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## Abstracts

# The prosodic profile of contrastive subjects in French: A corpus analysis of clause-initial *par contre*

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**GOAL AND BACKGROUND.** The **goal** of this talk is to investigate whether prosody in spoken French can take up the same discourse functions as adverb placement in written French. We focus on the prosodic profile of lexical subjects preceded by the contrastive adverb *par contre* ‘on the other hand’:

- (1) *Eva regarde la télé dans la cuisine.* ‘Eva is watching television in the kitchen.’  
*Par contre Paul dort dans le salon.* ‘On the other hand Paul is sleeping in the living room.’

**Previous research** on formal written French has shown that contrastive adverbs can occupy different positions in the clause, for different discursive purposes (Dupont 2015, 2019; see Altenberg 2006 on English and Swedish, and Lenker 2014 on English). They can for example show up immediately after the subject, to “isolate and clearly identify the entities that are being contrasted with the preceding discourse” (Dupont 2019:307):

- (2) *Paul par contre dort dans le salon.* ‘Paul on the other hand is sleeping in the living room.’

With respect to spoken French, it has been pointed out that contrastive adverbs occur almost always in clause-initial position (1) (Brysbaert & Lahousse 2020). This raises the **question** whether in spoken language, prosodic cues are used instead to mark off the subject.

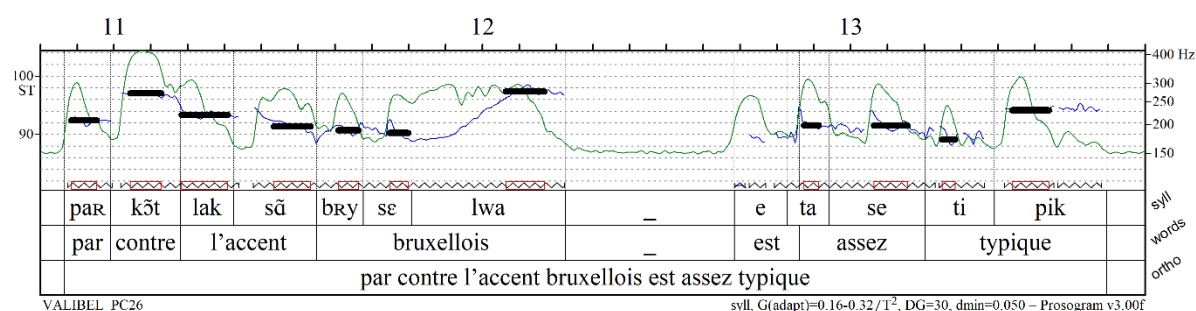
**METHODS.** We present a prosodic analysis of 51 examples with clause-initial *par contre*, which is the most frequent contrastive adverb in spoken French, followed by an accentuable (lexical) subject. The data have been extracted from **four corpora**: CFPP (<http://cfpp2000.univ-paris3.fr/>), OFROM (<http://www11.unine.ch/>), CRFP (<https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01388193>), and VALIBEL (<https://uclouvain.be/fr/instituts-recherche/ilc/valibel/corpora.html>). Acoustic measures have been taken using **Praat** (<https://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/>).

**RESULTS.** Our data show that clauses with initial *par contre* followed by a lexical subject present **different prosodic profiles**, correlated with the discursive effect speakers want to create:

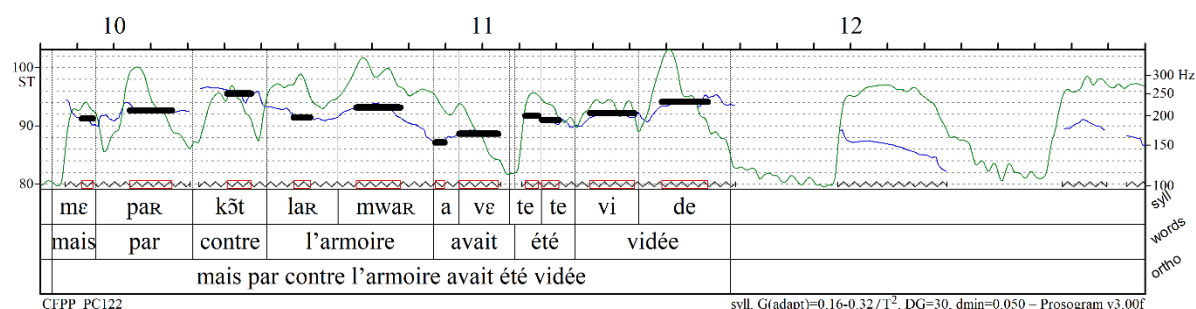
- i. In 10 cases of our dataset, the subject is immediately followed by a long **silent pause** (Figure 1). This pause marks off the subject, and highlights the entities that are being contrasted, i.e. *l’accent bruxellois* ‘the Brussels accent’ versus other accents mentioned in the context.
- ii. In 12 cases, the **pitch** of the last accentuable syllable of the subject is slightly higher than the pitch of the last accentuable syllable of the adverb (Figure 1). This also results in an emphasis on the subject.
- iii. When the highest pitch is on the adverb itself and in the absence of a long pause immediately after the subject (Figure 2), the subject is not marked off prosodically and the scope of the contrastive adverb is underdetermined.

**CONCLUSIONS.** Our study shows that prosody (i) can delineate the potential domain of contrast set by sentence-initial adverbs in spoken French and (ii) is used to obtain similar discursive effects as those achieved by word order in formal written French. This supports the hypothesis that there is a **trade-off between markers of contrastivity** across registers (Koplenig et al. 2017; Prieto & Roseano 2021).

**Figure 1: Subject is marked off prosodically**



**Figure 2: Subject is not marked off prosodically**



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## Dutch deadjectival change-of-state verbs

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**1. Claim.** We present a theory of conversion in terms of phrasal spellout. In this approach, there are no zero morphemes. Instead, the 'silent' meaning components are pronounced cumulatively within overt morphemes. We show how this approach works for the case of adjective-verb conversion.

**2. Data.** Deadjectival verbs in Dutch come in five varieties:

- (1) a. zero-marked verbs, which have no overt suffix marking the change of category (e.g. *wit-witten* 'white(n)')  
b. verbs prefixed with *be-* (e.g. *koel-bekoelen* 'cool')  
c. verbs prefixed with *ver-* (e.g. *kil-verkillen* 'chill')  
d. verbs preceded by various types of (separable) prepositions (e.g. *warm-opwarmen* 'warm (up)')  
e. verbs suffixed with *-(is)eer* (e.g. *bruin-bruineren* 'brown', *radicaal-radicaliseren* 'radical(ise)')

Most of these verbs in addition show a causative-inchoative ambiguity:

- (2) a. *De soep warmde op.*  
the soup warmed up  
'The soup warmed.'  
b. *De kok warmde de soep op.*  
the cook warmed the soup up  
'The cook warmed the soup.'

**3. Analysis.** Neeleman & Schipper (1993) argue that the prefixes in (1bcd) are not responsible for verbal status, but that in all of the above cases there is a zero suffix that derives the verb from the adjective. We present a nanosyntactic implementation of this idea, which takes all the roots in (1abcd) to spell out a lexical item that includes both an adjectival base and a set of verbalising features. In contrast, the roots illustrated by (1e) are smaller and need an overt suffix to realise a verb. The verbal features include both an inchoative and a causative head. This analysis will also allow an account of the causative-inchoative ambiguity illustrated in (3).

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# **Do people on Tinder often experience intercultural dissonance? A socio-pragmatic study of online self-presentation and stereotypes**

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According to Business of Apps, Tinder's number of users increased from approximately 50 million users in 2018 to around 66 million in 2020. Notwithstanding, not many studies have been conducted on Tinder self-presentation, cultural identity, and intercultural dissonance/ shock. This (in-progress) investigation addresses three main issues. First, it investigates the intercultural differences present in the profiles from the perspective of Hall's (1989) and Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner's (2008) cultural dimensions (e.g., in more individualistic cultures, users tend to focus on themselves, use the first person singular while in more collectivist ones, they define themselves as members of a group and include group). For this purpose, three groups of countries have been selected: those in which English is their first language (United Kingdom, United States), those in which it is one of their co-official languages (India, South Africa), and those in which people use it as a lingua franca (Germany, Spain). Then, the results obtained from the analysis of these profiles were contrasted with some of the stereotypes present in the collective imaginary (see Spencer-Rodgers & McGovernb, 2002; Irimias, 2011; Lebedko, 2014). Finally, people from different cultural backgrounds were tested in search of possible sources of cultural dissonance or shock when encountering profiles from diverse cultural backgrounds (see Zamborlin, 2007; van der Zee & van Oudenhoven, 2013).

To collect the sample of Tinder profiles, Frederik Mees's Tinder bot (available on Github) was used to scrape data from real Tinder profiles from the six previously stated locations (N=600). Then, the information in these profiles (picture, bio, keywords) was analysed quantitative and qualitatively with the help of Atlas.ti and R Studio. Consecutively, the stereotypical identity of each region was constructed by filtering the most common collocations of the different demonyms on Google (e.g. "Northamerican women are..."). Finally, 20 volunteers from each of the six regions answered a questionnaire on their opinion of profiles which included particularly culturally marked profiles. Consequently, it could be observed what elements were seen as more problematic (resulting in intercultural dissonance or shock) or more widely praised, resulting in "right swipes".

Significant differences are expected to be observed between the profiles of users from highly distinct cultures. Moreover, the more globally well-known the culture is, the more likely it is to reflect the stereotypes which are attributed to it (e.g. north Americans are more likely to be related to hunting than South Africans, even if this is a recurrent attribute of the profiles from both cultural backgrounds). Finally, it is expected that people will experience cultural dissonance or cultural shock when encountering profiles markedly different from those of their culture of origin and this may difficult intercultural communication among them. Further studies are needed to increase the number of cultures assessed and to look at the sample considering the variables of gender and sexual orientation. Additionally, it may also be meaningful to investigate in what manners dissonance and cultural shock can be mitigated (e.g. raising awareness by giving some in-app tips to how to interact with intercultural users).

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# **A Systematic Review on Transcranial Direct Current Stimulation in Primary Progressive Aphasia: Methodological Considerations**

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A variety of tDCS approaches has been used to investigate the potential of tDCS to improve language outcomes, or slow down the decay of language competences caused by Primary Progressive Aphasia (PPA). The employed stimulation protocols and study designs in PPA are generally speaking similar to those deployed in post-stroke aphasic populations. These two etiologies of aphasia however differ substantially in their pathophysiology, and for both conditions the optimal stimulation paradigm still needs to be established.

A systematic review was done and after applying inclusion and exclusion criteria, 17 articles were analysed focusing on differences and similarities across studies especially focusing on PPA patient characteristics (age, PPA variant, language background), tDCS stimulation protocols (intensity, frequency, combined language therapy, electrode configuration) and study design as recent reviews and group outcomes for individual studies suggest tDCS is an effective tool to improve language outcomes, while methodological approach and patient characteristics are mentioned as moderators that may influence treatment effects (Cotelli, Manenti et al., 2020; Tsapkini, Webster et al., 2018).

We found that studies of tDCS in PPA have clinical and methodological and heterogeneity regarding patient populations, stimulation protocols and study design. While positive group results are usually found irrespective of these differences, the magnitude, duration and generalization of these outcomes differ when comparing stimulation locations, and when results are stratified according to the clinical variant of PPA. We interpret the results of included studies in light of patient characteristics and methodological decisions. Further, we highlight the role neuroimaging can play in study protocols and interpreting results and make recommendations for future work.

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# **Turning ‘deficiencies’ into ‘affordances’: Transitioning from ‘participation framework’-disruptions to -restorations in technology-mediated job interviews**

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Technology-mediated interactions have received quite some attention in discourse and conversation analytical research, and, with the COVID-19-situation and the ensuing surge of computer-mediated communication, this attention will likely increase even more in the future. While one strand of research has mainly focused on interactional problems in such technology-mediated interactions (e.g. Markman 2009; Luff et al. 2016), another strand has attempted to move away from this ‘deficiency’ perspective (Meredith 2017; also e.g. Arvedsen & Hassert 2020) and has started to focus on ‘affordances’ of the particular medium under study (Gibson 1979; Hutchby 2001). In these studies, the opportunities of technology are highlighted instead, and their interactional mobilization by the participants is often carefully scrutinized.

In this presentation, we combine these two strands of research by looking at ‘participation framework’-disruptions and their subsequent restorations that occur due to technical issues. While these can be qualified as interactional problems, we tease out how some participants make the most of these transitions, and actually transform these issues almost into affordances, especially when looked at from the genre that we focus on, namely job interviews.

In particular, we use a qualitative discourse analytic research method to scrutinize the transitions occurring right after technical issues in a corpus of 15 video-based job interviews collected after the start of the COVID-19-crisis in Belgium in March 2021. These were recorded with screen-recording software and transcribed using conversation analytic transcription conventions.

