetic consonant (EC) *-s-* that appears after roots ending in velar consonant in substandard Dutch diminutives (DIM):

- (1) a. *dag-s-ke*      b. *tak-s-ke*      c. *ring-s-ke*  
       day-EC-DIM      branch-EC-DIM      ring-EC-DIM  
       ‘short day’      ‘small branch’      ‘small ring’

I argue that even though its occurrence is determined by the segmental context, it is a morpheme that realizes a piece of structure. More specifically, it spells out a scale. To show this, I discuss the epenthetic consonant in Yiddish diminutives which occurs at exactly the same syntactic position, but in a different morphophonological context (Pierce & Boas 2010). I further discuss the illicitness of the *-s-* in substandard Belgian diminutive forms of interjections (e.g. *merci-kes* ‘thanks-DIM’). The interjections arguably do not contain a scale. As such I derive the contrast between the licit DP *twee dag-s-ke-s* (two day-EC-DIM-PL) and the illicit interjection *\*Dag-s-kes!* (bye-DIM). The facts illustrate the theoretical relevance of morpho-phonological irregularities, such as epenthetic consonants, for syntactic research.

### **Varun deCastro-Arazola, Peter van Kranenburg & Berit Janssen**

Leiden Universiteit & Meertens Instituut

Textsetting in Dutch folk songs: Matching phonological features to the tune

Songs can be considered composite objects consisting of a text set to a tune. In a variety of languages, it has been observed that there are constraints on the way the linguistic features of the text (e.g. stress, tone) are combined with the musical features of the tune (e.g. metrical prominence, melodic intervals). For instance, stressed syllables tend to be combined with metrically stronger positions, the opposite being considered a textsetting mismatch. Explicit textsetting rules have been formalised for a handful of languages (e.g. Halle & Lerdahl 1993; Dell & Halle 2009; Schellenberg 2013 for English, French, Mandarin), but this is still lacking for most languages. In this talk we will present a preliminary set of rules governing text-tune combinations in Dutch. The empirical ground for the proposal is the MTC-FS corpus, containing over 4000 Dutch folk songs (van Kranenburg et al. 2014). Avoided combinations primarily involve prominence mismatches, but these also interact with melisma and number of syllables in the word, among others.

### **Liesbeth De Clerck**

Universiteit Leiden

On the lexical representation of the Dutch word *zelf*

What is the lexical meaning of the word *zelf* (Levin and Rappaport), given the fact that it can occur in several positions of the sentence?

- (1) Mieke (*zelf*) lost (*zelf*) het probleem niet (*zelf*) op.  
       ‘Mieke (herself) does (herself) not solve the problem (herself/by herself).’

The first component of meaning, “reference”, is realized through association with a DP. In order to fully understand the lexical meaning of *zelf*, the role of *zelf* in the information structure has to be better understood (Eckardt, Féry). It is part of the lexical meaning of *zelf* to play a role in the information structure and the context. I speak here from a second meaning component, that I call “accent”.

Due to its two meaning components, the meaning of *zelf* can be understood in terms of identity. *Zelf* identifies the associated referent (“reference”) with an earlier relevant occurrence of this referent through the role of *zelf* in the information structure (“accent”). I illustrate this analysis with examples from the *Corpus Gesproken Nederlands* (‘Corpus Spoken Dutch’).

**Jan Don, Yvonne van Baal & Fenna Bergsma**  
Universiteit van Amsterdam  
(De) Mij(n(e(s))) – Complex Possessives in Dutch

In this paper we would like to start from the observation that the form of Dutch possessive pronouns displays the famous \*ABA-pattern (cf. Bobaljik 2012). We observe that the substantive possessive ((*de*) *mijne* ‘(the) mine’) is built from the possessive (*mijn* ‘my’) which is in turn built from the accusative personal pronoun (*mij* ‘me’). It is hard to believe that this formal correspondence is coincidental since it recurs in many languages. So, we don’t find substantive possessives formally related to the accusative personal pronoun, if there is a non-related (suppletive) form for the genitive (=\*ABA). We propose a nanosyntactic analysis along the lines of Caha (2009) in which possessive pronouns are analysed as the genitive form of personal pronouns. Furthermore, the substantive possessive forms result from merger with a nominal head, which is realized as schwa. As a by-product of our analysis, we explain the overgeneralization of –n in *joun*, in Dutch child language. We also hope to address the form *mijnes* (‘mine’).

### **Annemarie van Dooren**

Utrecht University

Dutch deontic modals and their predicates: A puzzle for compositionality

Dutch deontic modals can combine with verbal (1) and non-verbal predicates (2). The presence of the repetitive reading in (3a), but not in (3b) shows that the two types of sentences are semantically different: While modals with non-verbal predicates can denote processes, modals with copular predicates denote states. As the copula is assumed to be semantically empty, the difference between (1) and (2) poses a puzzle for compositionality. Based on arguments on coordination, among others, it is argued that a more elaborate semantic analysis is needed for modals without a following infinitive.

- |     |   |         |
|-----|---|---------|
| (1) | Het afval moet buiten <b>zijn</b> .                 | deontic |
|     | <i>the garbage must outside be</i>                  |         |
|     | ‘The garbage must be outside.’                      |         |
| (2) | Het afval moet buiten.                              | deontic |
|     | <i>the garbage must outside</i>                     |         |
|     | ‘The garbage must be (put) outside.’                |         |
| (3) | a. Elke ochtend moet het afval buiten.              | deontic |
|     | <i>every morning must the garbage outside</i>       |         |
|     | ‘Every morning the garbage must be put outside.’    |         |
|     | b. Elke ochtend moet het afval buiten <b>zijn</b> . |         |
|     | <i>every morning must the garbage outside be</i>    |         |
|     | ‘Every morning the garbage must be outside.’        |         |

### **Merijn de Dreu**

Universiteit Leiden

Possessives in Zulu

In this talk I will discuss several aspects of possessives in Zulu. First I will explain how the Zulu possessive is similar to the relative clause despite differences in morphology. Then I will discuss a pattern in which the possessive marker seems to agree with both the possessor and possessum. I will show that the agreement with the possessor is only apparent and that the marker only shows agreement with the possessum. The last thing I will discuss is how Zulu

deals with arguments of nominalizations such as infinitives, and how to explain the order of arguments following such a nominalization.

### **Anoek Dubois**

Universiteit Leiden

Het gebruik van de preposities *na* en *naar* in de 18e eeuw

In dit onderzoek wordt nagegaan welke taalnorm werd gepropageerd in de 18e eeuw betreffende het gebruik van de preposities *na* en *naar* en in hoeverre deze destijds het taalgebruik heeft beïnvloed. In het hedendaagse Standaardnederlands wordt variatie in deze preposities aangetroffen, die zou samenhangen met een verdwijning van de slot-*r* die hooguit zou teruggaan tot halverwege de 19e eeuw. De variatie in deze preposities is echter niet kenmerkend voor het hedendaagse taalgebruik. In het Middelnederlands en Vroegnieuwnederlands kwam reeds variatie voor betreffende *na* en *naar*, die echter niet met de verdwijning van de slot-*r* samenhangt, maar met de oorsprong van *naar* als vergrotende trap van *na*. In de 17e en 18e eeuw verschijnen diverse grammatica's waarin een onderscheid tussen beide vormen wordt bepleit, waarvan de Proeve van taal- en dichtkunde van Huydecoper (1730) de meest invloedrijke zou zijn. Uit het gebruik van de preposities in diverse tekstgenres, is echter af te leiden dat de gepropageerde taalnorm niet direct invloed heeft uitgeoefend op de keuze voor *na* en *naar*.

### **Els Elffers**

Universiteit van Amsterdam

Uitroepende zinnen

De uitroepende zin neemt in de geschiedenis van de taalkunde een bijzondere plaats in vanwege zijn controversiële karakter. De categorie heeft het tot op heden weten te handhaven, maar de manier-waarop zou best wat meer controversie mogen oproepen. Onderzoek naar de uitroepende zin is niet gebaat bij een exclusieve koppeling aan het thema 'taal en gevoel'. Vanuit analytisch-taalkundig perspectief kan de uitroepende zin verhelderend beschreven worden als een taalteken dat formeel gekenmerkt wordt door een "uitvergroot" intonatiepatroon en semantisch door een pregnante presentatie van de taalhandeling of een focuselement. Combinatie(on)mogelijkheden met andere taaltekens vormen een uitdagend en nog weinig verkend onderzoeksterrein.

### **Paula Fenger, Ava Creemers & Marlijn Meijer**

University of Connecticut, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Humbolt-Universitaet zu Berlin

On the Syntactic Nature of the Dutch Particle *be-*

We provide a novel syntactic analysis of the Dutch particle *be-*. This particle is interesting, because it can (i) form verbs when attached to verbs (*be-vind<sub>v</sub>-en* 'to be located'), nouns (*be-dijk<sub>N</sub>-en* 'to dam up') or adjectives (*be-groot<sub>A</sub>-en* 'to economize'), and (ii) form adpositions out of adjectives (*be-ned<sub>A</sub>-en*, 'below') or prepositions (*be-ove(r)<sub>P</sub>-(e)n* 'above').

Our paper provides several arguments against Hoekstra, Lansu and Westerduin's (1987) small clause account of resultative verbs formed with *be-*. Instead, it adopts Aboh's (2010) analysis in which adpositions are viewed as complex phrases, consisting of two prepositions (P1 and P2). These complex phrases involve a functional projection, headed by the preposition P2. Aboh shows that this analysis holds for adpositions in Gungbe, and extends this to English and Dutch (see 1).

