

***Corpus Linguistics* 2015**

Abstract Book

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Table of contents

Plenaries

When an uptight register lets its hair down: The historical development of grammatical complexity features in specialist academic writing Douglas Biber	2
Learner corpus research: A fast-growing interdisciplinary field Sylviane Granger	2
Exploring the interface of language and literature from a corpus linguistic point of view? Michaela Mahlberg	3
Non-obvious meaning in CL and CADs: from ‘hindsight post-dictability’ to sweet serendipity Alan Partington	4

Papers

Semantic tagging and Early Modern collocates Marc Alexander; Alistair Baron; Fraser Dallachy; Scott Piao; Paul Rayson; Stephen Wattam	8
Does Corpus Size Matter? “Exploring the potential of a small simplified corpus in improving language learners’ writing quality” Wael Hamed Alharbi	10
Seeing Corpus Data: Lessons from Visualising UK Press Portrayals of Migrants William L Allen	14
A review of morphosyntactic analysers and tag-sets for Arabic corpus linguistics Abdulrahman Alosaimy; Eric Atwell	16
Introductions in Engineering Lectures Siân Alsop; Hilary Nesi	19
Muslim and Christian attitudes towards each other in southwest Nigeria: using corpus tools to explore language use in ethnographic surveys Clyde Ancarno; Insa Nolte	22
ProtAnt: A Freeware Tool for Automated Prototypical Text Detection Laurence Anthony; Paul Baker	24
Tracing verbal aggression over time, using the Historical Thesaurus of English Dawn Archer; Beth Malory	27
Corpus Profile of Adjectives in Turkish Dictionary (TD): “A” Item Sample Özkan Ayşe Eda; Özkan Bülent	28
A Corpus-based Study of Interactional Metadiscourse in L1 and L2 Academic Research Articles: Writer Identity and Reader Engagement Juhyn Back	32
Sketch Engine for English Language Learning Vit Baisa; Vit Suchomel; Adam Kilgarriff; Miloš Jakubíček	33
Longest-commonest match Vít Baisa; Adam Kilgarriff; Pavel Rychlý; Miloš Jakubíček	36
Panel: Triangulating methodological approaches Paul Baker; Jesse Egbert, Tony Mcenery, Amanda Potts, Bethany Gray	39
Gender distinctions in the units of spoken discourse Michael Barlow; Vaclav Brezina	42
“All the news that’s fit to share”: Investigating the language of “most shared” news stories Monika Bednarek; James Curran; Tim Dwyer; Fiona Martin; Joel Nothman	44

Effects of a Writing Prompt on L2 Learners' Essays Masumi Narita; Mariko Abe; Yuichiro Kobayashi	250
Information Structure and Anaphoric Links – A Case Study and Probe Anna Nedoluzhko; Eva Hajičová	252
Should I say hearing-impaired or d/Deaf? A corpus analysis of divergent discourses representing the d/Deaf population in America Lindsay Nickels	255
Investigating Submarine English: a pilot study Yolanda Noguera-Díaz; Pascual Pérez-Paredes	257
Designing English Teaching Activities Based On Popular Music Lyrics From A Corpus Perspective Maria Claudia Nunes Delfino	259
Some methodological considerations when using an MD-CADS approach to track changes in social attitudes towards sexuality over time: The case of sex education manuals for British teenagers, 1950-2014 Lee Oakley	261
Sharing perspectives and stance-taking in spoken learner discourse Aisling O'Boyle; Oscar Bladas	263
Applying the concepts of Lexical Priming to German polysemantic words Michael TL Pace-Sigge	264
The Lexical Representations of Metaphoricity – Understanding ‘metaphoricity’ through the Lexical Priming theory (Hoey, 2005) Katie Patterson	267
Citizens and migrants: the representation of immigrants in the UK primary legislation and administration information texts (2007-2011) Pascual Pérez-Paredes	269
Using Wmatrix to classify open response survey data in the social sciences: observations and recommendations Gill Philip; Lorna J. Philip; Alistair E. Philip	271
Integrating Corpus Linguistics and GIS for the Study of Environmental Discourse Robert Poole	273
A Corpus-Aided Approach for the Teaching and Learning of Rhetoric in an Undergraduate Composition Course for L2 Writers Robert Poole	275
A corpus-based discourse analytical approach to analysing frequency and impact of deviations from formulaic legal language by the ICTY Amanda Potts	277
Recycling and replacement as self repair strategies in Chinese and English conversations Lihong Quan	279
Linguistic features, L1, and assignment type: What’s the relation to writing quality? Randi Reppen; Shelley Staples	281
Stretching corpora to their limits: research on low-frequency phenomena Daniel Ross	283
Investigating the Great Complement Shift: a case study with data from COHA Juhani Rudanko	286
A corpus-based approach to case variation with German two-way prepositions Jonah Rys	288
Representations of the future in "accepting" and "sceptical" climate change blogs Andrew Salway; Dag Elgesem; Kjersti Fløttum	290
Developing ELT coursebooks with corpora: the case of ‘Sistema Mackenzie de Ensino’ Andrea Santos	293
Case in German measure constructions Roland Schäfer; Samuel Reichert	295