We found that while some transitional moments are talked into being in a rather straightforward way by means of a few metapragmatic comments, other participants use these moments to initiate the topic of ‘life during the pandemic’. Through this talk, they first of all engage in rapport-building, potentially compensating for the general curtailing of this stage in job interviews taking place via digital media (Blacksmith et al., 2016). Secondly, we also found that participants tend to construct a sort of ‘victims of the pandemic’-collectivity through the COVID-19-related talk in these transitional moments. This, we argue, presents a particular opportunity in the context of job interviews: by highlighting the shared nature of the current situation for humankind – thus also including the participants – the interlocutors can construct co-membership. As early research has shown (Erickson and Shultz, 1982), this can be beneficial for candidates in job interviews. In this way, we demonstrate that the participants may actually turn the disruptions that potentially occur in this medium, into opportunities for establishing a certain degree of sharedness, which tends to be so important for job interviews. Thus, we argue that technology-related deficiencies may sometimes be agentively transformed into affordances.

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## Exploring the role of the body in communication of ironic stance

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Performing and understanding conversational irony requires a complex management of multiple viewpoints (e.g. Coulson, 2005; Kihara, 2015; Tobin & Israel, 2012). Although considerable attention has been paid to the way in which speakers construe ironic meanings, we know little about how language users jointly negotiate these viewpoint shifts in interaction. In this contribution, we investigate how speakers use co-verbal behavior (e.g. gaze shifts, shrugs, shifts in body orientation, hand gestures, etc.) to manage irony in talk.

Consider example (1), taken from our data corpus (Brône & Oben, 2015). Prior to this fragment, Paul, Gabriëlle and Mara are speaking about Mara’s sister, who has a hidden singing talent.

- (1) **Gabriëlle** (mompelt) Ik heb geen verborgen talent  
*(mumbles) I have no hidden talent*  
 (all three laugh)
- Mara** Bij u straalt het er gewoon \*allemaal af\*  
*In your case it just all radiates from you*  
 \*iconic “radiation” gesture\*  
 (all three laugh)

In her turn, Gabriëlle sets up a pretense by claiming she has no hidden talents. Mara responds to this by joining the pretense. She pretends to compliment Gabriëlle, saying that her talents all radiate from her. This compliment however, is so exaggerated (among other things by the use of gesture) that it becomes a tease towards Gabriëlle. The tease does not appear to be meant (and received) as harmful, as all participants join in laughter immediately following this sequence.

To describe and quantify bodily behavior of the speaker in ironic utterances compared to non-ironic ones, we used data from a video corpus (Br ne & Oben, 2015). This corpus consists of three-party interactions with participants (N = 24) wearing mobile eye-tracking devices that allow for precise eye gaze data analysis. From this corpus we selected ironic and non-ironic segments that involve a positioning on an evaluative scale. In other words, we compared bodily behavior during ironic stance acts (e.g. "I have no hidden talent") with bodily behavior during non-ironic stance acts (e.g. "That's pretty smart").

Our results show that speakers display more of the multimodal resources under scrutiny in ironic cases compared to non-ironic cases. More specifically, the involvement of bodily resources is mainly manifested in the use of laughter, head movements and body repositionings. We further show how those resources cluster into certain multimodal packages, and how the exact timing of the bodily behavior is relevant (most notably, the gaze behavior at the end of an ironic segment differs from the end of a non-ironic one).

Our findings speak to a notion of irony as a jointly construed and negotiated form of pretense (cf. Brône, 2021; Brône & Oben, to appear), and put forward the question of how multimodal irony unfolds over the course of longer sequences in interaction.

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# **Interpreting Disfluencies and Exploitation During Speakers' Silent Pauses in Chinese-English Simultaneous Interpreting**

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The extent to which interpreting quality is influenced by speakers' silent pauses (SPs) in source texts (STs) can be examined by looking at interpreting performance during speakers' SPs of various positions and lengths. Interpreters were found to show mirroring behaviours of silences or hesitations in their delivery, but the interactions between ST SPs and the seemingly copying performances in interpreting may not be direct and significant (Cecot 2001; Tissi 2000; Wang and Li 2015). Interpreters were also found to intuitively exploit speakers' SPs to articulate, especially during longer SPs in ST (Barik 1973; Goldman-Eisler 1968) and between- sentences SPs to reduce cognitive pressure (Gile 2008). Arguably, more systematic and recent studies on this subject are unfortunately absent and thus this less-charted territory is worth exploring.

## **Aims**

This study aims at examining how each SP position and duration, in two different forms of speech, affect the concurrent Chinese-English simultaneous interpreting during those ST SPs in terms of interpreting disfluencies and exploitation, and whether speech styles point to any difference in the interactions between speakers' SPs and corresponding affected interpreting performances

## **Methods**

11 Master's students were asked to do Chinese-English simultaneous interpreting of two speeches, one formal and one informal. ST SPs were divided into different categories according to their positions and durations. Then each student's individual rate of disfluencies as well as exploitation during ST SPs within each crossed category of ST SP position and duration was calculated in both ST A and ST B. Linear mixed-effects models were run with the ST SP positions and durations as independent variables and the rate of interpreting disfluencies as well as exploitation as dependent variables.

## **Results**

ST SP positions and durations as well as their interactions in both two speeches played a role as student interpreters delivered disfluent output during ST SPs and were mindful of the existence of ST SPs by crowding their interpreting into the gaps. The ST speech style difference did not point to much difference. Position-wise, the rate of disfluent interpreting was remarkably high during ST SPs at two major grammatical positions of within- clause boundary and sentence boundary in both formal and informal speech as speakers produced either incomplete or complete and particularly compound and complex units of utterances. There was also a significantly high rate of taking advantage of ST SPs at the major grammatical juncture of sentence boundary regardless of ST styles. Duration-wise, students' Chinese-English interpreting of both formal and informal speech indicated a high rate of disfluent output during the mid-lengths of ST SPs of 0.4-0.6s. And the longer the ST SPs, the greater the rate of waiting for speakers to finish before taking advantage of ST SPs to maximise interpreted utterances regardless of speech style.

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# Kan het nog wat Brabantser?

## Hyperdialect in ‘tegeltjes’ op sociale media

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De dialecten in Nederland bevinden zich in een fase van nivellering. Door contact met het Nederlands en andere taalvariëteiten gaan typisch lokale dialectkenmerken verloren (Hinskens, Auer & Kerswill 2005; Britain 2009; Swanenberg & Van Hout 2013). Tegelijkertijd neemt het Nederlands de plaats van het dialect in als eerste taal en thuistaal (Hoppenbrouwers 1990). Deze processen van convergentie en taalverschuiving zorgen ervoor dat de traditionele, lokale dialecten plaatsmaken voor regionale variëteiten met een groter verspreidingsgebied.

In deze presentatie staan de Brabantse dialecten uit de Nederlandse provincie Noord-Brabant centraal. In deze dialecten is geslachtsmarkering, met name de adnominale markering van mannelijk woordgeslacht *-e(n)* (*unnen hond/den hond*) een van de meest kenmerkende eigenschappen (e.g. Hoppenbrouwers 1990). De afgelopen zestig jaar is er echter steeds meer variatie gekomen in de toepassing van dit dialectkenmerk (Doreleijers, Van Koppen & Swanenberg 2020). Sprekers laten het dialectsuffix weg, mogelijk door invloed van het Nederlands (convergentie), of ze gebruiken het op onverwachte manieren (divergentie). Divergentie komt tot uiting in hyperdialectismen (Lenz 2004; Hinskens 2014), waarbij de mannelijke uitgang ook wordt gebruikt bij vrouwelijke en onzijdige woorden, of bij meervouden. Jonge sprekers passen daarnaast innovatieve markeringen toe waarbij het suffix als het ware wordt verdubbeld, bijvoorbeeld *unnenen hond* (Doreleijers et al. 2020).

Eerder onderzoek heeft gewezen op variatie in de toepassing van de mannelijke geslachtsmarkering in geschreven en gesproken dialectgebruik (Doreleijers et al. 2020), en in dialectgebruik op sociale media (Swanenberg 2027; Cornips, Marzo & Swanenberg 2019). De opkomst van sociale media heeft de dialecten een moderne, informele, alledaagse en schriftelijke gebruikscontext gegeven, waarbij sprekers zichzelf aan de hand van lokale of regionale taal kunnen uiten en tegelijkertijd hun identiteit kunnen uitdragen (De Tier, Van de Wijngaard & Ghyselen 2017). Dialecten die van oudsher zijn gebonden aan gesproken taal ontwikkelen zo hun eigen digitale, stilistische genre, dat tegenwicht kan bieden aan dialectverlies. Maar hoe functioneren traditionele dialectkenmerken en hyperdialectismen precies in deze sociale context?

In deze presentatie wordt die vraag beantwoord aan de hand van een specifiek soort berichten op sociale media (Instagram en Facebook), namelijk zogenaamde ‘tegeltjes’ met uitspraken of korte verhalen in Brabants dialect. In de periode van maart 2018 tot maart 2021 zijn 336 van zulke tegeltjes verzameld. Een kwantitatieve linguïstische en een kwalitatieve metalinguïstische analyse, een digitale landschapsanalyse en interviewdata tonen hoe geslachtsmarkering in de tegeltjes functioneert als een talig regionaal herkenningsteken, een sjibbolet voor het Brabants. De focus ligt op het gebruik en de overgeneralisatie van de mannelijke geslachtsmarkering *-e(n)* in de tegeltjes, in combinatie met de metalinguïstische commentaren die aan de tegeltjes zijn toegevoegd, bijvoorbeeld over authenticiteit. De data bieden nieuwe inzichten in hoe hyperdialectismen kunnen bijdragen aan het indexeren van lokale identiteit, zoals ‘Brabanderschap’, op sociale media (cf. Eckert 2012; Johnstone 2014).

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# Engagement strategies across Chinese and English academic spoken discourse

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Engagement resources are widespread in the academic context to influence interpersonal interaction between the speakers and their addressee. The present study investigates and contrasts five categories of engagement markers adapted from Hyland's (2005) model in academic spoken discourse in Mandarin Chinese and two varieties of English: British English and International English. The analysis was based on a collection of 76 academic presentations in the field of Humanities and Social Science distributed as follows: Mandarin Chinese: 24 different presentations, 32,137 tokens (collected from recent three years academic seminars held in Mainland China and transcribed by the first author), British English: 26 presentations, 32,205 tokens (collected from recent five years public academic lectures given by British scholars and transcribed by the first author), International English: 26 speakers, 33,681 tokens (selected from the ELFA corpus (2008)). Each of the five types of engagement markers (hearer mentions, directives, parenthesis, shared knowledge and questions) was manually annotated in the three data sets. Overall results indicate significant distribution differences between Mandarin Chinese and English concerning hearer mentions, directives and shared knowledge. The usage of hearer mentions accounts for the most in spoken British English and International English academic discourse, while Mandarin Chinese researchers are more inclined to use directives to interact with their audience. Appeals to shared knowledge occur frequently in International English scholars academic reports, however, the content-oriented questions are the least used. The contrastive analysis of engagement items reveals that the ways scholars engage with their discourse community might be associated with language backgrounds and specific cultural contexts. The findings contribute to comparing academic spoken performance across different languages but are of potential interest to inform future speech training by adjusting and applying these strategies in academic communication.

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# **“This problem”: a comparative study of shell nouns in L2 English**

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The aim of this study is to investigate how learners of English use shell nouns to organize the discourse and characterize information. Shell nouns such as *fact*, *problem* and *issue* are abstract nouns whose original semantic meaning is unspecific, but once used in certain lexico-grammatical patterns, their meaning becomes explicit through reference to the preceding or succeeding linguistic context. Introduced by Schmid, this term has been widely studied in recent years (see Schmid, 2000; Charles, 2003; Aktas & Cortes, 2008; Flowerdew & Forest, 2015; Jiang, 2015; Tåqvist, 2018, among others). A typical lexico-grammatical pattern of shell nouns is when they are preceded by the demonstrative *this*, e.g. *this idea* and *this goal*. Given its anaphoric function, it helps to establish links between shell nouns and shell contents and serves to encapsulate complex information.

This study is a corpus-based contrastive interlanguage analysis on the use of shell nouns in the pattern “this + shell noun” in English argumentative essays by university students whose first languages are Chinese, Dutch, or Spanish. The three learner corpora were compiled based on a strict selection of essays, with both learner variables and task variables controlled. For the purposes of the present paper, all instances of “this + shell noun” were identified in the corpora and the use of these items were then analysed and calculated by frequency counts and percentages, as well as the Chi-square test. Results show there are both differences and similarities across the corpora. Overall, Spanish learners adopt significantly more shell nouns than both Chinese learners and Dutch learners do, but Dutch learners use more types of shell nouns. In terms of the distribution of shell nouns in each semantic category, a significant but small difference across the three learner groups was found. Specifically, there are significantly less eventive shell nouns in the Chinese corpus. Meanwhile, Dutch learners perform a better ability to characterize information by adding adjectival premodifiers to shell nouns. Finally, the difference across the corpora concerning the distribution of reference patterns is significant. Compared to the other two groups of learners, Chinese learners use anaphoric across-sentence reference more frequently and anaphoric within-sentence reference less frequently. The findings contribute to a deeper understanding of how students with different mother tongues use this linguistic pattern in second language writing.