- (1) [P<sub>1P</sub>[P<sub>1b</sub>[FP[F<sub>uit+en</sub> [IP[DP *de cirkel*] [I<sub>tuit+en</sub> [NP<sub>tuit</sub>]]]]]]]]]  
 PRT out INF DEF circle

We extend this analysis to Dutch verbal complexes, and we argue in favour of an analysis in which *be-* expresses a functional category that selects a PredicatePhrase, in both adpositions and verbs.

### Steven Gilbers

Rijkuniversiteit Groningen

Second African American English dialect acquisition in relation to regional hiphop identity

Contrary to earlier beliefs (e.g. Labov, 1969), African American English is a regionally heterogeneous language variety (Wolfram, 2007). Considering its intricate relationship with hiphop culture, hiphop's extreme focus on regionality, and the fact that regional hiphop identity is primarily expressed linguistically (Morgan, 2001), this study investigated how hiphop's focus on regionality may affect phonological second African American English dialect acquisition. To this end, a diachronic case study was conducted on the second dialect acquisition of West Coast African American English by the rapper 2Pac, who was born in New York, migrated to California post-puberty, and eventually became the leader of West Coast hiphop. An integrated approach consisting of a Dynamic Systems Theory, an Exemplar Theory, and a sociolinguistic dimension was used to make predictions on variability levels, direction of assimilation, and rate of assimilation regarding 2Pac's acquisition of West Coast vowel duration norms. The results support these predictions, showing that 2Pac never managed to attain a native-like West Coast African American English pronunciation.

### James Griffiths & Craig Sailor

CLCG Groningen

PPs with gaps in

Recent comparative approaches to syntactic variation across dialects have sought to reduce components of surface variation to the influence of individual features on particular syntactic heads. We apply this methodology to a novel point of dialectal microvariation in English PPs. In British English, certain PPs embedded within possessive contexts can surface with a Prepositional Object Gap (POG), an option unavailable in other varieties (e.g. American English).

- (1) a. This film has monsters in \_.  
 b. The church with the cemetery behind \_ is scary.

POGs only occur under possessive HAVE/WITH. This superstructure is crucial for licensing POGs: building on Levinson's (2011) analysis of HAVE/WITH possessives (HWPs), we show that the dependency between the possessor and the POG is an A-dependency: the gap is derived by A-movement of the possessor across the intervening possessum. We show that microvariation in the availability of POGs can be reduced to the selectional properties of the possessive head in HWPs.



## **Will Harwood**

KU Leuven

Reduced Relatives and Extended Phases: Accounting for the aspectual restrictions on English reduced relative clauses

This talk aims to explain the aspectual restrictions on reduced relative clauses (RRCs) in Standard English under a phase-based analysis as an alternative to the standard WHIZ-deletion analysis.

Unlike full relative clauses in English, which are able to include tense, modality, perfect aspect, progressive aspect, and voice, RRCs only exhibit progressive and passive inflections. I first of all demonstrate that these are indeed progressive and passive inflections and not gerundive, nominal or adjectival inflections, and then explain these facts by claiming that RRCs are comprised only of the clause-internal phase in English. Following Harwood's (2013, 2014) claim that the clause-internal phase in English extends as far as the progressive aspectual layer, but not the perfect aspectual layer, this explains why progressive and passive forms are attested in English RRCs, but not perfect aspect, modality or tense.

## **Will Harwood & Tanja Temmerman**

KU Leuven

Idioms and Phases: Size limitations on idioms in Dutch dialects and English

This talk starts out from Svenonius' (2005) claim that idioms are constrained by phases. We focus on how idioms can be used as a diagnostic for phasehood, and how such data demonstrate that the size of the clause-internal phase varies cross-linguistically.

Idioms are commonly constructed from the verb and its arguments, e.g. *kick the bucket* (verb+object), or *the shit hit the fan* (subject+verb+object), thus corresponding to the traditional  $\nu$ P-phase.

However, there seems to be cross-linguistic variation with regards to the size of idioms. In English, idioms exist that are dependent on passive voice or progressive aspect. Going one step further, Dutch dialects have a plethora of idioms that are dependent on perfect aspect or modality. We argue that these data show that in English, the  $\nu$ P-phase is as large as the progressive aspect layer, and in Dutch, the  $\nu$ P-phase extends all the way to the modal layer. There thus appears to be cross-linguistic variation with regards to the size of the clause-internal phase, for which we provide a formal account.

## **Anne Rose Haverkamp & Inge Otto**

Universiteit Leiden

The relevance of relative frequency: The story of complex words

Complex words, such as *onterecht* and *ontevreden*, are words that consist of more than one morpheme. According to Hay (2001), the relative frequency with which you come across such complex words (e.g. *onterecht*) and their base form (e.g. *terecht*), matters for the way in which you process them.

The idea is that if you encounter *onterecht* much more often than its base form *terecht*, the complex form will be more easily stored in the mental lexicon as one lexical item than if it were the other way around. If the base were more frequent than the complex word, you would process *onterecht* indirectly through its parts *on* and *terecht*.

That frequency largely determines the way in which complex words are stored, has often been claimed (Baayen, 2007). However, the exact role of relative frequency, remains unclear. We set up an experiment to find out whether the relative frequency of Dutch complex words

correlates with the decomposability of that word, as Hay (2001) concluded is true for English.

**Inge Hindriks, Anoek Dubois, Jennifer Meijs, Inge Manon Otto, Jos Pacilly & Johanneke Caspers**

Universiteit Leiden

De moeilijkste vocalen van het Nederlands: Lorres beoordelingen van een groep NT2-leerders

„Ik heb nooit naar iets anders getracht dan dit,” is de openingszin van een gedicht van Gerrit Kouwenaar. Aan de hand van dit gedicht oefenden 25 tweedetaalleerders van het Nederlands hun uitspraak. De opnames van deze uitingen lieten wij vervolgens beoordelen op het gebied van frasering, intonatie en articulatie door het hiervoor ontwikkelde computerscript Lorre, welke is gebaseerd op het programma Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2014).

In onze presentatie bespreken wij Lorres klinkerbeoordelingen van een heterogene groep NT2-leerders. Lorre baseert deze oordelen op formanten (F1, F2). De onderzoeksvraag luidt: Welke klinkers werden het slechtst uitgesproken en waren daarom waarschijnlijk relatief moeilijk? Neri, Cucchiarini & Strik (2006) geven bijvoorbeeld aan dat de /ɑ/, /œy/, /a:/, /y/, /ei/ en /v/ moeilijke vocalen zijn.

Daarnaast gaan we in op het matchen van de modelsprekers met de NT2-leerders. Maakt het bijvoorbeeld uit of de uitspraak van een mannelijke NT2-leerder geëvalueerd wordt met een mannelijke of vrouwelijke modelspreker als referentie?

**Frans Hinskens<sup>1</sup>, Roeland van Hout<sup>2</sup> & Pieter Muysken<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Meertens Instituut, <sup>2</sup>Radboud Universiteit

Moroccan Dutch and Turkish Dutch ethnolects: Aspects of variation in grammatical gender marking

In our research on ethnolectal variation in present-day Dutch, interactional speech data (from 160 one hour conversations) and elicited individual data were collected among 10-12 and 18-20 year old male adolescents with Turkish, Moroccan and non-immigrant Dutch backgrounds, in Amsterdam and Nijmegen.

Our presentation will focus on variation in the expression of grammatical gender, both in determiners and in adnominal inflection. Standard Dutch as well as Nijmegen and Amsterdam varieties distinguish common and neuter gender; in our data neuter gender varies greatly. Variability in the interactions is conditioned both linguistically and socially. In principle, its analysis helps address several questions: to which extent is the variability rooted in substrates, in processes of second language acquisition and in endogenous non-standard varieties? What is the place of ethnolectal variation in the verbal repertoires of the speakers, and do ethnolectal features cross over to other groups?

**Jack Hoeksema & Erna ten Have**

RUG

Wazinnig goed of bar slecht? Bijwoorden van graad op de middelbare school

Met behulp van een forced-choice test hebben we de passieve kennis van het gebruik van een aantal bijwoorden van graad onderzocht bij scholieren van de brugklas t/m Havo 5. Wanneer gebruik je *nogal* of *vrij*, en wanneer *hoogst* of *uiterst*? We hebben restricties van syntactische, semantische, pragmatische en prosodische aard bekeken. We vonden dat de scholieren een aantal, soms vrij subtiele, onderscheidingen bleken te kennen, maar ook dat een aantal andere amper of niet bekend waren. Problematisch daarbij was dat we weinig of geen vooruitgang konden waarnemen bij vergelijking van brugklassers met vierde/vijfdeklassers. We hebben

onze testresultaten vergeleken met corpusgegevens, om te zien in hoeverre de scholieren het meer professionele taalgebruik van journalisten en literaire schrijvers op het punt van de graadaanduiding benaderen. Omdat het juiste gebruik van graadaanduiders hoort bij een goede schrijfstijl, doen we de suggestie om in het onderwijs gericht te oefenen op het gebruik van deze bijwoorden, en daarbij docenten ook gebruik te laten maken van corpusgegevens voor een meer op empirische leest geschoeide soort van schrijfonderwijs.

### **Eric Hoekstra & Bouke Slofstra**

Fryske Akademy, Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences

Signalling conversion? Pseudo-participles and bahuvrihi adjectives in the history of Frisian

Bahuvrihi adjectives can be derived from nouns by various morphological means such as:

- zero-conversion
- the addition of a declensional *-e*
- the affix of past participles, as in Modern English *renowned* (from the noun *renown*)

We will discuss how these means were employed in Old Frisian and related languages. However, later stages of Frisian including Modern Frisian still feature a number of bahuvrihi adjectives ending in *-e* (example *reapanne*, meaning ‘with red roof tiles’), unlike Modern English or Modern Dutch. The question arises why Frisian still features such adjectival derivations in *-e*.