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Stretching corpora to their limits: research on low-frequency phenomena

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1 Introduction

Exactly what can we measure with today's corpora? Can corpora act as a proxy to specifically-designed datasets across a variety of contexts? As argued in Ross (2014), linguistic research tends to be biased toward high-frequency phenomena, meaning that we tend to only understand the most common features in languages rather than exploring the full capacity of the human language faculty. Corpus methods are one strategy to address this issue.

On the one hand, corpora are optimal for research on low-frequency phenomena because they provide direct empirical evidence in the form of millions or even billions of words. On the other hand, such large corpora are available only for a small range of linguistic varieties: usually English, usually the standard written variety, and usually contemporary usage by normal adult speakers. Sufficient corpus size is necessary for both finding relevant data and making statistical generalizations.

Therefore here I discuss the difficulties and possibilities associated with researching a particular low-frequency construction in corpora representing historical, dialectal and acquisition data for English, with implications for other languages as well. The outlook is optimistic, with such research just barely possible with the modern corpora available today.

2 The *try-and-V* construction

The *try-and-V* construction is a particular instance of a general control-verb pseudocoordination construction in English. Although several other subject control verbs such as *be sure* and *remember* can appear as the first verb in the construction (Ross 2014:211), they are too infrequent, especially in written usage, to be thoroughly investigated and statistically analyzed in most corpora. However, we can reasonably investigate the construction through its usage with *try*: the verb *try* is the 127th most frequent word in the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA: Davies 2008), with about 10 instances of *try-and-V* per million words.

Pseudocoordination has caught the attention of a number of researchers because it appears to be a mismatch between syntax (coordination) and semantics (subordination) and displays several unusual morphosyntactic properties (Ross 1967;

Culicover & Jackendoff 1997; Wiklund 2007; among others). In English, there are two types:

- (1) He went and saw the movie.
- (2) We will try and use corpora effectively.

The former, found with motion verbs, can be used with any morphological inflection as long as that inflection is found on both verbs (cf. Wiklund 2007). The latter, found with control verbs, may only be used in contexts with bare, uninflected verbs (Carden & Pesetsky 1977) such as imperatives, infinitives and the present-tense (except third-person-singular):

- (3) We try and use corpora effectively.
- (4) *He tries and use(s) corpora effectively.
- (5) *We tried and use(d) corpora effectively.

This *Bare Form Condition* (BFC) can be generated by two independent properties (Ross 2013, 2014): that the second verb is a true, bare infinitive; and that the first verb must have parallel morphology to that second, necessarily uninflected verb, analogously to the requirement in motion verb pseudocoordination.