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**Goe bezig :**  
**De plaats van Tussentaal in lessen Nederlands als vreemde taal in België**

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Dit onderzoek richt zich op de plaats van Tussentaal in de lessen Nederlands van het hoger secundair onderwijs in de Federatie Wallonië-Brussel. Tussentaal, of Vlaamse spreektaal, wordt gekenmerkt door zowel standaardtalige als dialectale elementen (Taeldeman 2008) en het gebruik ervan in het dagelijks leven, in de media en in het onderwijs is vaak omstreden (o.a. Lybaert 2015). Toch hebben vele studies aangetoond dat Tussentaal alomtegenwoordig is in Vlaanderen (o.a. De Caluwe 2009, Delarue 2016). Tussentaal zou bovendien een van de belemmeringen voor wederzijds begrip tussen anderstaligen en moedertaalsprekers zijn (Van Hest 2018). De lessen Nederlands die in de schoolcontext in de Federatie Wallonië-Brussel worden gegeven, zijn immers officieel uitsluitend gericht op het Standaardnederlands (Référenciel 2017), dat door veel Vlamingen in het dagdagelijkse leven niet vaak wordt gebruikt (De Caluwe 2009).

Het doel van dit onderzoek is om een overzicht te krijgen van de plaats die leraren Nederlands in de Federatie Wallonië-Brussel geven aan taalvariatie in hun lessen. De onderzoeksvragen die in deze presentatie worden beantwoord zijn daarom: (1) Komen Tussentaal en taalvariatie aan bod in de lessen Nederlands die in het hoger secundair onderwijs in de Federatie Wallonië-Brussel worden gegeven en, als dat het geval is, waarom en hoe, en indien niet, waarom niet? (2) Ten tweede, wat is de kennis en het begrip van Tussentaal en het Vlaamse taallandschap bij leerkrachten? En tenslotte (3), wat zijn volgens de leraren de concrete moeilijkheden van de leerlingen met betrekking tot de mondelinge communicatieve vaardigheden, vooral in verband met Tussentaal?

Hiertoe werden 50 leerkrachten die lessen Nederlands geven in het vierde, vijfde en zesde middelbaar anoniem en op vrijwillige basis geïnterviewd aan de hand van een vragenlijst in Microsoft Forms. De vragenlijst bestond uit gesloten vragen voor kwantitatieve analyse en open vragen voor kwalitatieve analyse. De meeste van deze leerkrachten geven les in het algemeen secundair onderwijs in Brussel, Waals-Brabant en Henegouwen.

De voorlopige resultaten van dit onderzoek zijn: (1) In tegenstelling tot wat het gemeenschappelijk referentiekader voor moderne vreemde talen van de Federatie Wallonië-Brussel (2017) lijkt te bepleiten, stellen de leerkrachten soms taalvariatie aan de orde. In de helft van de gevallen praten leerkrachten met hun leerlingen over Tussentaal. De leerkrachten beschouwen de aanpak van taalvariatie als vrij belangrijk en besteden er in de klas aandacht aan, ook al gebeurt dat in het algemeen niet vaak. (2) Er zijn grote interpersoonlijke verschillen in het gevoel van competentie van de leerkrachten wat betreft het onderwijzen van taalvariatie, maar ook in hun feitelijke kennis van het Vlaamse taallandschap en van Tussentaal. Tenslotte, (3) de grootste moeilijkheden waarmee de leerlingen te kampen hebben, zijn volgens hun leerkrachten het gebrek aan woordenschat, aan vertrouwen in de eigen taalvaardigheid, en eveneens het accent en het spreekritme van moedertaalsprekers.

De resultaten van deze studie zullen hopelijk leiden tot een discussie over het nut en het belang van het onderwijs van Tussentaal in de lessen Nederlands in de Federatie Wallonië-Brussel en over de nood aan een kader en aan didactisch materiaal.

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## Comparative deletion as a means of escape out of VP-anaphors

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In Dutch one can use the anaphorical construction *dat doen* 'do that'.

- (1) Jij leest veel boeken en ik doe dat ook.  
You read many books and I do that too.  
'You read many books and so do I'

Movement is generally not possible out of this anaphor. The following example shows that wh-movement out of *dat doen* crashes.

- (2) \*Hoeveel taarten heeft Jan gebakken en How many  
cakes has Jan baked and hoeveel heeft Piet dat  
gedaan?  
how many has Piet that done?  
'How many cakes has John baked and how many has Piet?'

Puzzling in this respect is that the VP anaphor can occur in a comparative than-clause, even when the comparative element is as low as the direct object.

- (3) Jan bakt meer taarten dan Piet dat ooit  
Jan bakes more cakes than Piet that ever  
gedaan heeft.  
done has.  
'Jan is baking more cakes than Piet has ever done'

It is generally assumed that a comparative construction involves A-bar movement of the empty degree operator out of the VP and thus in this case out of the VP-anaphor [4][3][1] [5]. I therefore argue that comparative movement out of the VP-anaphor operates in a fundamentally different way than other types of movement.

Assuming a tree structure as in [2], *doen* is in the little v position, *dat* is adjoined to a functional projection FP above the VP and *dat* contains an [E]

feature. In 'ordinary' movement, such as wh-movement, the DP containing the wh-element moves out of the DP and cyclically moves up to the specifier of CP. The first landing position for the DP is the spec of little vP. At the point little vP is merged, the internal structure of the VP has been deleted, so it can no longer host a movement trace.

In comparative movement, however, the DP containing the empty operator has an [E]-feature itself, since comparatives undergo comparative deletion of the entire DP [4] [1] [5]. The agreement between the DP and the FP, that have matching [E]-features, triggers movement of the DP to the specifier of the FP. Since the anaphor *dat*, which is the head of FP, triggers the deletion of the VP, the VP is not yet deleted when the FP is merged. The VP can therefore still host the trace of the movement to the specifier of FP. Therefore, comparative deletion allows the comparative movement out of the VP-anaphor to converge.

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## Whose stance is it anyway?

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Stance-taking in interaction refers to the capacity to express personal feelings, attitudes, judgments, commitments and assessments (Biber & Finegan 1989). In taking a stance, a subject positions itself towards an object through evaluating it in a certain way (Du Bois, 2007). Although this phenomenon is omnipresent in interaction, the specific manners in which stance-taking manifests itself in signed languages, especially multimodally, remain largely unexplored. In this presentation, we will zoom in on stance-taking in Flemish Sign Language (VGT) by looking at episodes of enactment. Enactment is the expressive, embodied representation of actions (constructed action) or dialogue (constructed dialogue) to depict characters, events and points of view (Hodge & Ferrara, 2014) and is used extensively in signed languages.

The empirical basis for this study consists of two-party narratives in VGT, taken from the corpus Flemish Sign Language (Van Herreweghe et al., 2015; <http://www.corpusvgt.be>). A preliminary analysis of the data shows that when enactment and stance-taking are combined, it is not always clear whose stance is conveyed. This is because signers who are narrating a story may often express a stance on what they are recounting, though they may also convey the stance of one or more enacted characters. Signers go rapidly back and forth between the here and now and the there and then in the story. To indicate these changes, several strategies including gaze shifts, body partitioning, and temporal phrases, such as ‘When I was young...’ can be used (Dudis, 2004; Janzen, 2019; Stivers, 2008).

Adding to the complexity is the fact that the signer might be both the narrator and the character in the story at different moments in time (Cormier et al., 2015: 3). As an illustration, in an excerpt taken from the corpus for this study, a man signs a story about when he was a little boy, in which he enacts his mother getting angry with him because he was pulling her leg. Simultaneously, he enacts his own past self as a child. Moreover, we can see a stance towards what happened, although it is not entirely clear if this is his present or past stance, or both. In this type of narrative, both the stance of the adult (narrator) and the stance of the child (character) can be expressed and may intertwine. We argue that signers can choose to leave this ambiguity for what it is, or may disentangle their stance by e.g. pointing towards the owner of the stance.

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## The present tense across languages

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The default function of a present-tense construction would appear to be locating situations at the time of speaking. Thus, the Dutch and French present tenses can straightforwardly be used to report ongoing present-time events, as is illustrated for French in (1):

- (1) *Là, maintenant, je regarde un film.*  
now now 1SG watch.PRS.1SG INDF.SG.M movie  
'Right now, I'm watching a movie.'

Yet, in various languages, the so-called present tense can only be used to refer to the ongoing present when combined with stative verbs reporting unbounded situations (De Wit 2017). For dynamic verbs, denoting bounded events, different semantic interpretations emerge. English is a case in point: the simple present can be used to report present-time states (2), but not present-time events (3):

- (2) *I have my laptop with me right now.*

- (3) *\*I play tennis right now.*

If the simple present does combine with dynamic verbs, the default interpretation is a habitual one:

- (4) *I play tennis three times per week.*

English is by no means an isolated case. It is, in fact, a widespread phenomenon across languages that grammemes used to express present-time reference with stative verbs have a non-present interpretation with dynamic verbs. De Wit (2017) has identified three different non-present interpretations that are commonly assigned to the combination of a so-called 'present tense' and dynamic verbs:

- 1) The construction that is used as a present tense with stative verbs is given a past interpretation with dynamic verbs ('retrospective strategy').
- 2) The construction that is used as a present tense with stative verbs is given a future interpretation with dynamic verbs ('prospective strategy').
- 3) The construction that is used as a present tense with stative verbs is given a general-validity (habitual or generic) interpretation with dynamic verbs ('structural strategy').

However, it is unclear, up to now, how commonly languages resort to such non-present interpretations, and which of the identified strategies is cross-linguistically most entrenched. This talk will present the results of an ongoing typological study investigating this particular interaction between tense and lexical aspect in a sample of 179 languages.

One of the crucial findings is that languages like English with different marking for present-time states and present-time events are more common than languages like French and Dutch where the same grammeme can be used for both present-time states and events. Another finding is that languages with different marking always make use of one of the three strategies mentioned above. The retrospective

strategy is by far the most common, which offers cross-linguistic corroboration for claims made in Smith & Erbaugh (2005) about the default past interpretation of verbs referring to bounded situations. A last important finding is that the kind of interaction is influenced by the tense system of a given language: in languages with polysemous tense constructions, lexical aspect often serves to disambiguate between present and non-present time reference. Finally, the talk will offer possible explanations for the observed patterns, relying on cognitive and functional approaches to language.

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# 200 Greek Idiomatic Expressions: Ratings for Familiarity, Ambiguity and Decomposability

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## Introduction

Idioms differ from other forms of figuration because of their semantic dimensions of familiarity (frequency of encounter), ambiguity (possibility to have a literal interpretation) and decomposability (possibility of the idiom's words to assist in its figurative interpretation) (Langlotz, 2006). This study focuses on the Greek language and seeks to provide further insights into idiom processing. Research in Greek is limited even though Greek idioms bear some very distinct characteristics that make them a good candidate to explore idiom processing: they can be categorised based on all semantic dimensions (Vlaxopoulos, 2007), they have extremely high productivity and ability for compositionality (Papalexandrou, 2014) as for example their constituent words can even be fake words or non-words (Mazi, 2012) and they have great syntactic flexibility as for example they can even appear as whole sentences (Vlaxopoulos, 2007).

## Aims

This study aimed at providing a corpus of 200 Greek idioms rated by 50 native Greek raters, aged 20-38 years ( $M=22.6$ ;  $SD=4.023$ ), 40 females and 10 males, all postgraduate students at Democritus University of Thrace (Greece). Specifically, the study aimed at (1) rating all idioms in terms of their degree of familiarity, ambiguity, and decomposability and (2) investigating the associations among these dimensions, providing the first corpus of Greek idioms rated for semantic dimensions.

## Methods

We conducted 3 different online assessments each of which asked the participants to evaluate the degree of an idiom's familiarity, ambiguity, and decomposability. The idioms were selected from the dictionary of Greek Idioms: "Dictionary of Idioms in Modern Greek" (Vlaxopoulos, 2007). Each list had the same 200 idioms. Participants were asked to rate idioms on a Likert scale, ranging from 0 to 5 (0 corresponding to low and 5 high degree of ambiguity, familiarity, and decomposability). Methods followed the studies of Libben and Titone (2008) and Titone and Connine (1994b.)