### **Helen de Hoop & Erica Kemperman**

Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen

Een opgeluchte Wilders ‘a relieved Wilders’ won’t last long

Indefinite articles are generally used to introduce new or unfamiliar entities to the discourse. In noun phrases such as ‘een opgeluchte Wilders’ (a relieved Wilders), however, the proper noun denotes a familiar individual who does not even have to be new in the discourse. Yet, an indefinite article is used in this construction. We have conducted a corpus study in written Dutch as well as a production experiment in order to find out when such an indefinite article may occur. We will show that the adjective plays a crucial role in that the use of an indefinite article in combination with a proper noun is mostly found when the adjective denotes a state of a shorter duration (‘stage level short’ adjectives). We will use semantic type-theory to explain these findings.

### **Ferdy Hubers**

Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen

Processing grammatical norm violations: How the brain responds to *hun hebben* ‘them have’

In Dutch, sentences like *Wat maken hun een vreselijk lawaai!* ‘They are making a terrible noise!’ are quite common in everyday language. According to prescriptive grammar, however, these sentences are incorrect. Many people, often highly-educated, claim that for them these grammatical norm violations are truly ungrammatical. Those people often experience negative emotions (e.g. repugnance) when getting exposed to these constructions. To investigate whether these negative emotions can be seen in the processing of grammatical norm violations I conducted an fMRI experiment. I examined the differences in processing between grammatical norm violations, true ungrammaticalities, and grammatical sentences. I also compared the processing of grammatical norm violations to the processing of sentences describing socially unacceptable situations to see whether social cognition is involved in processing grammatical norm violations. I found that brain responses to

grammatical norm violations differ from both grammatical and ungrammatical sentences, and I will try to explain the differences and similarities among the various types of sentences that I tested.

### **Riny Huijbregts**

Utrecht University/OTS

Puzzles & Paradoxes: From Complex Visibles to Simple Invisibles

Problems challenging the standard theory may occasionally receive a natural account under radically changed reformulation. It's a serendipitous value of successful research programs that they provide us, sometimes, with unexpected explanations for what looks like quirky accidents of individual languages. We argue this is the case for recalcitrant data like *Who was seen \*(to) win?* vs. *Who did you see \*(to) win?* (compare *Who did you let go?* and *Who was let go?*). Are these just vagaries of language use or principled features of the language phenotype? *Construction Grammar* and other approaches that take the use of language as a leading motive for studying it, like statistical analysis of *Big Data*, fail to provide an explanatory account for principled reasons explained in detail from the earliest beginnings of generative grammar. Just assuming *SMT* (simplest merge and minimal search) and starting from the basic property of the language phenotype, we explain these puzzles as essentially labeling failures of *Strict Cyclicity*.

### **Aafke Hulk, Sanne Berends & Petra Sleeman**

UvA – ACLC

The role of syntactic complexity in the acquisition of Dutch ER and French EN

Recent literature in child L1 development has demonstrated a discrepancy between the emergence of French and Dutch quantitative pronouns (Dutch 'er', French 'en'), with a later age of emergence for the latter language (Sleeman and Hulk 2011). Furthermore in Dutch the quantitative pronoun 'er' emerges later than some of its homophones (Van Dijk and Coopmans 2013), and develops slower than object pronouns (Van Hout et al. 2010). Reason for these irregularities is claimed to be syntactic complexity (see Van Hout et al. 2010 and Jakubowicz 2005).

The goal of this exploratory and comparative corpus-based study is to investigate whether syntactic complexity is indeed reflected in the emergence pattern of quantitative and prepositional pronouns. To link the results to the previous studies, the languages under investigation will be French and Dutch. I present the results of natural child data in about 550 files from 7 Dutch children and 7 French children, aged between 1;0 and 3;0, in the CHILDES corpus (MacWhinney 2000).

### **Haike Jacobs**

Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen

Diminutive formation in Limburgian Dutch: Sittard, Herten and Panningen

Diminutive formation in Sittard has been described in Gussenhoven and Jacobs (2011) by four rules, UMLAUT, S-INSERTION, N-ASSIMILATION, and, K-FRONTING. In that order, they predict that stem-final **n** surfaces as an assimilated velar nasal before the underlying /-kə/ diminutive suffix, as in /pan-kə/ 'pot DIM' surfacing as [pəŋkə], whereas other stem-final non-continuant coronals, like [t], as in /tant-kə/ 'aunt DIM' surface as [təŋkə].

This analysis raises a number of questions. First, why is N-ASSIMILATION limited to anterior coronal nasals, but does not affect non-anterior nasals, as in /mɑŋ-kə/ [mɛŋkə]?

Secondly, how to account for Herten, where the diminutive of /man/ is [mɛnkə] (Beenen (1973) mentions ““menke” moet men uitspreken als: men-ke”)? The MAND (Morfologische atlas van Nederlandse dialecten (Goeman and Taeldeman 1996, <http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/projecten/mand>) allows for a comparative study of these questions. We will report on the findings that resulted from contrasting and comparing the Beenen (1973) description of Herten with the MAND data for Panningen and Sittard and on recordings for three generations of Panningen speakers.

**Nel de Jong** (*Anéla TTiN*)

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

Vloeiendheidstraining in een tweede taal: De invloed van de taak op de herhaling van vocabulaire en temporele bijzinnen

Veel onderzoek naar de ontwikkeling van spreekvaardigheid in een tweede taal (T2) richt zich op vloeiendheid en complexiteit. Een onderwijstechniek die vaak ingezet wordt voor de ontwikkeling van spreekvaardigheid, met name vloeiendheid en complexiteit, is de 4/3/2-taak. Hierin vertellen T2-leerders drie keer verhaal na in respectievelijk vier, drie en twee minuten. Deze taak bevordert vloeiendheid door herhaald gebruik, en daarmee proceduralisatie, van talige kennis (De Jong & Perfetti, 2011; De Jong, 2012). Niet bekend is of deze herhaling vooral vocabulaire of syntaxis betreft. Ook is onbekend in hoeverre herhaling afhankelijk is van de inhoud van de verteltaak.

In dit onderzoek vertelden half-gevorderde T2-leerders van het Engels plaatjesverhalen na in de 4/3/2-taak. Naast bijzinnen met *because* lokte de taak vooral herhaald gebruik van temporele bijzinnen uit. Deze werden met name uitgelokt door verhaalelementen die wel bijdragen aan de ontwikkeling van het verhaal maar niet essentieel zijn om dat verhaal te vertellen (vergelijk Tomlin, 1984 en Foster & Tavakoli, 2008). Voor woordherhaling bleek afhankelijk van onder andere de gelijkenissen tussen personages.

**Jacqueline van Kampen**

UiL OTS, Utrecht University

Crossover restrictions, A-bar pronouns and discourse antecedents

Since Lasnik&Stowell (1998) the difference between weakest crossovers (grammatical) and weak crossovers (ungrammatical) is usually derived from a distinction between non-quantifying and quantifying operators. See for instance Ruys (2004) and Safir (2004) who argue that non-quantifiers have a discourse antecedent, whereas quantifiers do not.

I will derive the crossover restrictions from A-bar pronouns (question *wh*-pronouns, relative pronouns and topic *d*-pronouns) that I will consider as a uniform set of quantifying operators. They differ from the regular quantifiers (*every, some, most, nobody*). All quantifying operators ( $\lambda$ ) abstract an argument structure IP by one argument. The A-bar pronouns do so with the obligatory presence of a discourse antecedent, but the regular quantifiers do so with the obligatory absence of such a discourse antecedent. My analysis will yield a unified account of strong, weak and weakest crossovers for all quantifiers. The derivation shows an interaction of an elementary quantifier property and an elementary *p*-pronoun property. Both have been acquired independently from each other in early acquisition stages.

**Ellen-Petra Kester**

Universiteit Utrecht

Language attitudes and language use in Curacao

The speech community of the ABC-islands is often mentioned in the literature as exceptional in comparison to other creole societies, because the language situation cannot be characterized as a classic case of diglossia (Winford 1985, 1994). For centuries the use of Papiamentu was limited to informal situations and suffered repression and discrimination by the Dutch colonial power (Van Putte 1999). This situation, however, has undergone radical changes over the last decades, because the use of Papiamentu has been extended to all formal domains (Severing & Weijer 2008, 2010).

We will present the analysis of a survey carried out in 2012, among more than 400 informants of different age groups in Curaçao. We will show that the speech community is rather homogeneous. Positive attitudes toward Papiamentu are widely attested and the language is commonly used in informal and formal domains. These generalizations particularly hold for young generations from lower education levels, who need Papiamentu for educational purposes and the job market.

**Samir Khalaily**

Zefat Academic college and Al-Qasemi college

Palestinian Arabic Double-marked Interrogatives

The paper describes the innovative doubly interrogative construction – doubly-marked interrogative – of Palestinian Arabic (PA), in which a question is doubly marked as interrogative. A DMI consists of two parts: (i) an ordinary question, which we call the *content question*, and (ii) an additional wh-phrase, the *attitude question*, which precedes the content question, and whose function is to assign it additional illocutionary force, typically that of rejecting a presupposition salient in the discourse.