Try-and-V is frequent enough to be studied in corpora of standard English and there have been several successful studies (Lind 1983; Hommerberg & Tottie 2007; Maia 2012), which indicate that the construction is more frequent in spoken English and more frequent in British English than American English. Only in spoken British English is it used more often than *try-to-V* (about 70% of the time). Additionally, the BFC is widespread and consistent.

Below I present three case studies looking at the BFC beyond adult usage of contemporary, standard English, stretching corpora to their limits but with successful results showing that the BFC is robust.

3 Case study 1: Historical development

Although claimed to be a relatively recent phenomenon by some and dismissed as a modern error by prescriptivists, *try-and-V* has a nearly 500 year history in English having developed alongside *try-to-V* (Hommerberg & Tottie 2007; Tottie 2012).

Tottie (2012:210) claims that *try-and-V* predates *try-to-V* with raw frequencies of the sequences *try and [verb]* and *try to [verb]* in the *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) corpus, but this claim is problematic when the data is manually filtered.

The first task in research for this time period is finding a corpus with enough data; EEBO is sufficient, but without part of speech tagging this potentially ambiguous construction is challenging. The raw sequence *try and [verb]* might be normal coordination (*try and fail*), not complementation via pseudocoordination (*try and [=to] win*), with this ambiguity being the source of the construction:

- (6) I will aduventure, or trie and seeke my fortune.
(Baret 1573; Tottie 2012:207)

An automated search listed all instances of *try* during the 1500s in EEBO, including spelling variation, which were manually filtered to consider only those instances with *and* or *to* followed by verbs that could potentially appear to be infinitival complements. Of those, many were still ambiguous, as shown in Table 1.

<i>try and [verb]</i>	instances
pseudocoordination	5
ambiguous	186
not pseudocoordination	87
total	279
<i>try to [verb]</i>	instances
infinitive complement	34
ambiguous	6
not infinitive compl.	6
total	47

Table1: *try and/to* in EEBO 1500-1600

The results reveal that though both *try-and-V* and *try-to-V* date to the 1500s, there is no conclusive evidence that *try-and-V* is older or was more frequent at first because the majority of its instances were ambiguous during this period. We can only conclude that ambiguous contexts with *and* were more frequent than ambiguous contexts with *to*.

At this time, *try-and-V* was limited to non-finite contexts (infinitives and imperatives); the modern version of the BFC developed during the mid-1800s with present-tense usage (Ross 2013:120).

4 Case study 2: Dialectal variation

Although comparisons have been made between British English and American English, other dialects, where there might be significant variation, are more difficult to explore. The recently released *Corpus of Global Web-based English* (GloWbE: Davies 2013), with 1.9 billion words of informal written English from 20 dialects, provides an appropriate data set. After automated searching with part-of-speech tagging and manual filtering of formally ambiguous results, the BFC is shown to be ubiquitous and nearly exceptionless (Table 2).

	<i>try-and-V</i>	<i>try-to-V</i>
Bare	67888 (7%)	282359 (30%)
Inflected	64 (.007%)	595195 (63%)

Table2: Infinitive complements of *try* in GloWbE

Across all dialects there are only 64 instances of inflected *try* in the construction. Of these, 46 had a bare second verb, possibly by analogy to *try-to-V*. No dialect frequently uses inflected *try-and-V*. In other, smaller dialects there may still be room for variation, especially in those with non-standard

present-tense paradigms (Faarlund & Trudgill 1999) or known exceptions to the requirement for parallel inflection in motion verb pseudocoordination (Rosen 2014). Larger corpora are needed for these dialects.

5 Case study 3: Acquisition in children

The BFC is widespread and historically stable, but is it easily and consistently acquired by children? The corpora available in the CHILDES database (MacWhinney 2000) reveal that it is. No instances of inflected *try-and-V* were found in CHILDES. However, to test this statistically, a single corpus with sufficient tokens of *try-and-V* is required. Most of the corpora contained no more than two instances, but two were identified that were just large enough for this study. Both were samples of British English, where the construction is especially frequent.