## Results

Cronbach's alpha and Intraclass Correlation Coefficient (Hubers et al., 2019) verified high internal consistency in the data. Familiarity was positively correlated with decomposability ( $r=.409$ ,  $p<.01$ ) and weakly with ambiguity ( $r=.189$ ,  $p<.01$ ). Last, Mann Whitney U tests demonstrated that familiarity ratings showed significant differences with decomposability ratings ( $U=5.510$ ,  $p=0.002$ ). Therefore, considering that the most frequent idioms in a language are the highly familiar, then it is obvious that Greek idioms are decomposable in their majority. Decomposable idioms have constituent words that are linked to the figurative meaning. This fact would well explain the high semantic productivity that exists in Greek idioms. The constituent words could be for example replaced with other semantically related words and we would come up with alternative idioms which would still be semantically and pragmatically equal (Mazi, 2012). In such cases, the speakers would be still able to recognize the idiom. Also, in the Greek language, the more familiar idioms tend to be more ambiguous in agreement with Vlaxopoulos (2007) hypothesis. Last, the results allow for the creation of a corpus with idioms rated in all their semantic dimensions and facilitate future research in Greek.

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# The Distribution and Constraints of Existential Clauses and Locative Inversion in English

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This study reports on a pilot study of three closely related constructions, existential *there*, locative inversion and Locative Inversion + *there* + NP (hybrid construction for short), drawing on data from British National Corpus.

- (1) **Existential *there*:** There is a boy behind the tree.
- (2) **Locative inversion:** Behind the tree is a boy.
- (3) **Hybrid construction:** Behind the tree *there* is a boy.

The research questions are as follows:

- i. What is their distribution/what do they do in the discourse?
- ii. What are their formal properties (restrictions on verb types, subject types, negation)?
- iii. Do they relate to each other, and if so, how?
  - i.e. is the hybrid construction a *there*-construction with an additional clause-initial adjunct?
  - Is the hybrid construction locative inversion with an additional *there*?
  - Or is the hybrid construction a construction in its own right?

Various constraints have been noted in the literature for the first two constructions. Existential *there* is restricted to verbs of existence, spatial configuration, appearance, inherently directed motion, manner of motion (Levin 1993) while its use has been defined simply as an indication of something's existence (Dorgeloh 1997, Quirk et al. 1985). Martinez Insua (2002: 135), however, argues that the verb *follow* in ***there followed lean years in a cottage in Sussex***, ..., not only denotes the existence of a given set of years, but also implies that such a set of years came after something specific that is given or could be inferred from the previous context.

As for locative inversion, verbs in that construction, even if they are motion or action verbs, also merely indicate the existence of an entity in that place (Mendikoetxea 2006, Birner & Ward 1998). The felicity of its verbs cannot be defined by class (e.g., "unaccusative") but has been argued to be determined by the pragmatic constraint that the verbs must not represent new information (Birner 1995).

Although the hybrid construction looks like a combination of the locative inversion and existential *there* constructions, it is not clear whether the hybrid construction is just the existential construction with an additional PP in front or is a locative inversion with an extra existential *there* inserted. It could, then, inherit constraints from one or either of them; alternatively, it could also have constraints and a distribution in its own right. This study is trying to probe into those constructions by using the data from a large corpus.

The results of the pilot study suggests we found that the distribution and felicitous use of this construction has its own features and constraints. One of these features is what will be termed "surveyability": when

the PP in the hybrid construction is surveyable, locative inversion is favoured over the hybrid construction, whereas when the PP is not surveyable, the hybrid construction has to be adopted. This gives us a clearer picture of the relationship between those constructions and gives us hints on how to use them felicitously.

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# Phonetic documentation in the underexplored linguistic landscape of the Mai-Ndombe Province of the Democratic Republic of the Congo

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To this day, the southwestern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), all the way down to its border with Angola, remains among the least well-surveyed areas of the planet from a linguistic point of view. While general notions of the languages spoken there have been available since the colonial times, it is only recently that new historical-linguistic research on the local Bantu languages has allowed us to obtain a clearer picture of the region's language history. However, diachronic hypotheses often lack corroborating synchronic data - which is why low-level language description should also progress with them. Especially when it comes to phonetics and phonology, the topic of the first author's PhD research, reliable acoustic analyses are scarce. This is (partly) due to the uncertain status of phonetic documentation within language documentation on the one hand and phonological theory on the other, which have proved to be key aspects for both historical linguistics and language theory. Recent research by the BantuFirst team has tried to show just that: by addressing the case of the under-documented consonant and vowel systems of the Bantu B80 languages spoken in the Kwilu Province of the DRC from a low-level acoustic perspective, important diachronic and synchronic issues can be tackled. This contribution will build on that premise and, ideally, expand on it. By presenting the preliminary results of the first two authors' fieldwork mission in the neighbouring Mai-Ndombe Province of the DRC, we will try to: a) offer a concise overview of the linguistic landscape of a severely under-researched corner of Africa; b) focus on some "rare" phonological phenomena observable there and formulate hypotheses as to how to fully analyse them in a phonetically-grounded fashion; c) explore what theoretical and historical challenges these phenomena pose, as concerns such key notions in the area's linguistic debate as non-Bantu substrate, vowel dispersion and the unexpected presence of labial-velar consonants.

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## Le traitement des prépositions et des conjonctions dans l'histoire de la syntaxe dépendancielle Panorama de l'Antiquité à Tesnière

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Cette contribution d'histoire de la linguistique explore les principales options descriptives qui ont jalonné le traitement des « mots-outils » que sont les prépositions (*prép.*) et les conjonctions (*conj.*) dans la grammaire et la linguistique occidentales. L'histoire de la réflexion occidentale, des Stoïques jusqu'à Tesnière, a progressivement fait émerger des questions qui restent d'actualité malgré l'avancée de la discipline ; par exemple : les cas et les prép. ont-ils le même statut syntaxique ? quel élément, de la prép. et de son « objet », gouverne l'autre ? la conj. gouverne-t-elle ? les unités qu'elle conjoint sont-ils des mots, des syntagmes ou des propositions ? Pour montrer cela, nous envisagerons les questions suivantes dans une perspective dépendancielle :

- la question du statut **hiérarchique** (H) relatif entre les prép./conj. et ce qu'elles accompagnent et celle de l'angle sous lequel ce statut est envisagé (sémantique, morphologique ou syntaxique) ;
- la question de ce qu'on pourrait nommer la **taille** (T) de ce qu'elles accompagnent (mot/syntagme/proposition) ;
- la question de l'**équivalence** (E) de leur fonctionnement.

On peut résumer chronologiquement l'évolution de la pensée occidentale comme suit.

Chez les Stoïciens, les conj. sont vues comme des liens (~ connexions) entre des propositions logiques non décomposées (T). La classe des prép. est extraite tardivement de celle des conj. (E). La conj. acquiert ensuite le statut de mot qui « montre » les relations (Denis le Thrace).

Le débat sur question de la hiérarchie morphologique prép./cas émerge chez Priscien (H), sans notion de connexion syntaxique. Cette réflexion mène les Modistes qui le suivent à faire de la prép. le gouverneur d'un mot (H,E). Toutefois, ils peinent à intégrer la conj. à leur système (E).

La prép. conserve un statut hiérarchique important à la Renaissance. Elle est considérée de plus en plus comme équivalant au verbe en tant que gouverneur du cas (H). Le débat sur la conj. avance moins vite, mais l'équivalence des éléments reliés par une conj. est soulignée à de maintes reprises. La question du statut des conjoints (mot/syntagme/proposition) ne fait pas consensus (T).

Héritiers de Port-Royal, les grammairiens de l'*Encyclopédie* élaborent la notion de *complément*, entérinant l'idée proprement syntaxique que la prép. a un complément qui dépend d'elle, lui-même gouverné par un unique mot (Beauzée) (H). Les prép. et les conj. sont rapprochées et la discussion sur le statut de la complétive commence à émerger sur la base de la réflexion sur *que* (E).

La fin du 18<sup>e</sup> s. et surtout le 19<sup>e</sup> s. voient se développer la distinction entre coordination et subordination dans la grammaire scolaire en Allemagne (C.-F. Becker) et en France. Au départ de considérations sur l'enchâssement des propositions (T), cette opposition permet de rapprocher les conj. de subordination des prép. (E).

Tesnière propose la notion de *translation*, selon laquelle les conj. de subordination comme les prép. permettent aux mots de changer de classe (E,T). Ces mots-outils forment un nœud dans l'arbre avec l'élément qu'ils introduisent (H). Par contraste, les coordonnants unissent des dépendants de statut similaire, mais ne sont pas impliqués dans une relation hiérarchisée (H,E). Les solutions que Tesnière

propose pour le traitement des mots-outils qui nous intéressent sont de nature très peu dépendancielle par rapport au reste de son système.

L'histoire de la description des mots-outils, focalisée sur le grec, le latin, puis le français, l'anglais et l'allemand, a fait émerger des questions sans que ne se dégage un consensus dominant. Les approches dépendanciennes les plus actuelles, appliquées quant à elles à des langues typologiquement très différentes, rencontrent encore constamment les mêmes difficultés.

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# Contrast Pairs in Orchestra Instruction as a Window into the Multimodal Expression of Stance

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On the background of the increased interest in the phenomenon of stance-taking (i. a. Englebretson, 2007; Debras, 2015) this contribution zooms in on aspects of its multimodal and sequential complexity. To that end, more specifically, it explores the notion of contrast pairs (Weeks, 1996; Veronesi, 2014; Messner, 2020) as it is instantiated in orchestra instruction, which is an inherently stance-laden activity, given its focus on evaluating and improving the musicians' collective performance. Contrast pairs can be defined as a mostly verbally framed, dual sequence of closely juxtaposed depictions (Clark, 2016; or "illustrative expressions" in Weeks, 1996), which serve the instructional comparison of desired and undesired (orchestral) performances. Thus, they allow conductors to highlight certain aspects of the orchestra's performance, which are not in line with the interpretation envisioned by the conductor.

In this contribution, we report on an exploratory analysis of a corpus of approximately twelve hours of video recordings of Flemish brass and wind orchestra rehearsals (Schrooten & Feyaerts 2020) which has revealed that conductors frequently make use of contrast pairs. Through a close-reading of some authentic corpus examples, this work-in-progress aims at examining the notion of contrast pairs in orchestra instruction as a window into the multimodal and sequential expression of stance.

The following excerpt, taken from (Schrooten & Feyaerts, 2020), demonstrates how the conductor adds another instruction after the flute section has just repeated a musical phrase.

**01 en de laatste noot ((vocalising) DAiadiidam)**

*and the last note ((vocalising))*  
((multimodal depiction))

**02 en niet ((vocalising) dadidadiDAM)**

*and not ((vocalising))*  
((multimodal depiction))

[03-05 omitted]

**06 nee geen accent in de fluit**

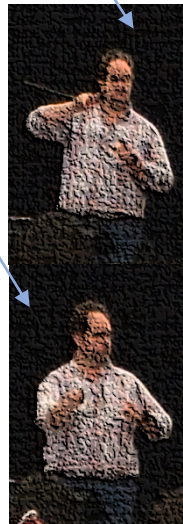
*no no accent in the flute*

**07 niet ((vocalising) dadidadaDAM)**

*not ((vocalising))*  
((multimodal depiction))

**08 maar ((vocalising) Dadadadadim)**

*but ((vocalising))*  
((multimodal depiction))



This simplified transcript contains two contrast pairs (lines 01–02 and 07–08), each consisting of two separate depictions of the musical phrase at stake. Note that in the first contrast pair, the desired realisation is depicted before the undesired one, while in the second pair, the order is reversed. In his depictions, the conductor makes use of several semiotic resources like gesture, facial expression, head movements and vocalisations, resulting in complex multimodal gestalts (Mondada, 2014).

These gestalts each constitute distinct stance acts, highlighting and contrasting different interpretations of the same musical phrase. Together, they constitute a sequence with the goal of adapting the orchestra's performance of this certain phrase to the conductor's expectations. In the example above, two important aspects for the analysis of multimodal stance-taking surface: first, the functional and in this case also contrastive relationship between the semiotic resources employed, and second, the temporal integration of singular and combined depictions used by the conductor.

Given the explicit marking of contrastive evaluations by the conductor in contrast pairs, we argue that they offer a relevant point of departure to further investigate both the multimodal and sequential realisation of stance-taking in musical instruction.

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# Reportative evidentiality as “exceptional”: a case study of French, Dutch and German reportative markers

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In the literature on evidentiality, reportative evidentiality is often accorded special status, as it is said to be cross-linguistically associated with other epistemic values (i.e. with less commitment) in comparison to markers of direct evidentiality or indirect (inferential/conjectural) evidential markers (e.g. AnderBois 2014, Faller 2019, Maier 2019, Mortelmans 2000, Spronck & Nikitina 2019). According to Maier (2019: 202), there is “no commitment to the at-issue proposition” with reportative evidentials, a situation which is labelled as “reportative exceptionality” by AnderBois (2014), i.e. reportatives are different from other evidentials (and thus exceptional) as they are compatible with interpretations in which the speaker denies or questions the proposition at stake immediately after using a reportative evidential, as in the following German example:

- (1) Bisher gibt es dafür jedenfalls keine stichhaltigen Belege. Aus Japan gibt es zwar einen älteren Bericht über ein Kind, das nach Gebrauch eines 3D-Displays zu schielen begonnen haben **soll**, aber ich halte ihn nicht für besonders glaubwürdig. <https://www.heise.de/tr/artikel/Krank-macht-es-vermutlich-nicht-1397407.html>

“At any rate, there is no conclusive evidence for this so far. There is an older report from Japan about a child who **is said to** have started squinting after the use of a 3D display, but I don't think it is very credible.”