**Heidi Klockmann**

Utrecht University (UiL-OTS)

Accounting for the Variation in Systems of Case and Agreement

In this talk, I consider the variation found in systems of case and agreement cross-linguistically, focusing specifically on languages which show accusativity or ergativity in their case or agreement. There are in principle four language types, for which it has been claimed that only three exist (cf. Bobaljik 2008): ergative case with ergative agreement (e.g. Hindi, Gojri), ergative case with accusative agreement (e.g. Nepali, Bantawa), accusative case with accusative agreement (e.g. Polish), and accusative case with ergative agreement (the gap). I present data from these case-agreement systems, as well as a discussion of the nature of structural and inherent case assignment. I propose that inherent case is actually the realization of some form of a P-head and that languages can differ in their inventory of P-headed cases. I treat these PP-cases as being generally opaque to external processes, such as agreement (see Rezac 2008), and show how this assumption can be used to model the case-agreement systems discussed here.

## **Olaf Koeneman & Hedde Zijlstra**

Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen

*Do*-support and the syntax of finiteness

In Standard English, only a subset of verbs can appear to the left side of VP-adverbs like *always* and negative markers *not* and *n't*, namely finite forms of *have* and *be* and uninflected modals. To account for this paradigm, standard analyses use assumptions that can be shown to be questionable, namely (i) that negative marker *not* is a head and (ii) that (modal) auxiliaries are base-generated outside of the verb phrase. In this talk, we will work towards an analysis that is not based on these assumptions, and pinpoint the property that enables only a subset of the verbs in English to appear higher in the clausal structure.

## **Margreet van Koert, Aafke Hulk, Olaf Koeneman & Fred Weerman**

Universiteit van Amsterdam

Differences between Dutch and English children's interpretation preferences of quantifiers

This study presents results of a picture selection task that show that Dutch children's interpretation preferences of quantifiers in subject position closely follow the adults' preferences. English children's interpretation preferences of quantifiers in subject position, on the contrary, diverge from adults' preferences and from the Dutch preferences. The comprehension of Dutch universal quantifiers – *ieder* 'each/every', *elk* 'each/every' and *alle* 'all' – by Dutch children (n=77) and adults (n=19) is directly compared to the comprehension of English universal quantifiers – *each*, *every* and *all* – by English children (n=75) and adults (n=25). The results show that all quantifiers receive significantly more wide scope interpretations in Dutch than in English. This means that (i) the adult grammars of Dutch and English lead to different quantifier interpretation preferences; (ii) the Dutch and English children's grammars arrive at the adult grammar in different ways; (iii) differences between Dutch and English children's behaviour on other structures (e.g. the possibility of interpreting the pronoun to be bound to the quantified antecedent) can be explained by their diverging interpretation preferences.

## **Oele Koornwinder**

GridLine

Computationale contrastering van verwante talen

In deze bijdrage wil ik laten zien hoe de overzetting van taaltoepassingen licht kan werpen op de vraag waarin verwante talen van elkaar verschillen. Dit zal ik toelichten voor het taalpaar Nederlands-Afrikaans aan de hand van een taaltechnologisch demonstratieproject in een subsidieprogramma ter bevordering van de samenwerking met Zuid-Afrika. In dit project probeerden we een automatisch evaluatiesysteem voor Nederlandse ambtelijke teksten om te zetten naar het Afrikaans met behulp van het tweetalige geamalgameerde woordenboek ANNA. Hiertoe hebben we de Nederlandse controlemodules met zo klein mogelijke ingrepen geschikt gemaakt voor het Afrikaans. Bij de woordgebaseerde modules maakten we gebruik van een ANNA-gebaseerd vertaalsysteem dat Nederlandse termen naar het Afrikaans kan omzetten. Hiernaast hebben we een ANNA-gebaseerde woordkeuzehulp toegevoegd, die onder meer waarschuwt voor "valse vrienden". In de lezing zal ik voorbeelden presenteren van de gevonden taalcontrasten en uitleggen hoe we deze contrasten benut hebben voor taaltechnologische optimalisaties. Zo zal ik ingaan op de rol van cognates en op verschillen in de passiefconstructie, de semantiek van de werkwoorden en de woordvorming.

## **Hernán Labbé Grunberg & Judith Rispens**

UvA

Automatic learning of morphology-based associations in Dutch

The aim of this research was to evaluate the ability of Dutch native speakers to process information at the morphological level in an automatic and unconscious way. A new experimental paradigm was designed, where participants were presented stimuli within a masked priming paradigm followed by a lexical decision task. The answer on the lexical decision task could be predicted by the preceding stimulus (presence or absence of past tense morphology). Crucially, only morphological, but not semantic or orthographic information, was needed in order to learn the association. Results showed that indeed subjects were able to learn the association between morphological information and the appropriate response. Furthermore, the short presentation time of the stimuli and the masked presentation indicated that the processing of morphological information must have occurred early in word processing, and probably in an automatic and unconscious fashion.

## **Bert Le Bruyn**

UIL-OTS

Definiteness in L1 Mandarin: Implications for L2 English (joint work with Xiaoli Dong)

In the literature on the L2 acquisition of the English definite article by L1 speakers of languages without articles it is often assumed (and sometimes explicitly stated) that there can be no L1 transfer effects. A first step towards assessing this assumption is to study definiteness in the L1, a task we undertake for Mandarin. We focus on the semantics of the construction modifier + numeral + classifier + noun (cf. Huang 1981, Yang 2005, Partee 2005, Sio 2006, ...).

## **Maarten van Leeuwen**

Leiden University Centre for Linguistics

Taalkundig-stilistische analyse van parlementaire toespraken: De casus Wilders/Pechtold

‘Stijl’ is een onderwerp dat in het Nederlandse onderzoek naar taalgebruik de laatste jaren groeiende belangstelling geniet. In mijn lezing richt ik mij op een specifieke vorm van stijlonderzoek, die kan worden gekarakteriseerd als ‘stijlanalyse op taalkundige grondslag’. Hierbij wordt op basis van taalkundige inzichten aannemelijk gemaakt dat formuleringskeuzes bepaalde effecten sorteren. De linguïstische stilistiek kent in het Angelsaksisch taalgebied een bloeiende traditie, maar heeft in het Nederlandse onderzoek naar taalgebruik nog nauwelijks navolging gekregen. In mijn lezing zal ik betogen en demonstreren dat een taalkundig-stilistische benadering ook voor de analyse van Nederlandstalige teksten vruchtbaar is. Als casus presenteer ik een taalkundig-stilistische analyse van de toespraken die Geert Wilders (PVV) en Alexander Pechtold (D66) hielden tijdens de Algemene politieke beschouwingen van 2008 en 2009. Uit mediaoordelen blijkt dat Wilders en Pechtold de indruk wekten zich in hun speeches heel verschillend op te stellen tegenover het publiek. Ik zal laten zien hoe deze indrukken door tal van stilistische keuzes kunnen worden verklaard.



**Sander Lestrade**

CLS, Radboud Universiteit

Simulating event communication (using R)

In this talk, I'll present the R-package WDWTW, which I have designed to simulate language usage and change in a cognitively motivated, multi-agent model. The focus in the present stage is on event communication, but its open-source and modular architecture in principle allow for many more applications. The user can provide the agents with a grammar directly or study how they develop their own, initially using proto-principles only. As an example, I will show how case marking can emerge in the model.

**Jing Lin & Hedde Zeijlstra**

University of Amsterdam, University of Göttingen

Two types of existential NPIs; Evidence from first language acquisition

NPIs (Negative Polarity Items) are words that survive only in negative contexts. Most NPIs discussed in the literature are existentials: English *any*-terms, and *wh*-indefinites in Japanese (e.g. *dare* 'who') or Mandarin Chinese (e.g. *shenme* 'what'). Following Chierchia (2004), we argue that English *any*-terms bear a sigma-feature, requiring exhaustivity for licensing, whereas following Giannakidou (1997) we take Chinese *wh*-indefinites to be non-referential existentials, sensitive to nonveridicality of a licensing context. By investigating the acquisitional paths of English *any* and Mandarin *shenme* based on data collected in CHILDES (MacWhinney 2009), we present evidence for these two types of existential NPIs. Whereas *any* is only used in the scope of *not* or in polar questions in early child English and is attested in a variety of downward entailing contexts later on, *shenme* appears as a mere *wh*-word at early stages but is uttered in different nonveridical contexts including *wh*-questions in late child Mandarin. We show that the distinct developmental paths give rise to different analyses of *any* and *shenme* in late child language.

**Jan Luitzen**

Hogeschool van Amsterdam, Domein Bewegen, Sport &amp; Voeding

Speelveld van vernieuwing: caetsen/tennis → sphairistikè/lawntennis

Nadat caetsen/tennis al eeuwenlang indoor was gespeeld, bracht de Britse militair Walter Wingfield in 1874 een buitenvariant op de markt: sphairistikè of lawntennis, een spel dat nadrukkelijk óók bestemd was voor dames. De snelheid waarmee lawntennis zich over Europa kon verspreiden, was te danken aan een sterk marketingconcept: een gemakkelijk te vervoeren tenniskist met daarin alle benodigdheden om lawntennis te beoefenen. De eerste plekken in Nederland waar lawntennis werd gespeeld, waren badplaatsen als Domburg en Noordwijk waar gegoede Britten ter ontspanning naartoe trokken, en domeinen van de adel met Engelse familieconnecties.

Wingfields lawntennis was niet alleen op speltechnisch en sociaal vlak vernieuwend, maar het spel bracht ook een nieuw vocabulair met zich mee. Bestaande woorden kregen nieuwe betekenissen, nieuwe woorden ontstonden met behulp van inheems taal materiaal, maar er kwamen ook Engelstalige leenwoorden die positieve en negatieve reacties oproepen, zoals racket, smash en volley, en verenigingsnamen als Deuce, Sport en Anglo-Dutch-Lawn-Tennis-club.

Het onderzoek is grotendeels gebaseerd op systematisch onderzoek van de (digitale) sport- en woordenboekencollecties van Theo Bollerman en Jan Luitzen.