First, the Fletcher corpus (Fletcher & Garman 1988; Johnson 1986) was examined, with cross-sectional data from 72 children ages 3, 5 and 7. As shown in Table 3, not only did the children not violate the BFC (statistically significant by Fisher’s exact test at $p < .05$ for 5-7 years), but may have even acquired a categorical difference: *try-and-V* is uninflected, and *try-to-V* is inflected.

3 years	<i>try-and-V</i>	<i>try-to-V</i>
Bare	0	0
Inflected	0	4 (6)
5 years	<i>try-and-V</i>	<i>try-to-V</i>
Bare	2	0
Inflected	0	6 (10)
7 years	<i>try-and-V</i>	<i>try-to-V</i>
Bare	4 (8)	0
Inflected	0	6 (12)

Table3: *try and/to* in the Fletcher corpus (By child, with total instances in parentheses.)

Then the Thomas corpus (Lieven, Salomo & Tomasello 2009) shows that the BFC is acquired early and consistent by a single child, recorded weekly at age 2, then monthly for ages 3 and 4. There are no violations of the BFC, and the lack of inflected *try-and-V* for ages 3 and 4, shown in Table 4, is statistically significant ($p < .001$).

2 years	<i>try-and-V</i>	<i>try-to-V</i>
Bare	2	0
Inflected	0	3
3 years	<i>try-and-V</i>	<i>try-to-V</i>
Bare	6	5
Inflected	0	35
4 years	<i>try-and-V</i>	<i>try-to-V</i>
Bare	15	3
Inflected	0	31

Table4: *try and/to* in the Thomas corpus

This evidence supports the *grammatical conservatism* hypothesis (Sugisaki & Snyder 2013), which states that children will make errors of omission, but few of *comission* (producing elements not found in adults speech).

6 Outlook

Research on a specific syntactic construction based on data from only a single, though frequent, verb is possible but difficult in English. But for other languages resources are needed: for example, Faroese *royna-og-V* (counterpart to *try-and-V*) may exhibit the BFC (Heycock & Petersen 2012:274), but available corpora are limited, such as *Føroyskt TekstaSavn* (about 4 million words) with only 10 instances (9 imperatives and 1 infinitive).

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Investigating the Great Complement Shift: a Case Study with Data from COHA

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Consider the sentences in (1a-b), both from COHA, the Corpus of Historical American English:

- (1) a. Would you object to leave home?
(1890, FIC)
- b. I object to signing such an order.
(1891, FIC)

In (1a) the matrix verb *object* selects a *to* infinitive complement, and in (1b) the sentential complement of the same matrix verb is what may be termed a *to*-*ing* complement, consisting of the preposition *to* and a following gerund. While the examples from COHA show that both types of complements were found in fairly recent English, the infinitival variant has become very rare, or even unacceptable, in current English.

The purpose of the paper is to investigate sentential complements of the matrix verb *object* during the entire time span of COHA, in order to shed light on the two types non-finite complements. To set the stage, the theoretical distinction between the two types of constructions, illustrated in (1a-b), is discussed first. Both constructions involve the word *to*, but it is argued, contrary to Duffley (2000), that only the *to* that precedes a gerund is a preposition. For its part, the *to* in *to* infinitival constructions is under the Infl node, corresponding to the Aux node in more traditional terminology. While some scholars have taken the *to* of *to* infinitives to be a semantically empty element, it is argued that this *to*, similarly to other elements under Infl, may carry a meaning.

A first objective in the empirical part of the study is to provide frequency information on the incidence of the two types of complement, as selected by the matrix verb *object*, in the last two centuries, that is, during the entire time span of COHA, up to 2009. The research tasks here are to find out how long the two complements coexisted side by side and what their frequencies were in each decade. A further task is to identify the period when the gerundial pattern came to prevail over the infinitival pattern.

A second objective is to inquire into the factors that may have played a role in favoring either type of complement during the time when both were found in reasonable numbers in the language. Questions to be investigated include the possibility of semantic differentiation of the two patterns, in the