In my presentation, I want to address this alleged lack of epistemic commitment associated with reportatives in three different languages: Dutch, French and German. On the basis of a corpus analysis (more in particular: of newspaper language) of the reportative markers *zou* (in Dutch), *sollen* (in German) and the French *conditionnel*, I will first try to establish under which conditions denial interpretations typically arise. I will then show that these reportative markers differ regarding the frequency with which a denial reading actually arises. This difference can be linked to more general (syntactic, morphological, functional) properties of the marker in question. The French and Dutch reportative markers are more often found in subclauses, more often combine with prepositional phrases referring to the source (fr. *selon*, dt. *volgens* ‘according to’) and allow quotative readings, i.e. readings in which the source of the report can be fully identified. By contrast, German reportative *sollen* is more strongly tied to main clause uses, less often combines with source markers like *laut* and *zufolge*, and clearly prefers uses in which the reportative source is vague and not easily identifiable (as in the case of rumours). All these factors, as I will show, can be linked to the degree in which a particular reportative marker (dis)favors a denial reading.

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## Insights from Social Network Analysis in Second Language Acquisition

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Social networks play a vital role in the attainment of individuals. Using computational social network analysis (SNA), we investigate the influence of peer interaction dynamics and social graph topology on measurable outcomes in two intensive language courses: a 5-week course of German for Erasmus+ exchange students in Baden-Württemberg ( $n=40$ ), and a 4-week summer course of the Polish language and culture in Warsaw ( $n=181$ ). Unlike studies focusing on the micro-level of individual participants' *egocentric* networks, thus presenting an *emic* view only, we show how and why peer learner networks can be examined *in their entirety*, complementing an *etic* perspective (Paradowski et al., 2021a, b). We find among others i) that the best predictor of (both self-reported and independently measured) progress is reciprocal interactions between students *in the language being acquired*, ii) that outgoing interactions in the TL are a stronger predictor than incoming interactions, iii) a clear negative relationship between performance and interactions with same-L<sub>1</sub> speakers, iv) (in the German course) a significantly underperforming English native-speaker dominated cluster, and v) that more intense interactions take place between students of different levels of proficiency. vi) Analyses of the various standard centrality measures vis-à-vis performance in turn reveal that the influence of the network is strongest in the domains of pronunciation and lexis, where the simplest measure of degree centrality *in TL* positively correlates with progress, while betweenness *in total communication* is significantly anticorrelated. vii) This mirrors the influence direction—on global TL progress—of closeness centrality (ease of access to other students). Combined with the detrimental impact on SLA of a high in-degree, this suggests that viii) for language acquisition via social interaction, the structural properties of the network matter more than processes such as information flow.

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# **Not emotions, but social norms: How different categories of swearwords trigger different behaviour in bilinguals' first and second languages**

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Recent research (Costa *et al.* 2014; Geipel, Hadjichristidis & Surian 2015, 2016; Cipolletti, McFarlane & Weissglass 2016; Corey *et al.* 2017; Hayakawa *et al.* 2017; Čavar & Tytus 2018; Brouwer 2019; Karataş 2019; Dylman & Champoux-Larsson 2019; Driver 2020) has shown that the same dilemma may elicit different moral judgements depending on the language in which it has been described.

Using a covert 2×2×2 experiment where 61 bilinguals were asked to translate ( $L_1 \leftrightarrow L_2$ ) a passage peppered with swearwords, we show that the picture is much more complex (Gawinkowska, Paradowski & Bilewicz, 2013). While the results ostensibly corroborate the so-called 'foreign language effect', it was only observed in the case of ethnophaulisms, that is expletives directed at social (out)groups. This indicates that the key factor modulating response strength is not so much the different emotional power associated with the respective languages, but *social and cultural norms*.

Long cultural learning and socialisation make expressions in  $L_1$  highly prone to normative influences, whereas using a foreign language exempts the speaker from these (whether our own or socially imposed) norms and limitations. It transpires that switching to a foreign language during decision-making may not only reduce emotionally-driven responses and political correctness biases, but also promote candid deliberative processes (e.g. rational cost-benefit considerations). This clashes with the notion that the effort of using a FL cues our cognitive system to prepare for strenuous activity and thus a more deliberate mode of thinking.

The orthogonal influence of the language medium on decisions, judgments and reactions has far-bearing consequences in our multilingual and multicultural world (not limited to such high-stakes scenarios as legal contexts). The repercussions may be serious, and raise the question whether at least in the case of slurs, machine translation might not be a more objective, unbiased and neutral solution than human translators and interpreters.

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# **Identification de stades évolutifs de la compétence rédactionnelle à partir d'une combinaison d'analyses qualitatives et quantitatives d'écrits d'étudiants à l'université**

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Depuis la fin des années 1990, l'écrit du supérieur et les difficultés qu'il occasionne aux étudiants intéressent les linguistes et les didacticiens rassemblés dans le champ des littéracies universitaires (Delcambre & Lahanier-Reuter, 2010). Si les recherches inscrites dans ce champ ont sans nul doute renouvelé le regard porté jusqu'alors sur les problèmes rédactionnels des étudiants (Delcambre & Lahanier-Reuter, 2010), elles manquent à l'heure actuelle d'une perspective développementale forte qui leur permettrait de fournir des repères dans l'acquisition de la compétence rédactionnelle à l'université et d'éclairer les étapes par lesquelles les étudiants passent dans leurs apprentissages épistémiques de l'écrit. La question développementale a au contraire toujours servi de fil rouge aux études menées dans les champs de la psycholinguistique (Alamargot & Chanquoy, 2002 ; Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1987 ; Hayes, 2011 ; Kellogg, 2008) et de l'acquisition des langues étrangères et secondes (Bartning & Schlyter, 2004). S'intéressant à des publics différents (Bartning & Schlyter, 2004) et proposant souvent des modèles focalisés sur des phénomènes linguistiques locaux (Staples, Egbert, Biber & Gray, 2016) et réduits à des structures dichotomiques peu nuancées (Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1987 ; Hulstijn, 2015), ces études ne permettent toutefois pas à ce jour de combler les manques constatés dans le champ des littéracies universitaires.

Dans ce cadre, inscrite dans le champ des littéracies universitaires et reposant sur les théories et sur les méthodologies offertes par les champs de la psycholinguistique et de l'acquisition des langues, notre recherche vise à analyser les problèmes rédactionnels rencontrés par les étudiants en fin de master universitaire dans leurs rédactions en français, en les reliant à un modèle des stades évolutifs de la compétence scripturale avancée. Elle repose sur le pari de pouvoir établir de manière exploratoire une série évolutive de niveaux dans la compétence scripturale, en associant à chaque niveau à la fois des indicateurs linguistiques observables et des paliers successifs reconnus dans les modèles psycholinguistiques.

L'objectif visé a requis une combinaison de méthodes et de données. L'analyse quantitative d'un corpus de 21 672 erreurs issues des rapports de langue<sup>1</sup> produits entre 2004 et 2019 a dans un premier temps permis de dresser un état des lieux précis des problèmes de langue rencontrés par les étudiants (Picron, 2020 ; 2021). Le jeu de données ressorti de l'analyse quantitative a ensuite fait l'objet d'une double étude statistique (analyse factorielle de données mixtes et clustering) (Pagès, 2004), dont les résultats ont servi à classer les étudiants en trois groupes, distincts principalement en raison de la note obtenue à l'évaluation du contenu de leur mémoire, du nombre d'erreurs de langue relevées dans leur mémoire et de la nature de leurs erreurs. Nous avons dans un deuxième temps analysé un corpus de 94 mémoires au moyen des mesures linguistiques traditionnellement utilisées dans les recherches sur l'acquisition des langues étrangères (François, 2011). Couplée à une lecture qualitative, l'analyse quantitative a révélé que la compétence rédactionnelle avancée se déployait sur un continuum formé de cinq stades

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<sup>1</sup> À l'Université catholique de Louvain (Belgique), les mémoires des étudiants inscrits au master en Langues et lettres françaises et romanes font l'objet d'une double évaluation. Ils sont soumis, d'une part, à une évaluation ordinaire (évaluation du contenu, des objectifs, de la méthodologie, etc.) et, d'autre part, à une évaluation spécifique de la qualité de la langue (orthographe, ponctuation, style, etc.). Cette deuxième évaluation, menée par le second lecteur du mémoire, prend la forme d'un relevé exhaustif de l'ensemble des erreurs de langue produites par les étudiants dans leur texte. Le relevé donne naissance à un compte rendu nommé « rapport de langue ».

successifs. Les stades se distinguent les uns des autres par la stratégie rédactionnelle adoptée (Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1987), par l'instance dominatrice à l'œuvre (Stroumza & Auchlin, 1997), par la richesse lexicale, par la complexité syntaxique et par le rapport à la norme que donnent à voir les textes.

La communication portera essentiellement sur la mise en relation des résultats des analyses qualitatives et quantitatives et sur la présentation du modèle établi.

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# Exploring the expression of difficulty in the Belgian French Twitter corpus of Climate change

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In Belgium, Climate Change is generally an accepted reality that can be evaluated through political measures and citizens' initiatives (Austin *et al.*, 2016). Institutions, companies and individuals are aware of the need of acting against its ravaging advances by adopting certain behaviors, notably in the use of transports, food or energy consumption. However, despite this awareness, implementing those actions in daily life proves to be difficult (Bouman *et al.*, 2021; Bourg *et al.*, 2006). How can we better understand their concerns in order to improve Climate Change communication about these obstacles? Our study is part of an interdisciplinary, international project trying to answer this question through discourse analysis of social media and surveys, anthropological observations and social psychology surveys. The overall goal of the project is to provide informed advice to improve Climate Change communication to different stakeholders.

In this paper, we explain the methodology we have used to tackle this problem through Twitter data, which is in line with previous data-driven studies related to Climate Change discourses (Merner, 2017; Salway, 2017). First, based on the methodology developed by Cougnon & de Viron (2021), we have delimited a list of key terms and hashtags (ca. 200, for instance, CO2, *environnement*, *climat*, *#arretedenfairedestonnes*, *#greenwashing*, *#GretaThunberg*, etc.) that are related to Climate Change, and we have used them as queries to create our Belgian French corpus. Then, we explored the expression of difficulty by automatically extracting linguistic phenomena (words, expressions, syntax, emoticons...) that convey this concept at the semantic (ex. 1), and the discursive levels (ex. 2).

(1) À *#Mons* le 15/09 c'est la journée sans voiture. Le **problème** ? Bah il n'y a pas bcp de bus pour compenser... Donc je dois prendre ma voiture pour venir à Mons... Un **non sens** [...]

(2) [...]félicitations de penser la Région pour réduire la place de la voiture. **Mais pour que** les Bruxellois puissent se déplacer plus à vélo, **il faut** absolument leur proposer des solutions concrètes contre le vol. On espère vous entendre aussi sur ce sujet.

Moreover, we will also focus on hashtags, since they have several pragmatic functions such as expressing disalignment (De Cock & Pizarro, 2018). These include critiques to particular behaviors or actions that might be revealing for exploring difficulties and obstacles to acting against climate change (*#ecolomaispastrop*, *#greenwashing*).

Finally, we intend to proceed to several quantitative and qualitative analyses, so as to explore the potentially similar discourses present in the data, and their distribution across the three population segments present in the corpus (politicians, media, citizens).

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# Learning the social meaning of English in Belgian Dutch

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Background: Decades of language attitudes research has found that social evaluations of language tend to be structured along the dimensions of status, solidarity and dynamism (Garrett, 2010; Grondelaers et al., 2016; Kristiansen et al., 2005). Observing that these social evaluations are not fixed but context-dependent, sociolinguists have further theorized that language varieties and variants are indexical, “pointing to” variable social information in context and thus creating shared social meaning (Eckert, 2019). So far, relatively little is known about how the ability to assign social meaning to linguistic variants is acquired. While a growing body of work focuses on the production of standard/vernacular phonetic variation in acquisition (e.g. Holmes-Elliott, 2020; Chevrot et al., 2011; Docherty et al., 2013), this study aims to complement this focus with a perceptual approach studying how children learn the indexical meaning of variation. The chosen case study of the contact-induced variation between English lexical resources and alternatives in the local language aims to gain insight into how children acquire their stylistic repertoire in a heterogeneous language situation.