## **Ora Matushansky**

CNRS/U. Paris VIII/UU

Definite loci

In this presentation I discuss the distribution of the definite article with unmodified French place names in argument positions (e.g., *la France* vs. *(\*la/le) Paris se trouve en Europe* ‘France/Paris is located in Europe’ and in locative contexts (e.g., *venir de (\*la) France* ‘come from France’), reexamining the generalizations made by Miller, Pullum and Zwicky (1997). I show that the appearance of the definite article, generally considered to be constrained by the lexical-semantic class of the proper name (e.g., city names, which generally have no definite article, vs. country names, which usually do, vs. island names, for which no generalizations have been established), can in fact be reduced to formal parameters. Extending the findings made on the distribution of the obligatory definite article with German place names, I argue that the main factors governing the appearance of an overt article are (a) specification of the proper name for phi-features and (b) the semantic sort of the entity it denotes (location vs. thing). Supporting evidence will be provided from other languages.

## **Caitlin Meyer**

Universiteit van Amsterdam

Easy as first, second, fourth: the acquisition of Dutch (cardinals and) ordinals

The expression *as easy as one, two, three* suggests that counting or using numerals is easy. However, psychologists have shown children slowly discover the exact meanings of cardinals *one* through *four* in a tiered fashion before becoming fully competent counters (e.g. Le Corre & Carey 2007). Most of these studies look at English-speaking children; whether (the timing of) this pattern holds for other languages remains largely unexplored. Though, to linguists, ordinal acquisition would seem a natural extension of such work, this has hardly been studied at all.

This talk discusses conceptual and linguistic knowledge of Dutch cardinals and ordinals in acquisition. Results from a “Give X” comprehension task administered to 77 Dutch monolinguals aged 2;11 to 6;4 suggest the tiered acquisition holds for cardinal acquisition in Dutch, but not for ordinal acquisition. Instead, we see a relatively quick increase in general performance: children in early stages of cardinal acquisition perform around floor-level, whereas children in advanced stages do quite well, though performance differs on irregular *derde* ‘third’ and higher ordinals.

## **Theo Muller**

RU Nijmegen

Reduplicatiewoorden in het Nederlands en het Duits

Reduplicatiewoorden kennen drie basispatronen, die uit de structuur van het woordtype zelf voortkomen: de pure herhalingswoorden (*pingping*), woorden met klinkerwisseling (*wipwap*) of met medeklinkerwisseling (*roezemoezen*). Onderzocht zijn voor (onder meer) het Nederlands en het Duits de klankpatronen en een aantal gebruikssituaties.

Als nevenverschijnsel bij mijn promotieonderwerp - fraseologische woordparen met figuurlijke betekenis in het Nederlands en het Duits - interesseren de reduplicatiewoorden mij om een aantal redenen. In beide gevallen gaat het om een dubbelvorming met veelal intensiverende betekenis, die vaak niet uit een van de samenstellende delen valt af te leiden. De categorieën blijken soms uitwisselbaar (*kriskras* – *kreuz und quer*) en vertonen vergelijkbare klankpatronen. Opvallend is bij de reduplicatiewoorden de klinkerwisseling *i-a*

bij negatief geladen, betekenisverwante woorden zoals *mikmak*, *wirwar*, *liflaffe*, *Krimskrams*, *Mischmasch*, *Wischiwaschi*. Reduplicatiewoorden vertonen raakvlakken met tussenwerpsels en klanknabootsingen, die beide ook vaak paarsgewijs optreden. Verwante categorieën zijn de samenstellingen met een quasi-reduplicerend patroon (*braindrain*, *denktank*), samengestelde adjectieven met alliteratie (*klinkklaar*, *doldwaas*, *klitzeklein*, *nagelneu*) en de, ook uit het Engels en Turks bekende, vormingen à la *meisje-meisje*.

### **N. Nazarudin**

LUCL

Comparative Studies of Orthography Development in Indonesia: Alphabet Design Workshop vs Korean Hangeul Development

Developing orthography for a minority language requires that the writing system is embraced by members of the language community. This study investigates two different orthographies that have been done in Indonesia, Alphabet Design Workshop (ADW) for Oirata community (belongs to non-Austronesian, Timor Alor Pantar language family) on Kisar Island, Southwest Maluku and the adoption of the Korean Alphabet (Hangeul) in Ciacia community (belongs to Austronesian language family) on Buton Island, southeastern part of Sulawesi. ADW, which was developed by SIL, had used to develop more than 100 language/dialect groups in the last decade. Meanwhile the adoption of Hangeul was initiated by the Hungmin Jeongeum Society, a scholarly association consisting of several linguists in Korea. This study will focus on phonological issues comparison from these two cases of orthography development.

### **Jan Odijk** (*plenaire lezing*)

Universiteit Utrecht

What CLARIN has to offer to linguists

CLARIN is a research infrastructure intended for humanities researchers who work with language resources. It is currently under development, but large parts of it can already be fruitfully used. In this presentation I will describe what CLARIN is, and what it has to offer to linguists to help them in their research. Though CLARIN is a European enterprise, the presentation will highlight results of the Dutch contributions to the CLARIN infrastructure created in the CLARIN-NL project. These results include many user-friendly applications for search in and analysis of large and richly annotated data (e.g. OpenSONAR to search in the Dutch SONAR corpus (500 m tokens)), applications to enrich new data with linguistic annotations, and much more. The results are relevant for a wide range of subdisciplines within linguistics. The results also include educational modules for selected functionality, which can be used to teach and train students to work with functionality offered by CLARIN.

### **Jan Odijk**

Universiteit Utrecht

Investigating *heel*, *erg*, and *zeer* with Paqu

I present the distributional differences between the words *heel*, *erg* and *zeer* (which are (almost) synonymous and mean ‘very’) as an interesting case for the study of distributional differences and how they are acquired. A problem for analyzing these words in e.g. the Dutch CHILDES corpora is that each of these words (as any decent word in natural language) is highly ambiguous. The ambiguities can be partially resolved if the examples are assigned a parse. PaQu (Parse and Query), currently being developed at Groningen University (in

CLARIN-NL), enables a researcher to upload one's own (Dutch) language corpus and have it parsed by Alpino, after which the application makes it possible to search in the corpus for grammatical relations between two words. I report here on a small user experiment on determining the distribution of these words in the adults' speech in the Dutch CHILDES corpora, in order to determine required and desired properties of PaQu (and similar applications for other grammatical search applications such as OpenSONAR and GrETEL).

### **Etske Ooijevaar**

Meertens Instituut

Articulation and acoustics of postvocalic liquids in Volendam

There is variation in the production of Dutch liquids /l/ and /r/. In postvocalic position, these sounds can be vocalized or deleted. This can lead to neutralization of contrasts, where words can become similar to each other, for example *kaars* 'candle' becomes more similar to *kaas* 'piece of cheese'. In addition, there is not always a one-to-one relation between articulation and acoustics. For example, an articulatory tongue tip gesture can be made for /r/ without having an acoustic effect (Scobbie and Sebregts 2011). The present study shows an Ultrasound Tongue Imaging analysis of postvocalic liquids in the Volendam dialect (small town to the North of Amsterdam). Speakers from the dialect read aloud two texts with 20 target words containing the mid vowels /e, ɪ, o, ɔ/ followed by /t, l, lt, r, rt/. This study tries to answer the question what are the differences in articulation between words with and words without a liquid. In addition, articulation of these sounds will be compared with the acoustics.

### **Nina Ouddeken**

Meertens Instituut

Phonetic and phonological variation in a transition zone

In this talk I will explore the transition between voicing languages and aspiration languages. The main phonetic difference between the two types is one of Voice Onset Time (VOT), while phonologically usually different featural representations are assumed to be active. I will here focus on the Dutch-German language continuum, with voicing languages found in the west and aspirating languages in the east.

Since VOT is a continuous variable, a gradual transition between the two systems may be expected. For phonology, on the other hand, a clear-cut border is more likely. In that case, mismatches between phonology and phonetics can be expected in the transition zone. In other words, phonological and phonetic boundaries need not cooccur in these areas. In this talk I will explore this particular transition zone by using data from dialects spoken in the eastern provinces of the Netherlands (which show both prevoicing and aspiration). Mappings of the phonetic and phonological system will be used to gain insight in the interplay and possible mismatches between the two.

### **Nantke Pecht**

Syntactic variation among speakers of a multilingual coal miners neighbourhood in Limburg (B)

This contribution explores how a multilingual group of former coalminers in the neighborhood of Tuinwijk, Eisden (B), speaks amongst each other in a hybrid German-Dutch-Limburg-dialect variety, labeled *Cité Duits*.

By analyzing audio data consisting of naturally-occurring interactions (approx. 190

minutes), this presentation examines selected syntactical patterns that are characteristic for their in-group speech. The focus is on the use of the ‘postfield’, i.e. the positioning of verb-free elements after the closure of the potential right verbal bracket:

- (1) *van VIERzehn jahre; (--)*  
VIERzehn jahre; (-)  
dann dann bin ik geARbeite(t) <<pp> **in de grub**>.

It can be shown that *Cité Duits* has developed particular constructions that rarely occur in spoken German or Dutch. Not only facultative and obligatory prepositional phrases, but also nominal phrases, certain particles and adverbs are placed after the right bracket. Secondly, despite the different mother tongues of the speakers, only slight individual variability can be observed.

### **Dirk Pijpops**

RU Quantitative Lexicology and Variational Linguistics, University of Leuven

Second Language speakers and postnominal adjectival inflection in Dutch. A corpus research of the present-day situation in the Netherlands

In an inconspicuous corner of Dutch grammar, one may find adjectives receiving *-s* inflection (1). However, this *-s*, a remnant of the partitive genitive, may also disappear (2).

- (1) *wat zinnig-s*  
‘something sensible’  
(2) *iets wit*  
‘something white’

Earlier research has revealed the precise intra- and extra-linguistic contexts in which this *-s* omission is taking place (Pijpops & Van de Velde 2014). What remains unclear however, is how second language speakers of Dutch handle this peculiar inflection. Do they generalize one variant, as often with prenominal adjectival inflection (Weerman 2003, Blom et al. 2008, Ruette & Van de Velde 2013: 468-471, Van de Velde & Weerman 2014: 117-119)? Or are they capable of picking up exactly when to place the *-s*? To answer these questions, we apply the regression-based methodology of Gries & Deshors (2014) to first and second language chatters of Dutch. We believe the results not only provide information on second language acquisition of this postnominal inflection, but also shed light on its current and future linguistic status.

### **Mara van der Ploeg, Femke Swarte & Charlotte Gooskens**

Rijksuniversiteit Groningen

On the influence of age and level of education on intelligibility

Many factors influencing intelligibility have been uncovered in previous research (Bø, 1978; Gooskens, 2006; Jörgensen and Kärrlander, 2001). However, in intelligibility research, the effect of age has not been investigated as extensively. Apart from Vanhove’s (2014) finding of the effect of age on cognate guessing, almost no other studies have paid attention to this factor. Also, in intelligibility research, the effect of educational level on intelligibility is often neglected. Most studies only test either pre-university or university students.

This paper examines this potential effect of age and level of education on intelligibility. In contrast to Vanhove (2014), we looked at text intelligibility instead of cognate recognition. We tested 2780 Danish participants in a written and spoken cloze test in Dutch, English, German and Swedish, where they had to fill gaps in a text. The participants varied in age and educational background. We were not able to find an effect of age on intelligibility in our

data. We do, however, find an effect of level of education. The higher the level of education, the better the intelligibility score.

**Teresa Proto**

University of Leiden

Prosody, speech melody and rhythm in vocal music

Both language and music involve some kind of hierarchical, temporal and melodic structure. Despite the similarities displayed by the two systems at a very general level, however, little is known about their actual interaction in vocal music. As a matter of fact, when lyrics are set to music, syllables are assigned to musical pitches in such a way as to conform, to a certain extent, to the requirements of the language. In the present paper, I will first review the role played by the main acoustic and perceptual parameters in structuring rhythm and melody in each system individually. Secondly, I will consider how these parameters behave in vocal music, due to the interaction of the linguistic structures with the rhythmic-melodic patterns. The empirical method employed in this type of research and the theoretical implications for linguistics will be outlined by means of examples taken from both tonal and non-tonal languages.

**Alex Riemersma** (*Anéla TTiN*)

Stenden en NHL hogescholen

Moelijkheidsgraden binnen de Friese taal in kaart gebracht

Met het (Gemeenschappelijk) Europees Referentiekader (ERK, Raad van Europa 2001) is het mogelijk om de moeilijkheid van een taal in kaart te brengen op basis van Ik-kan-beschrijvingen die verbonden zijn met concrete taalprestaties. Voor het Fries wordt dit met de Frisatoets voor het eerst geprobeerd. Hiervoor is het nodig dat deze taalkennistoets de moeilijkheid van verschillende soorten Fries verkent, en wel op basis van met elkaar samenhangende taalitems die in zwaarte oplopen. Het onderzoek start met het bepalen van de drie laagste niveaus (A1, A2 en B1). Meerkeuzevragen over woordenschat, grammatica en morfologie: vaste uitdrukkingen, verkleinwoorden, meervouden en ook syntactische constructies, vormen de indicatoren voor deze drie ERK-niveaus. Op grond van de literatuur en oordelen van leraren Fries zijn 100 items voor de itemlijst geselecteerd, verdeeld over de niveaus. De itemlijst is digitaal afgenomen bij een breed samengestelde steekproef van 447 leerlingen in het basis- en het voortgezet onderwijs. Op grond van de uitkomsten is een verdere selectie uitgevoerd die resulteerde in een bruikbare toets van 60 items.

**Liset Rouweler & Bart Hollebrandse**

Rijksuniversiteit Groningen

Distributive, Collective and “Everything” in Between: Interpretation of Universal Quantifiers in Child and Adult Language

The present study examined the interpretation of sentences with the universal quantifiers *alle* (all) and *elke* (every) in children and adults for collective, distributive and cumulative movies. In the first experiment, 25 adults and 30 children from 5 and 6 years old performed a truth-value judgement task. For children, only a significant difference was found for coll-alle and coll-elke, in which coll-elke gave higher yes-responses. For adults, significant differences were found for the pairs coll-alle and coll-elke and cum-alle and cum-elke, in which coll-elke and cum-elke gave higher yes-responses. In the second experiment, participants took a preference task and were asked to point out their preferred and least preferred movie for

sentences with *alle* and *elke*. Children, regardless of the quantifier, preferred the distributive interpretation and least preferred the collective interpretation. Adults only had a strong preference for the distributive interpretation when using *elke*, showing the wider range of interpretation for *alle*. These data clearly indicate that Dutch children have not yet acquired the full range of restrictions on quantifiers.

### **Pavel Rudnev**

Rijksuniversiteit Groningen

Locations and situations: On the interaction of negation and finiteness in Avar

The present paper has two interrelated goals. One goal is to introduce a novel set of facts on the morphosyntax of Avar, a Northeast Caucasian language, into the theoretical discourse. The other goal is to provide a preliminary analysis.

As for the data, Avar makes use of two distinct negation markers to negate past and non-past events, which come with distinct occurrence restrictions: whereas negating a non-past event is done by suffixing the negative marker *-ro* to the tensed form of the verb, no tense marking is involved when a past event is negated via *-č'o*, the other negation marker.

The preliminary analysis is as follows. I propose that the distribution of the two markers, as well as their combinatorial restrictions, should be captured by appealing to Ramchand & Svenonius's (2014) partitioning of the functional structure of the clause into three zones, corresponding to three different conceptual primitives: event (variable  $e_{(v)}$ ), situation ( $s_{(s)}$ ) and proposition ( $p_{(s,t)}$ ).

### **Jeannette Schaeffer & Jing Lin**

University of Amsterdam

On the mass-count distinction in child and adult Mandarin Chinese

In Mandarin Chinese, count nouns are not distinguished from mass nouns by morphosyntactic mechanisms such as plural marking, cardinals, or indefinite determiners, as is the case in English (*two/a chair(s)* vs. *\*two/\*a milk(s)*). However, the Mandarin mass-count distinction *\*is\** sometimes reflected in the syntax: at the classifier-level (cf. Cheng and Sybesma 1998, 1999). Yet, classifiers are not always present; this raises the question as to whether and how Mandarin child and adult speakers distinguish mass and count if no classifier is present. We therefore executed a quantity judgment task in Mandarin based on Barner and Snedeker (2005) with 55 children aged between 2 and 6, and 30 adults. Our results show that in the absence of grammatical cues, i.e., classifiers, nouns in both adult and child Mandarin are ontologically interpreted according to the presence or absence of natural, inherent atomicity, possibly reflected as a lexical [individual] feature on classical count nouns (*bag*) and object mass nouns (*furniture*), but crucially not on flexible nouns (*chocolate/s*) and substance mass nouns (*water*).

### **Tijn Schmitz, Lotte Hogeweg & Helen de Hoop**

Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen

Adding the additive particle *ook* 'too': Not to add, but to cancel contrast

We will argue, following up on insights by Krifka (1998) and Sæbø (2004), that the function of *ook* ('too') is not so much to add a proposition to the discourse that also holds for some alternative, but rather to cancel an implicature of contrast between the proposition that contains *ook* and some other (possibly) implicit proposition in the discourse. We will argue that such an analysis can explain all different uses of *ook* in spoken Dutch, including cases in

which no presupposition about an alternative seems to be triggered. We have tested our predictions by means of a sentence completion task. The results show that participants' consistent tendency to mention dissimilarities when describing two objects, thereby creating contrast, disappears when they are prompted to use *ook*.

### **Jolien Scholten**

UiL-OTS

Split possession in a dialect of Dutch

It has been argued that European languages do not grammatically distinguish different groups of nouns in possessive structures (Lødrup 2014 and references cited there). Lødrup points out that in Norwegian kinship nouns behave syntactically different from alienable nouns. Although split possession does not seem to be a very obvious phenomenon in European languages, they certainly have strategies available to make alienability distinctions. I will present another case of split possession in the European language area. In Vriezenveen Dutch, kinship nouns display divergent syntactic behavior. This dialect has number and gender agreement on possessive pronouns, illustrated in (1) and (2).

- (1) *mien-en hoond*  
my-M dog.M
- (2) *mien-e auto*  
my-F car.F

However, when the possessed noun is a kinship term, there is no agreement, as shown in (3) and (4).

- (3) *mien-ø va*  
my father
- (4) *mien-ø moe*  
my mother

(3) and (4) show that kinship nouns in Vriezenveen Dutch display different syntactic behavior. In this talk I will discuss a generative syntactic analysis to account for the data above.

### **Erik Schoorlemmer**

Universiteit Leiden

Syntactic movement and the alienable-inalienable distinction in Shughni

Shughni, an East-Iranian language spoken in the Pamir Mountains of Tajikistan and Afghanistan, makes a syntactic distinction between alienable and inalienable possessors. This distinction manifests itself by a difference in how far a possessor can be away from the possessee. Inalienable possessors can be further away from the possessee than their alienable counterparts. At first sight, this might seem to be a problem for accounts that propose that inalienable possessors should be inserted closer to the noun than alienable nouns (Barker 1995, 2011). We claim, however, that Shughni does not pose a challenge to these accounts, but that the facts receive a straightforward account under an approach to syntactic movement that assumes an Anti-Locality restriction.