Study design: The experiment addresses the question of whether Belgian Dutch children find English-sounding names more appropriate for “new inventions” from certain semantic fields than Dutch-sounding names. Children are introduced to novel objects belonging to four different semantic fields that index social meanings expected to be associated with English and Dutch words (English-prone fields: IT, sports; Dutch-prone fields: home & family, public life). Each trial introduces a “new invention” that has a particular function (e.g. sports equipment) and/or is intended for a particular user (e.g. young people). Respondents are asked to choose which of two alternative names is the best fit for the proposed object. The name pairs consist of graphemically identical neologisms (cf. Samara et al., 2017) which are pronounced in a Dutch or English way. Neologism stimuli are phonotactically plausible in both languages (e.g. “snaster”, Dutch [snɑstər] vs. English [snæstəʊ]) and have been developed according to a pre-determined set of consonant-vowel structures. Pre- and post-tests are included to verify that the neologisms are recognisable as English and Dutch. To check the stability of responses across tasks, the neologism phase of the experiment is followed by a second phase where respondents are directly asked whether an English name or a Dutch name is the best fit for the proposed object. After each phase of the experiment, a qualitative question probes children’s awareness of the linguistic phenomenon under study. Multifactorial analysis will uncover the interplay between lexical preference (dependent variable) and semantic field, age, gender and language awareness (independent variables).

Implications: Results will allow us to track the evolution in how and when children form indexical links between bilingual lexical resources in different contexts within a setting of language contact.

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# Adverbial Insubordination in Interaction: a pilot study on hypothetical-comparative constructions in French and Spanish

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Adverbial insubordination has been studied for many languages (e.g. Japanese (Horie 2018), Brazilian Portuguese (Bossaglia et al. 2017), French (Debaissieux et al. 2019), English (Lastres-López 2020) or Spanish (Schwenter 2016)), typically with a focus on conditional insubordination (Kaltenböck 2016, Sang 2021, Montolio 2001, Elvira-García et al. 2017). Hypothetical-comparative insubordinate clauses, by contrast, have not received much scholarly attention so far; Brinton's (2014) study on the exclamatory use of *As if!* in English and Looji & Minnaert's (2019) squib on Dutch *alsof* clauses form notable exceptions. This paper aims to further fill this gap by analysing independent hypothetical-comparative clauses, both in Spanish (*como si*) and French (*comme si*), as illustrated in (1) and (2) below.

- (1) *Sí. Entre los puros que se fuma... Bueno, no son puros, pero **como si lo fueran**.*  
(Val.Es.Co)
- (2) – *C'est ça... "Make America great Again".*  
– ***Comme si en France nous n'avions pas vécu ça!***  
(Twitter)

Specifically, this paper takes an interactive perspective, seeking to understand how these constructions work in conversation. In (1), for example, the speaker uses the *como si* clause to invite their interlocutor to agree on the characterisation of an already-mentioned entity ('These are not cigars, but let's act as if they were'). In (2), by contrast, the *comme si* clause is used in an exclamative-sarcastic way involving polarity reversal; the speaker emphatically denies the propositional content encoded in the *comme si* clause ('We surely did experience that in France!').

In the process, this paper casts its nets wide. That is, in order to arrive at a detailed description of the discursive profiles of hypothetical-comparative insubordinate constructions like (1) and (2), it also includes canonical subordinate uses, and investigates which linguistic parameters characterise the insubordinate uses in comparison with their subordinate counterpart, both in French and Spanish. The analytical parameters used pertain to verbal inflection, syntax, semantics, conversational distribution and argumentation. To assess the degree of integration of *comme si/como si* clauses, for example, we will apply tests like proportionality (Debaissieux 2016) or clefting of the subordinate clause (Smessaert et al. 2005).

In accordance with its discursive-interactional research goals, this paper uses data from conversational, spoken corpora which also include audio recordings in order to enrich the analysis by adding prosody in a later stage of our research. More precisely, we selected the Val.Es.Co corpus (Pons 2019) for Spanish and the Valibel corpus (Dister et al. 2009) for French, and extracted an exhaustive sample for Spanish (16 hits) and a random 20-hit sample for French.

Some preliminary results include the following: (i) concerning the formal features, French and Spanish show differences in TAM marking, but do so across integrated and non-integrated clauses; and (ii) concerning the meanings of the non-integrated (thus, potentially insubordinated) clauses, in addition to the expected hypothetical-comparative meaning, *comme si/como si* clauses can also convey denial

meaning (as in (2)) as well as concessive meanings or an invitation to a *hic et nunc* agreement for the sake of understanding between the two interlocutors (as in (1)).

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# Measuring complexity at the lexis-grammar interface: an analysis of diversity and sophistication of verb-argument structures in L2 Dutch writing

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Recent research into the development of complexity in learner language has ventured towards the lexis-grammar interface through the operationalization and measurement of phraseological complexity in terms of diversity and sophistication (Paquot, 2018, 2019). Preliminary research has indicated that the sophistication and diversity of three types of grammatical dependency relations (verb + direct object, adjectival modifiers, and adverbial modifiers) contribute significantly, though not exclusively, to the prediction of L2 Dutch proficiency at the B1 and B2 CEFR levels, when modeled alongside traditional measures of syntactic and lexical complexity (Rubin et al., 2021).

While existing measures of phraseological complexity have focused on a rather limited set of phraseological units consisting of co-occurring lexical items, developments in the automatic annotation of linguistic information have expanded the potential for the extraction of phraseological units that consist of co-occurrences between lexical items and non-lexical grammatical patterns. The present study aims to incorporate such lexicogrammatical phenomena into the battery of measures tapping into the phraseological dimension of linguistic complexity, specifically targeting verb-argument structures in Dutch. To that end, diversity and sophistication of verb-argument structure units, respectively operationalized as the type-token ratio (TTR) and mean mutual information (MI) score of these units, are computed alongside previously investigated diversity and sophistication measures for dependency-based phraseological units (i.e. verb + direct object dependencies) in order to determine whether these phraseological units situated more closely to the lexis-grammar interface can also contribute to the prediction of learner proficiency and performance.

The analysis was carried out using 1,172 texts from an L2 Dutch corpus consisting of written extracts of the CNaVT (Certificate of Dutch as a Foreign Language) exams, administered by the Centrum voor Taal en Onderwijs at the KU Leuven. The texts were written in response to five prompts spread across three exam levels: one prompt from the B1 exam and two prompts each from the B2 and C1 exams. For each individual exam level, the overall numeric score for the exam is modeled as a function of the diversity and sophistication measures computed for both the dependency-based and verb-argument structure phraseological units in a linear regression model, controlling for the topic of the prompts at the B2 and C1 levels.

Measures of verb-argument structure complexity emerge as important and significant predictors of L2 Dutch proficiency across all three exam levels included in the present analysis. Some variation is observed across the three models in terms of the effects of the measures in the models, the direction of the effects, and the role of topic in moderating these effects. For the construct of phraseological complexity, measures of verb-argument structure sophistication, in particular, demonstrate strong potential as a quantitative measure to include alongside more established measures of dependency-based phraseological units. Not only does this measure exhibit a clear relationship with learner proficiency at the more advanced stages of learner proficiency, but it also appears to supplement the predictive ability of existing phraseological complexity measures.

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# Hoe Nederlandstaligen Duitse schakeringspartikels vertalen, en wat ons dat over die partikels zegt

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De Duitse schakeringspartikels (ook wel modale partikels; in het Duits ‘Modalpartikeln’ of ‘Abtönungspartikeln’, zie bv. Müller 2014) worden vaak als een uitdaging beschouwd voor leerders van het Duits als vreemde taal (DaF). De traditionele verklaring is dat de meeste leerders in hun moedertaal geen directe tegenhangers hebben voor de Duitse schakeringspartikels, voor zover hun moedertaal überhaupt schakeringspartikels heeft (o.a. Weerning 2016). Dat dit niet de volledige verklaring kan zijn, bewijst het feit dat ook Nederlandstalige DaF-leerders vaak moeilijkheden hebben met de Duitse schakeringspartikels, hoewel het Nederlands qua partikelrijkdom het Duits behoorlijk dicht benadert en er in een aantal gevallen zelfs een één-op-één-correspondentie tussen Nederlandse en Duitse partikels bestaat.

In deze studie bekijken we hoe Nederlandstalige DaF-leerders omgaan met schakeringspartikels in een vertaalopdracht. De leerders kregen een kort Duits tekstfragment met een vijftal schakeringspartikels, met de opdracht het fragment zo accuraat mogelijk naar het Nederlands te vertalen. Daarbij werd erop toegezien dat alleen partikels voorkwamen die ook direct vertaald kunnen worden. Het beheersingsniveau van de leerders voor Duits varieerde tussen A2+ en B2, maar ze hebben gemeen dat ze niet tweetalig Nederlands/Duits zijn en geen expliciete instructie over schakeringspartikels gekregen hebben.

Uit de eerste resultaten blijkt dat de leerders ongeveer 60% van de schakeringspartikels accuraat vertalen. Dat lijkt veel gezien het feit dat ze nog geen expliciete instructie over de partikels gekregen hebben. Toch mogen we hieruit niet zonder meer besluiten dat het nog wel meevalt met dat “leerprobleem schakeringspartikels”. Niet alleen is er nog altijd in 40% van de gevallen geen accurate vertaling; ook bij de 60% die wel accuraat vertaald werden, kunnen we er niet zomaar van uitgaan dat een accurate vertaling effectief een teken is dat de leerders de partikels ook zonder meer beheersen.

In deze bijdrage nemen we de partikelvertalingen die de leerders voorstellen onder de loep. Enerzijds proberen we vanuit bestaand onderzoek tendensen te verklaren die we bij de partikelvertalingen zien (bijvoorbeeld waarom partikels als *doch* en *einfach* vaker accuraat vertaald worden dan *etwa* en *ja*); anderzijds stellen we ook de vraag of deze tendensen ons ook iets over de Duitse partikels kunnen leren en een nieuw licht kunnen werpen op bestaande voorstellen om schakeringspartikels te didactiseren. Een centrale kwestie hierbij is het feit dat nagenoeg alle schakeringspartikels heteroseem zijn (d.w.z. dat dezelfde vormen ook andere functies in andere woordklassen vervullen), en de vraag in hoeverre leerders de schakeringspartikels correct kunnen onderscheiden van die andere gebruiken. Anders dan wat Dörre et al. (2018) suggereren, blijkt dit niet enkel afhankelijk te zijn van hoe frequent het gebruik als schakeringspartikel is ten opzichte van de andere functies, noch van hoe vaak het partikel op zich gebruikt wordt; andere factoren die evenzeer een rol spelen, zijn onder meer de ‘sterkte’ van de partikelbetekenis en het al dan niet voorhanden zijn van een directe tegenhanger van het partikel in het Nederlands.

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# Inspelen op stereotypen: contactgebaseerde lexicale variatie in het rollenspel van Vlaamse preadolescenten

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**Achtergrond:** Rollenspel houdt vaak “stylization” in: sprekers nemen een nieuwe sociale identiteit aan door hun taalgebruik aan te passen (Coupland 2007). Bovendien is het uitermate geschikt voor taalkundig onderzoek bij (jonge) kinderen. Om die reden is het een veelgebruikt onderzoeksinstrument in de ontwikkelingssociolinguïstiek (De Vogelaer & Katerbow 2017). Eerder onderzoek focuste evenwel enkel op de variatie tussen standaardtaal en spreektaal en dit specifiek bij kleuters (zie Andersen 1990 over registervariatie in Amerikaans-Engels en Katerbow 2013 over standaard-dialectvariatie in het Duits). In onze bijdrage verruimen we de blik naar (i) contactgebaseerde variatie, en leggen we de nadruk op (ii) de aanwezigheid van stylization bij oudere kinderen – of “preadolescenten”.

**Onderzoeksdoel:** De specifieke variatie die we bestuderen is de aanwezigheid van Engels lexicaal materiaal in het Belgisch-Nederlands. Hiervoor verwachten we een transitie tussen de vroege kindertijd (wanneer Engels nauwelijks gebruikt wordt; Zenner & Van De Mierop 2019) en adolescentie (wanneer Engelse (leen)woorden explosief toenemen; De Decker & Vandekerckhove 2012). Het doel van onze studie is om deze transitie te documenteren. Dit doen we door het rollenspel van 7- tot 13-jarigen onder de loep te nemen. Hierbij proberen we te begrijpen vanaf wanneer, waar en waarom Vlaamse preadolescenten Engelse lexicale middelen (versus endogene vormen) gebruiken wanneer ze specifieke sociale identiteiten of rollen naspelen.