### **Marko Simonović & Boban Arsenijević**

Universiteit Utrecht, University of Potsdam

Just small or small and related: On two kinds of diminutives in Serbo-Croatian

Serbo-Croatian is a pitch-accent system which displays complex interactions between



morphological structure and prosody (Zec 1999). As shown by Arsenijević & Simonović (2013) and Simonović & Arsenijević (2014) on deadjectival and deverbal nominalisations, in S-C the same suffix can be used for two kinds of derivations. The *paradigmatic* derivations are characterised by productivity, semantic transparency and prosodic faithfulness to the base, while the *non-paradigmatic* ones are characterised by limited, idiosyncratic applicability, lexicalised semantics, and a prosodic shape dictated by the suffix. This is modelled in terms of a process increasing the prominence of the suffix, termed *forced lexicalisation* by Simonović & Arsenijević.

We provide further support for forced lexicalisation from the diminutive suffix *-ica*. This suffix can in principle be added to any noun ending in *-a*.

(Capitalised letters mark vowels with a high tone, double letters mark length.)

Base	Paradigmatic derivation	Non-paradigmatic derivation
bOOmba	bOOmbica	bOmbIca
“bomb”	“bomb.DIM”	“dessert ball”
šOOljA	šOOljIca	šOljIca
“bowl”	“bowl.DIM”	“cup”

We present an account of the mechanism bringing about this pattern, and the theoretical consequences of this view.

### **Petra Sleeman, Jan Don & Thom Westveer**

Universiteit van Amsterdam

Three types of suffixes in French

Traditionally, in English a distinction is made between stress-neutral and stress-sensitive suffixes. It has been argued that the stress-sensitive suffixes appear lower in the word structure than the stress-neutral ones (Chomsky & Halle 1968; Siegel 1974; Kiparsky 1982). For Dutch, a similar dichotomy has been proposed (Trommelen & Zonneveld 1989). For French, a distinction between learned and non-learned suffixes has been based on vowel changes (Dell & Selkirk 1978).

In their analysis in the framework of Distributed Morphology, Creemers et al. (2014) distinguish three instead of two types of suffixes, proposing an alternative to Lowenstamm (2010) and mainly on the basis of Dutch. Starting from the distinction of three types of suffixes proposed by Creemers et al., we show that it is possible to distinguish three types of suffixes (two of them learned, the other one non-learned) in French as well.

### **Marjoleine Sloos & Jeroen van de Weijer**

Aarhus University, Shanghai International Studies University

What can adult speech tell us about child language acquisition?

It is often assumed that studies on L1 acquisition must be based on child directed speech data. However, for most languages large, reliable collections of child-directed speech are not readily available. Can adult directed speech be used in such cases?

We compared a child-directed speech corpus with an adult-directed speech corpus of French. Although lexical overlap turned out to be low, the frequency of phonological structures was comparable. In addition, both child-directed and adult-directed speech showed a strong correlation between the frequency of phonological structures and the time of acquisition of these phonological structures. Therefore, we tentatively conclude that for frequency studies in phonological acquisition adult-directed speech may be used if child-directed speech is unavailable.

## Jolijn Sonnaert

KU Leuven

Is there a universal person feature hierarchy?

Several different person marking analyses have been proposed, amongst others:

(1) Cysouw (2009)

Sg	Group
	1+2
	1+2+3
1	1+3
2	2+3
3	3+3

(2) Bobaljik (2008)

Minimal	Augmented
[+speaker, +hearer]	[+speaker, +hearer] + associates
[+speaker, -hearer]	[+speaker, -hearer] + associates
[-speaker, +hearer]	[-speaker, +hearer] + associates
[-speaker, -hearer]	[-speaker, -hearer] + associates

(3) Starke (2013)

[speaker [participant [person]]]

Can a universal person feature hierarchy be derived from these three analyses?

Similar hierarchies have been proposed for other features in different methodological frameworks, for example Cinque's adverb hierarchy (1999), and Caha's case sequence (2009). I will first discuss three methods that can show a hierarchical relationship between features: semantic containment relations, syncretism patterns, and morphosyntactic interaction with other features.

I will then apply these to the analyses in (1)–(3), and show that the methods discussed do not succeed for these data and conclusions. I will conclude that if there is indeed a universal person feature hierarchy, different methods and/or features will be needed to deduce it.

## Marianne Starren

CLS, Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen

Verschillende taalspecifieke aspectuele perspectieven op dezelfde (criminele) gebeurtenis

Eerdere crosslinguïstische analyses van na-vertellingen van hetzelfde stimulusmateriaal (film/foto/boek zoals *Frog, where are you*) hebben al aangetoond dat sprekers met een zogenaamd gegrammaticaliseerd progressive aspect (Engels, Spaans, Italiaans) de film of het boek anders navertellen dan sprekers van een taal zonder deze gegrammaticaliseerde aspectuele vorm (Nederlands, Duits). Dat wil concreet zeggen; sprekers van verschillende moedertalen verschillen voornamelijk in de structuur (discourse- en zinsniveau) van de informatie die ze navertellen maar ze vertellen nooit een totaal ander verhaal.

In deze studie heb ik geprobeerd om een zodanige communicatieve context te ontwerpen dat zelfs subtiel verschillende na-vertellingen van eenzelfde geziene gebeurtenis tot serieus verschillende consequenties zouden kunnen leiden: verklaringen tijdens een rechtszitting van zowel verdachten als getuigen van een criminele roof. De verschillende grammaticale tools die de sprekers van de talen in het huidige onderzoek (Nederlands, Engels en Duits) tot hun beschikking hebben om 'aspect' uit te drukken lijken er toe te leiden dat op basis van hun verklaringen andere schuldigen aangewezen kunnen worden.

**Lei Sun & Yiya Chen**

Leiden University Center for Linguistics, Leiden Institute for Brain and Cognition  
Can focus insert a boundary in Shanghai Chinese? – An acoustic study of focus and phonological phrasing in Shanghai Chinese

We report an acoustic experiment investigating the interaction of focus and phonological phrasing in Shanghai Chinese (SH). Selkirk & Shen (1990) argued that in SH focus inserts a prosodic boundary to the left edge of the focused constituent and forms a Major Phrase prosodic domain with post-focus constituents and the edge(s) of MaP coincides with the left edge of a maximal projection of a lexical category in syntactic structure. To investigate these hypotheses, an experiment was designed by examining f<sub>0</sub> and durational adjustment of two target syllables (S1, S2) at three different morpho-syntactic boundaries: within a compound, between the verb and its object, and between the subject and its predicate under contrastive focus on S1, S2 and No-focus condition. The results showed that under focus, the tone of S1 was realized more distinctively, but post-focus S2 was realized with compressed pitch range and lowered pitch register at the phrasal and sentence levels, but not at the word level. Therefore, focus inserts a boundary in SH.

**Elena Tribushinina**

Univerisiteit Utrecht

The acquisition of degree markers in Dutch and Russian

Research on the acquisition of nouns and verbs shows that children acquiring morphologically rich languages learn morphology faster than children acquiring languages with sparse morphology. This study compares the acquisition of adjectival degree markers (e.g. comparatives, superlatives, intensifiers) in Russian (strongly inflecting language) and Dutch (weakly inflecting language). A longitudinal analysis of spontaneous child speech and a cross-sectional study of elicited adjective production provide converging evidence that Dutch-speaking children acquire degree morphology faster than their Russian-speaking peers. This difference is probably due to a greater transparency of the Dutch system. However, a word-learning experiment reveals that Russian degree adverbs present a more reliable cue for assigning novel adjectives to semantic classes: Russian two-year-olds are more likely to map a novel adjective to a relative property (e.g. length) when these adjectives are modified by the booster *očen* ‘very’, whereas their Dutch-speaking peers do not use the adverbs *heel* and *helemaal* as cues to adjective learning.

**Lieke Verheijen**

Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen

Nieuwe technologieën, nieuwe registers: Een linguïstische analyse van hoe Nederlandse jongeren schrijven in computer-gemedieerde communicatie

In de 21ste eeuw is computer-mediated communication (CMC), oftewel communicatie via computers en mobiele telefoons, enorm toegenomen. De taal die gebruikt wordt in tekstuele CMC, zoals sms'en, chatten, twitteren, whatsappen en facebooken, wijkt vaak af van de regels van de standaardtaal. CMC-taal wordt door veel leraren, ouders en de media met argusogen bekeken, omdat zij het Standaardnederlands als norm nastreven. De jeugd ziet het onconventionele taalgebruik juist als speels, informeel en cool. Om vast te stellen hoe de CMC-taal van de Nederlandse jeugd precies verschilt van het Algemeen Nederlands heb ik een systematische registeranalyse uitgevoerd van diverse geschreven CMC-modi: sms'jes, microblogs (tweets), chats (MSN-gesprekken en WhatsApp-berichten) en sociale netwerksites

(Facebook-posts). Hiervoor heb ik data uit SoNaR (het STEVIN Nederlandstalig Referentiecorpus) gebruikt, aangevuld met zelf verzamelde data. Mijn corpusonderzoek richt zich op linguïstische kenmerken van drie schrijfdimensies: orthografie ('sms-afkortingen', onconventionele interpunctie, emoticons, symbolen), vocabulaire (bijv. Engelse leenwoorden, tussenwerpsels, type-token ratio) en syntaxis (omissies, complexiteit). Mijn analyse wijst uit dat elke CMC-modus een specifiek register heeft, oftewel een eigen linguïstische profiel.