**Data en methode:** Onze studie maakt deel uit van een groter onderzoeksproject dat nagaat wanneer en hoe Vlaamse preadolescenten de sociale betekenis van Engelse lexicale middelen in het Nederlands verwerven. Het subcorpus dat we aanwenden bestaat uit 35 uur data, verzameld bij een sample van 26 Vlaamse preadolescenten. Het sample is op zijn beurt verdeeld in 6 groepen van 4/5 teamleden van een lokale sportclub. Onze respondenten namen deel aan zowel individuele als groepsstylizationopdrachten: we vroegen deelnemers om rollen na te spelen die meer (gamer, filmster) of juist minder (boer, leraar) geassocieerd worden met het gebruik van het Engels in het Nederlands (Schuring et al. *Fthc.*). Alle Engelse woorden/zinnen in het corpus zijn geïdentificeerd en vervolgens geanalyseerd op de mate van *entrenchment* (Zenner et al. 2012) en de aanwezigheid van Nederlandstalige alternatieven (Onysko & Winter-Froemel 2011). Elke Engelse insertie kreeg vervolgens een tag voor: leeftijd en gender van de respondent, setting (individuele/groepsinteracties) en uitgevoerde rol (meer/minder geassocieerd met Engels). Bij de analyse van de resultaten spelen zowel distributie (Balteiro 2018) als dispersie (Chesley & Baayen 2010) een sleutelrol. Verder zochten we patronen in onze data via dimensionaliteitsreductietechnieken en clustering.

**Resultaten:** Respondenten gebruiken Engelse woorden (bro, peace, bitch) afhankelijk van de context van het rollenspel: (i) we vinden significant meer Engelse inserties in groepstylizationtaken (vs. individuele sessies) en (ii) er duikt een duidelijke hotspot op voor de rol van “rapper”. Onze resultaten vertonen echter een hoge mate van idiosyncrasie en we constateren geen duidelijk leeftijdsverband. In een toekomstig follow-up metalinguïstisch interview nemen we een meer kwalitatief perspectief aan, wat ons in staat zal stellen om enerzijds de individuele variatie te belichten en anderzijds te onderzoeken hoe de productie van Engelse woorden juist samenhangt met talig bewustzijn hierover.

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# Pragmatic functions of *populis\** in online political discourse: a case study on the Twitter discourse of Spanish politicians

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This paper discusses online political discourse on populism and examines pragmatic functions of the term *populis\** in a corpus of political tweets from Spanish politicians and political parties posted in 2019. More specifically, four forms are analyzed—*populismo/populismos* ('populism'/ 'populisms', singular and plural nouns), *populista/populistas* ('populist'/ 'populists', singular and plural nouns and adjectives)—in the Twitter accounts of five political parties across the political spectrum (UP, PSOE, Cs, PP, VOX), as well as in the Twitter accounts of their leaders. There are several academic definitions of populism; moreover, the term is being used in different ways and its meanings are constructed and negotiated in discourse. Previous studies have examined populism as an ideology (Mudde, 2004), as a discursive strategy (Charaudeau, 2011) and as a "communication phenomenon" (de Vreese et al., 2018). These studies have shown that the term can be employed in a variety of contexts, it can be used with a positive and negative value, and it can be applied to politicians of different political leanings. Moreover, few empirical studies have analyzed the actual uses of the term in discourse (e.g. Brown & Mondon, 2020; Goyvaerts & De Cleen, 2020). The study of its uses by politicians can hence shed light on the meanings of the term, as well as on the variety of uses and forms of *populis\** in actual discursive practices. Moreover, the analysis of the pragmatic functions of the term in political discourse on Twitter will add to the growing body of research on how politicians use this social media platform to engage in political communication with its audience (Breeze, 2020), and as a tool for political campaigns, as well as for self-expression, self-positioning, and political identity construction (Roginsky & De Cock, 2015; Coesemans & De Cock, 2017). In this study, a corpus of political tweets with at least one token of *populis\** posted on the Twitter accounts of Spanish politicians and political parties in 2019 is first analyzed quantitatively using corpus linguistics tools and methods in order to determine (i) the frequency of occurrence of *populis\** by each political party and (ii) the specific use of the term and its linguistic form. Furthermore, political tweets are analyzed qualitatively in order to identify the pragmatic functions of *populis\** related to a specific use of the term. The findings from a preliminary study of political tweets reveal different patterns of usage of *populis\** and a preference for a specific linguistic form by each political party. Regarding the pragmatic functions of *populis\**, politicians employed the term to promote their political party and to disqualify and criticize political opponents.

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# Argument Structure, Word Order and (Pro)nominality: Investigating the Productivity of the Dat-Nom/Nom-Dat Alternation in German

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This study investigates the productivity of the alternating DAT-NOM/NOM-DAT construction in Present-Day German from a CxG perspective, comparing it with corresponding structures in Modern Icelandic. For that language, syntactic tests have revealed that a specific sub-group of dative-subject verbs licences two diametrically-opposed argument structure constructions (i.e. allostructions in the sense of Cappelle 2006), instead of mere instances of contrastive focus or topicalization. Similar observations have been made for German (e.g. Lenerz 1977; Primus 2012; Barðdal, Eypórsón & Dewey 2019).

- |      |  |      |  |
|------|--|------|--|
| (1a) | <b>Bókin</b> fellur <b>stelpunni</b> í geð<br>book.the.NOM is girl.the.DAT to liking | (1b) | <b>Stelpunni</b> fellur <b>bókin</b> í geð<br>girl.the.DAT is book.the.NOM to liking |
| (2a) | <b>Das Buch</b> gefällt <b>dem Mädchen</b><br>the.NOM book is.to.liking the.DAT girl | (2b) | <b>Dem Mädchen</b> gefällt <b>das Buch</b><br>the.DAT girl is.to.liking the.NOM book |

Focusing on German, the aims of this study are (1) to map out the construction's realised productivity, and (2) to determine the factors that are conducive to the alternation. The results equally shed light on the role of pronouns in word order studies, by showing that the degree to which pronominal arguments allow for alternation is highly verb-specific and not a consequence of pronominal status per se.

Although research on word order variation for such structures exists (Verhoeven 2015; Temme & Verhoeven 2016), empirical support for an alternating hypothesis is scant. This study bridges that gap by (1) increasing the number of verbs under scrutiny, (2) using data from a larger corpus and (3) including tokens with both nominal and pronominal constituents. For each of the 50 types, 200 randomised tokens were extracted from the German Web 2013 Corpus (16.5 billion words). Data cleaning and annotation are still ongoing, but a pilot study of six verbs has already yielded fascinating results, showing that some, but not all, verbs are used equally felicitously in both case frames, indeed suggesting allostructional variation. Consequently, the observed frequencies support the hypothesis that when the relevant verbs occur with the DAT-NOM case frame, the dative behaves syntactically as the subject, while the opposite is true for the NOM-DAT case frame (Barðdal 2001, Barðdal, Eypórsón & Dewey 2019).

The quantitative data presented in this study lend support to the hypothesis that German, like Icelandic, exhibits a class of alternating verbs, and that subject status is constructionally determined. The results equally contribute to a more fine-grained understanding of the influence of pronouns on linearization principles, as well as the interaction between frequency and productivity.

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## Avec mais, fais ce qu'il te plaît : une étude de la polyvalence de la paire de connecteurs mais et maar

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Marqueurs contrastifs par excellence (Fraser & Malamud-Makowski, 1996), *mais* et ses équivalents dans les autres langues du monde ont reçu une attention considérable. Leur polysémie est unique. Premiers auteurs francophones à s'y intéresser en 1977, Anscombre et Ducrot distinguent d'abord *mais* PA (de l'espagnol « pero » et l'allemand « aber ») de *mais* SN (de « sino » et « sondern »), auxquels s'ajoute ce que nous appellerons *mais* OS (d'opposition sémantique), davantage décrit par des auteurs en dehors de la francophonie (Van de Voorde, 1992 ; Haeseryn, 1997 ; Csűry, 2001). Dans ces catégories fondamentales se rangent une multitude de notions. *Mais* et *maar* peuvent être concessifs, adversatifs, additifs, narratifs ou phatiques (Adam, 1990 ; Pelletier, 1992 ; Bacha 2005), directs ou indirects (Moeschler & De Spengler, 1982 ; Lamiroy & Van Belle, 1995), introduire un élément surprenant (Lakoff, 1971 ; Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 1999) ou s'associer avec un autre connecteur (Luscher, 1993), et les natures des éléments qu'ils unissent sont variées (Birkelund, 2009). Cependant, bien que nombreuses, les études sur *mais* (et, dans une moindre mesure, sur *maar*) qui classent et décrivent les différents types de *mais/maar* sont relativement indépendantes les unes des autres. Nous avons rassemblé les constats de ces études et les avons combinés, tout en ajoutant de nouveaux critères inédits dans l'analyse de *mais/maar* (ponctuation, longueur des éléments unis). Notre objectif était de décrire l'usage de ces connecteurs le plus précisément possible, de comparer l'usage de *mais* à celui de *maar*, ainsi que d'analyser la façon dont des traducteurs professionnels ont traduit *maar* par *mais* ou par un autre connecteur en fonction de nos catégories d'analyse. Nous avons pour cela analysé 100 occurrences de *mais* (corpus Est Républicain), 100 occurrences de *maar* (SoNaR corpus), et 100 occurrences de *maar* dans un corpus parallèle néerlandais-français (Dutch Parallel Corpus). Ces analyses ont fait apparaître des similitudes entre *mais* et *maar*, comme des fréquences similaires de *mais* SN et *maar* SN (5% des occurrences étudiées), une prévalence du caractère direct pour les *mais* et *maar* concessifs alors que les *mais* et *maar* adversatifs et additifs sont eux surtout indirects ; ainsi que des différences, notamment distributives, qui voient les *mais* PA d'addition être les plus nombreux en français, suivis par les *mais* d'adversation, de concession, de narration et enfin les *mais* phatiques, alors qu'en néerlandais, les *maar* les plus courants sont concessifs, puis adversatifs, additifs, narratifs et phatiques. L'étude parallèle a montré que les *maar* SN et OS étaient quasi tous traduits par un *mais* en français, alors ce n'est le cas que des trois-quarts des *maar* PA, dont la moitié est rendue par un non-marquage (Corminboeuf, 2014), l'autre moitié par un connecteur autre que *mais*. *Mais* et *maar* n'ont donc pas exactement les mêmes propriétés dans leurs langues respectives. L'étude de ces propriétés peut nous aider à mieux comprendre comment ces connecteurs se traduisent.

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# Vlaamse scholieren en dt-regels: de impact van gender en opleidingsniveau op beheersing en attitude

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In deze studie onderzoeken we de invloed van het gender en het opleidingsprofiel van jongeren op hun beheersing van de werkwoordregels en hun spellingattitude. Het doel van het huidige onderzoek is om meer inzicht te verwerven in de verklarende factoren voor de sociale patronen die we vaststelden in ons vorig onderzoek naar dt-fouten in chattaal van jongeren (zie Surkyn et al., 2019, 2020, in druk). Dat onderzoek toonde dat alle sociale groepen ten prooi vallen aan dezelfde types fouten, maar dat de online chatberichten van jongens en leerlingen uit tso (technisch secundair onderwijs) significant meer dt-fouten bevatten dan die van respectievelijk meisjes en jongeren uit aso (algemeen secundair onderwijs).

We betoogden toen dat het verschil tussen jongens en meisjes hoogstwaarschijnlijk niet het gevolg is van een verschil op vlak van regelbeheersing, maar wel van een verschillende attitude ten opzichte van standaard spellingnormen. Sociolinguïstisch onderzoek toonde namelijk dat vrouwen doorgaans een grotere normgevoeligheid aan de dag leggen (zie Labov, 2001, p. 293) en dat ze met name gestigmatiseerde vormen, wat dt-fouten zijn, meer vermijden dan mannen (zie bijvoorbeeld Tagliamonte, 2011, p. 32). Het effect van opleiding werd dan weer gelinkt aan zowel een verschil in regelkennis als een verschil in spellingattitude. Het is niet onaannemelijk dat jongeren uit het meer theoretisch georiënteerde aso de werkwoordspellingsregels beter beheersen, aangezien in het leerplan Nederlands van het aso meer aandacht besteed wordt aan spelling dan in dat van tso en vooral bso (VVKSO, 2006; VVKSO, 2014). Dat kan leiden tot een meer uitgesproken focus op het vermijden van fouten bij aso-leerlingen.

Via deze studie willen we nagaan of die interpretaties van het gender- en opleidingseffect, zoals vastgesteld in spontaan taalgebruik op sociale media, onderbouwd kunnen worden door een gerichte spellingtest en bevraging van attitudes t.a.v. correcte spelling. We namen daarvoor een tweedelige enquête af bij 451 Vlaamse jongeren uit de derde graad van het algemeen en technisch secundair onderwijs.

De resultaten van deze survey bevestigen onze interpretatie van de eerder vastgestelde sociale patronen m.b.t. de frequentie van dt-fouten (zie Surkyn et al., 2019, 2020, in druk). Jongens en meisjes beheersen de regels van de werkwoordspelling inderdaad even goed, maar meisjes hechten meer belang aan correcte werkwoordspelling dan jongens, vooral in formele schrijfcontexten, maar ook in de informele sociale-mediacontext. Daarnaast toonden de analyses dat jongeren uit aso inderdaad een betere kennis hebben van de werkwoordspellingregels dan tso'ers én dat die laatsten duidelijk toleranter zijn voor dt-fouten in zowel formele als informele schrijfcontexten. Dat alles vertaalt zich niet in andere types fouten, maar wel in een hogere foutenfrequentie bij jongens en tso'ers in een 'niet-schoolse' of 'ongecontroleerde' context zoals privéberichten op social media. We kunnen concluderen dat deze enquête extra evidentie biedt voor de verklaring van de sociale patronen die we in corpusonderzoek aantroffen.