### **Maurice Vliegen**

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

*Blijken, lijken en schijnen* in gesproken en geschreven Nederlands

In Vliegen (2011) werd aandacht besteed aan de constructies waarin deze werkwoorden in hedendaags, geschreven Nederlands voorkomen (bron: NRC). Het voor deze lezing geanalyseerde materiaal bestaat uit gesproken taal (CGN-corpus (NL) en geschreven taal (CLARIN-corpus 2001). De onderzoeksvraag is in hoeverre de in het gesproken CGN (NL)-corpus aangetroffen variaties en frequenties verschillen van die in het geschreven CLARIN-corpus. Speciale aandacht gaat hierbij nu ook uit naar de constructie en positie waarin de betreffende werkwoordsvormen staan. Met name de vormen *blijkt*, *lijkt* (Van Oostendorp, 2012a) en *schijnt* (Van Bogaert & Coleman, 2013) hebben hier recentelijk in de belangstelling gestaan.

### **Margreet Vogelzang & Manuela Huerlimann**

University of Groningen

Verb meaning influences on overt and null pronoun interpretation in Italian

In pro-drop languages like Italian, null subjects generally refer to the discourse topic, whereas overt subject pronouns refer to a non-topical referent (Carminati, 2002). However, interpretations of null and overt pronoun interpretation can be influenced by, for example, grammatical role. In a story completion task, we tested if the interpretation of Italian subject pronouns is also mediated by the meaning and characteristics of the following verb. The experiment used short stories with null and overt subject pronouns, followed by the verb 'to have to' (*dovere*) or 'to want' (*volere*). Participants' (n=24) final interpretations were judged as referring to either the discourse topic or a non-topic antecedent.

The results show more topical interpretations with null subjects than with overt subject pronouns (resp. 83% vs. 52%;  $p < 0.001$ ). Only for overt pronouns the verb influenced interpretations (73% topical interpretations with *dovere*, 30% topical interpretations with *volere*;  $p < 0.001$ ). We conclude that overt, but not null, subject pronouns are strongly dependent on the following verb.

### **Mark de Vries**

University of Groningen

ParaCrawler: An online database of parenthetical construction types

Today, we launch an online platform for the study of parenthetical constructions, including all kinds of intercalations, dislocations, appositives, amalgams, and parenthetical coordinations. We designed a specialized cross-linguistic database that has the form of a grammar: it contains glossed examples organized in terms of their syntactic and semantic features. These features are hierarchically arranged, and as such define up to 1,000 fine-grained sentence types. Currently, the system is complete for Dutch and English, and partially so for Turkish, German, and Spanish. Due to its wiki functionality, everyone interested can contribute to

ParaCrawler by submitting new examples or commentary. I will demonstrate how this can be accomplished.

### **Hielke Vriesendorp**

Universiteit Leiden

“Omg zo fashionably gay”: Codeswitching to English in Dutch instant messaging as an identity practice of gay adolescents

De Decker and Vandekerckhove (2012) have researched the presence of English in the chatspeak of Dutch-speaking youths, which was considerable. Nonetheless, most of the English that was intentionally used in their corpus consisted of only one or two words. In a similar corpus with myself as the central chatter I found many more multi-word code-switches. These code-switches can be accounted for as an in-group identity practice for adolescents who construct a gay identity. A quantitative analysis shows that in the conversations between those chatters code-switches to English are used far more often than in conversations where one of the chatters does not construct a gay identity. Next, a discourse analysis shows that chatters who construct a gay identity associate English with ‘gay coolness’. Using a conversation-analytical approach, I will then show that multi-word code-switches to English are used to activate ‘gay-cool’ connotations.

### **Franca Wesseling**

Universiteit Utrecht, UiL OTS

A new analysis of *er* in Dutch wh-questions

In Dutch wh-subject questions the expletive pronoun *er* needs to be inserted, as in (1).

- (1) Wie slaapt \*(er)?  
‘Who is sleeping?’

The need of *er* is subject to speaker variation; not all speakers have the need for *er* in (1). I focus on those that do need *er* and concentrate on its (syntactic) function.

Bennis (1986) proposes that the presence of *er* is dependent on the specificity of the subject or object. If neither subject nor object is specific *er* is needed. I will show that specificity plays a role in the occurrence of *er* but does not constitute its trigger.

Holmberg (2000) argues for a feature [P] in spec,TP which requires that overt phonological material is present in that position. This accounts for the presence of *er* in wh-subject questions. However, as it stands feature [P] seems to be rather a description of the facts rather than an explanation.

I propose a new analysis and show that there is a structural reason for the presence of *er*.

### **Franca Wesseling & Heidi Klockmann**

Universiteit Utrecht, UiL OTS

Synchronic variation of *er* in wh-subject questions

Dutch wh-subject questions seem to demand the expletive pronoun *er* in embedded (1a) and matrix clauses (1b).

- (1) a. Wie<sub>i</sub> denk je dat er <sub>*t*<sub>i</sub></sub> komt?  
‘Who do you think is coming?’  
b. Wie<sub>i</sub> komt er <sub>*t*<sub>i</sub></sub>? ‘Who is coming?’

In the case of object extraction, *er* is blocked (2).

- (2) a. Wat<sub>i</sub> denk je dat hij (\*er) <sub>*t*<sub>i</sub></sub> at?  
‘What do you think that he ate?’

- b. Wat<sub>i</sub> at hij (\*er) t<sub>i</sub>?  
'What did he eat?'

Speakers can vary greatly on their need for *er* in wh-subject extraction contexts. We investigated this variation through an online survey which was completed by 419 participants. The questionnaire consisted of matrix and embedded wh-questions, controlled for transitivity and object type.

We found evidence for a definiteness effect, where definite objects block *er* in subject extraction contexts; interestingly, this definiteness effect appears to be alleviated by the presence of an adverb.

In this talk we will present the results of this survey and provide an analysis which tries to account for the variation.

### **Ton van der Wouden**

Meertens instituut

Tussen andere lezingen

*Tussen* is een voorzetsel dat alleen meervoudige argumenten neemt: *tussen jou en mij* is goed, net als *tussen ons*, maar *tussen mij* is slecht. Maar wat betekent "meervoudig" als *tussen het puin* goed is en *tussen de puinhoop* niet? *Tussen* heeft naast ééndimensionale lezingen (*tussen de toren en de loper*) ook meerdimensionale (*tussen de schaakstukken op het bord*), metonymische (*geel zit tussen oranje en groen, goedkoop bier tussen vier en zes*), distributieve (*tussen ieder plakje een velletje plastic*), en als "Trajectory" (*Almere ligt tussen Leiden en Leeuwarden (als je met de trein reist)*). *Tussen* heeft verder als eigenaardigheid dat het dubbele markering toelaat, afgekeurd door de ANS maar met een lange traditie (*dat het tot een getuygenisse zy tusschen my, ende tusschen u.* (Statenvertaling 1637)). Tijd voor een tussenbalans.

### **Junru Wu, Yiya Chen, Vincent J.J.P. van Heuven & Niels O. Schiller**

LUCL

Tonal variability in lexical access

How do different types of tonal variability contribute to lexical access? We addressed this question by investigating a type of variability in Jinan tonal patterns, which is lexically non-contrastive but potentially contrastive in other words. This variability was tested against three levels of variability, namely, 'acoustic identity', 'within-category variation', and 'lexically-contrastive variation', in an auditory lexical decision task. The tonal pattern variation induced a similar but smaller facilitation effect compared with the acoustic identity and the within-category variation. In contrast, an inhibition effect was induced by the lexically contrastive condition. Additionally, we tested the participants' tonal awareness. The effect of tonal awareness was smaller on the targets than on the primes. We conclude that, in lexical access, tonal patterns may have representative status but can converge in a lexically specific way, and that the contribution of tonal awareness is reduced when the form is repeated.

### **Jan-Wouter Zwart**

University of Groningen

Precede-and-command revisited revisited

In a recent article in *Language*, Bruening (2014) argues that the familiar notion of c-command should be replaced by a phase-command condition, and that dependency relations are subject to a precede-and-command condition, stating that dependency is defined as

nonconfigurational precedence inside a phase. The evidence comes from Principle C-effects in English. I argue that these Principle C-effects are misunderstood, and argue (following Bolinger 1977) that Principle C-effects can be lifted under certain discourse conditions, having nothing to do with phase organization. Principle C-effects that cannot be lifted arise as the effect of other conditions, such as those governing the expression of reflexivity, which are crucially sensitive to c-command, not phase-command. I finally question the conceptual necessity of the notion ‘phase’, arguing that locality should be derived from derivation layering, not from arbitrary category-based compartmentalization of the derivation.

**Jan-Wouter Zwart & Charlotte Lindenberg**

University of Groningen  
Rethinking alignment typology

Alignment (grammatical treatment of the core grammatical functions subject and object) is typically described as being either accusative or ergative, depending on whether the subject of an intransitive clause is aligned with the subject of a transitive clause (accusative) or with the object (ergative). We argue that the variation attested in the world’s languages calls for a more detailed alignment typology. The typology we propose takes as a starting point that grammatical processes may apply to all grammatical functions or to just a subset, giving us 5 complete types and 6-9 incomplete types. (Dutch, for instance, is incomplete for agreement, lacking agreement with the object.) Next, we want to determine to what extent the language treats the GFs participating in a process identically, and, if not, which of the GFs is marked. (Dutch treats all subjects identical for agreement.) This typology allows us to come to grips with various kinds of alignment splits, and to describe correlations between alignment patterns involved in particular grammatical processes, such as case and agreement.