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## Metadiscursive comments in Flemish print media interviews

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Print media question-answer interviews in the Dutch-speaking press in Belgium show a formal characteristic which is not widely spread in other languages: in the answers of the interviewee, often side comments made by the interviewer are incorporated between brackets. These comments can take the form of a finite verb (e.g. 'laughs'), a participle (e.g. 'shrugging') or a qualifying adjective (e.g. 'sad'), sometimes elaborated into longer clauses. The general use of these qualifiers is to indicate the atmosphere in which the interview is taking place or to describe the tone in which the interviewee is communicating.

These comments are forms of metadiscourse (Hyland 2019) and we can consider them to be 'asides' in the sense Goffman (1981) assigned to the term. They address an overhearing audience in a metadiscursive way. The term originates in dramatic arts and narrative theory (Georges 1981) but several scholars have applied it to different communicative situations (Strodt-Lopez 1991; Temmerman 2011; Stewart 2012).

This study describes the different forms these asides take in question-answer interviews in Flemish popular magazines and analyzes their discursive functions. The corpus consists of 81 interviews from two popular magazines (*Humo* and *Dag Allemaal*), which resulted in a list of 865 asides, containing 358 different tokens.

I have categorized the different asides according to their functions in the text. Apart from the overall metadiscursive role they have of setting up a communication with the imagined reader (Makkonen-Craig 2011:684), five different functions can be distinguished, namely (1) adding factual information the reader is not presupposed to have, (2) describing the setting in which the interview takes place, (3) describing non-verbal behaviour, (4) describing emotions shown by the interviewee, (5) assessing conversational behaviour of the interviewee.

Interviewers who integrate asides in their texts, stage themselves and the readers as participants in the conversation. This can have several pragmatic functions, such as adding innuendo or emphasizing their own competence as journalists. The analysis of asides shows that written interviews should be considered as a form of discourse in which three participating parties are involved and in which communication in four directions takes place (interviewer-interviewee, interviewee-interviewer, interviewer-reader, interviewee-reader), rather than as an account in written form of a conversation between interviewer and interviewee.

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## Proposition pour une typologie des constructions spécificationnelles accueillant les noms sous-spécifiés : variations et fonctions discursives

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Les noms sous-spécifiés (Nss) sont des noms comme *objectif* ou *solution*, marqués par une incomplétude informationnelle et une capacité à « encapsuler » (Francis 1994) du texte. Cette fonction de renvoi permet à la « coquille vide » (*shell noun*, Schmid 2000) de se remplir d'un contenu propositionnel, encodé sous la forme de constructions spécificationnelles avec un infinitif (1) ou une complétive (2) :

- 1) **L'objectif** est d'attirer près de 900 000 passagers [...] (corpus « articles de presse »)
- 2) **Une solution** serait que l'on vote tous pour la taxe sur les salaires [...] (corpus « discours et allocutions »)

La littérature s'est beaucoup penchée sur les affinités entre Nss et spécificationnelles (Schmid 2000, Legallois 2006 & 2008, Apothéloz 2012, Roubaud et Benninger 2020), dans lesquelles le segment gauche pose un « rôle » (selon la terminologie cognitive de Fauconnier 1984) auquel le contenu propositionnel fournit une « valeur ». Toutefois, peu d'études portent sur les variations syntaxiques, notamment orales, au sein de ces constructions. Parmi ces variations, lorsqu'elles impliquent des Nss, nous comptons :

### Des structures à Nss enchâssé et contenu propositionnel extraposé :

- Le Nss est régi par d'autres verbes que la copule *être* et occupe une autre fonction que celle d'attribut du sujet d'une phrase copulative spécificationnelle :

- 3) Il demeure une difficulté que nous avons actuellement, c'est de fixer l'ordre de notre itinéraire [...] (corpus « forums en ligne »)

- Dans la configuration précédente, le Nss peut s'intégrer dans une subordonnée de la phrase matrice :

- 4) j'ai compris que il n'y avait qu'**une seule chose à faire** en fait avec ces grosses vagues c'est de les de plonger dedans et sortir de l'autre côté (corpus « oral »)

- Le Nss est intégré à une subordonnée extrapredicative (donc non-régie par le verbe d'une phrase matrice) :

- 5) Si j'ai une recommandation à vous faire présentement c'est de vous aménager vos espaces [...] (corpus « forums en ligne »)

### Parallèlement à ces structures, certains éléments insistent sur l'unicité du Nss :

- Marqueurs d'unicité : par exemple, la négation restrictive *ne... que*, comme en (4)

- Structure restrictive dont le segment gauche exprime la négation d'un prédicat d'existence, grâce à des auxiliaires de verbe support comme *avoir* :

- 6) nous n'avons pas de réel objectif si ce n'est d'aller à la rencontre des populations [...] (corpus « forums en ligne »)

À partir d'exemples tirés d'un corpus diversifié en genres et récoltés via des requêtes ciblant les noms s'intégrant dans les spécificationnelles « traditionnelles » en (1) et (2) et dans leurs variantes, nous nous

proposons d'établir une typologie des structures identifiées ci-dessus. Notre objectif est de décrire ces procédés afin de montrer en quoi leur fonctionnement discursif est utile du point de vue de la structure informationnelle, par rapport à l'essence même des Nss, dont la vocation est de servir de « récipients » (Adler et Moline 2018, traduction du *container nouns* de Vendler 1968) pour de l'information présente dans le texte.

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# Origine et développement du conditionnel épistémique « de reprise » en français

## « Il serait issu du conditionnel temporel. »

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Le conditionnel « de reprise » (désormais CR) (1) est un emploi fréquent en français contemporain. Pourtant, cela n'a pas toujours été le cas – la toute première occurrence trouvée jusqu'ici ne remonte qu'au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle (2).

- (1) Le nouveau coronavirus aurait un ancêtre chez les chauves-souris. (Le Monde – 24/01/2020)
- (2) Et le samedi XVII<sup>e</sup> jour d'octobre derrenier passé, ledit Mathry Chasles auroit baillez et transportez par eschange lesdits maison et jardin audit Pierre Heulin [...] (26/02/1507) (Van de Weerd 2018: 80)

Dans notre contribution, nous aborderons la question de l'origine et du développement de cet emploi du conditionnel. Nous essayerons de formuler des réponses à deux questions principales : Q1. De quel emploi existant le CR est-il issu ? Q2. Selon quel mécanisme s'est-il développé ?

Pour trouver l(es) origine(s) du CR, nous avons procédé en deux étapes :

- (i) Nous avons imaginé des co(n)textes / conditions où le conditionnel a pu être ambigu entre un emploi CR et un emploi X.
- (ii) Nous avons vérifié, au moyen de recherches de corpus ciblées, si les co(n)textes / conditions conçus sont effectivement attestés.

Cette méthode de travail nous a permis de formuler une réponse aux questions mentionnées ci-dessus :

Q1. Le CR est issu du conditionnel temporel, plus spécifiquement du conditionnel temporel « subjectif » (désormais CTEMPS).

Cette hypothèse est basée sur l'idée que le CR est sémantiquement proche du conditionnel temporel et ceci à deux égards :

- (i) La structure prototypique du CTEMPS, le discours rapporté indirect, est une structure très proche de celle où on peut trouver aussi le CR.
- (ii) Cette structure décrit un acte de langage qui a eu lieu et signale ainsi comme « source de l'information » l'emprunt à autrui. L'indication de l'emprunt à autrui est la caractéristique principale, définitoire même, du CR (cf. Van de Weerd (2018)).

Q2. Le développement du CTEMPS au CR mobilise un mécanisme de « bridging contexts » (Heine 2002). On peut tracer un parcours d'évolution en quatre (Ou ne faut-il en retenir que trois ? ceci n'est pas encore tout à fait clair) types de co(n)texte.

- (i) un contexte « de départ » : le conditionnel s'interprète comme un CTEMPS, exprimant une ultériorité par rapport à un point de référence constitué par le verbe principal.
- (ii) un contexte « de transition » : le conditionnel devient ambigu et accepte une double interprétation : comme CTEMPS ou comme CR.
- (iii) un contexte « de bascule » : l'interprétation CTEMPS devient difficile. L'interprétation comme CR est désormais la seule possible.
- (iv) un contexte de conventionnalisation : le CR apparaît dans d'autres co(n)textes et ne nécessite plus le co(n)texte spécifique qui a permis sa naissance.

Tous ces co(n)textes seront caractérisés par des propriétés spécifiques autour de paramètres concernant le verbe principal, le verbe au conditionnel, la localisation temporelle co(n)textuelle et la contradiction co(n)textuelle du procès désigné par le conditionnel.

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# The productivity of minimizing constructions in present-day Netherlandic Dutch: Dat boeit me geen \*\*\*

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Minimizers are nouns that denote a small quantity and that are used to reinforce sentential negation (e.g. *geen bal snappen van* 'not understand a ball of', *geen euro uitgeven* 'not spend a euro'). They are recruited from different semantic categories (Hoeksema 2002), such as taboo terms (e.g. *geen reet* 'not an ass'), units referring to distance (e.g. *geen meter* 'not a metre'), weight (e.g. *geen gram* 'not a gram'), etc. Although their scope may vary (e.g. nominal scope in *geen greintje geduld* 'not a grain of patience'), we focus here on those minimizers that have scope on the predicate. As intensifiers, they belong to one of the richest sources of language creativity.

The main aim of this research, which is situated in the framework of usage-based Construction Grammar (Goldberg 2019; Barðdal 2015), is to analyse the productivity of the different minimizing constructions in present-day Netherlandic Dutch. Syntactic productivity, or the domain of application of a grammatical pattern, has a fundamental role in language. It refers to "the range of lexical items that may fill the slots of constructions" (Perek 2016: 66). Minimizing constructions as illustrated above have indeed two partly open slots: the slot of the minimizing noun and that of the predicate. In this talk, we compare the frequency and the varying (syntactic) productivity of the lexically instantiated micro-constructions, i.e. the array of predicates that combine with a particular minimizer. A certain minimizer is said to be productive if it is combined with a wide variety of predicates, belonging to different semantic fields. To this extent, different productivity measures (Zeldes 2012, Van Wetteere 2018) are examined, such as type frequency, hapax frequency, but also additional properties of the structure of the frequency spectra, such as closeness to a typically Zipfian distribution, the presence of high-token frequent items and semantic islands around high-token frequent attractors.

The data come from the Netherlandic Dutch section of the Dutch Web 2014 corpus (nlTenTen14, Jakubíček et al. 2013), available on Sketch Engine and which consists of almost 2 billion tokens. The dataset encompasses 244 minimizing nouns, which correspond to 6224 (manually annotated) tokens. 83 of them are hapax legomena, mostly analogy-based creative extensions of existing minimizing noun constructions. In our talk we will focus on samples of 100 tokens of the most token-frequent minimizers ( $n = 46$ ) with a token frequency  $\geq 100$ .

Provisional results show that minimizer-predicate combinations have a varying productivity. Minimizers can be posited on a continuum from more to less productive, both for type and hapax frequency. Some minimizers only occur in fixed combinations (e.g. *geen strobreed in de weg leggen*), whereas others, such as taboo words, impose hardly any restriction on the predicate. Interestingly, many high token-frequent predicates belong to specific verb classes, e.g. verbs meaning 'understand' (e.g. *begrijpen*) or suggesting 'indifference' (e.g. *interesseren*, *kunnen schelen*), which shows the relevance of examining productivity also at a higher level of schematicity, i.e. at the level of the macro-construction.

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# A functional typology of Dutch in subordinate infinitives.

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Insubordination is defined by Evans (2007: 367) as ‘the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses’. In the existing literature on insubordination, two types of insubordinate constructions have received most of the attention, namely (a) complement clauses, introduced by *that* in the English example in (1) and (b) conditional clauses, introduced by English *if* (2). A comprehensive typology of both of these structures has for instance been provided by D’Hertefelt (2018) for the Germanic languages English, German, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, and Icelandic. Insubordinate infinitival clauses, however, have been studied far less (though see Lasser 2002; Comrie et al 2016; Wiemer 2017, 2019 for some notable exceptions). Following Evans’s (2007) definition of insubordination, insubordinate infinitives can be described as ‘the main clause use’ of infinitival constructions (3).

(1) **That** he could say such a thing!  
(Evans & Watanabe 2016)

(2) **If** you could fill this out please.  
(Evans & Watanabe 2016)

(3) John **go** to the movies?! No way, man.  
(Evans 2007)

This presentation will reveal the results of a first systematic study into insubordinate infinitives in Dutch (as used in e.g., the translation of (3): *John naar de film gaan?! Dat kan niet.*). By means of a qualitative corpus study, this study aims to offer a typology of Dutch insubordinate infinitives. More specifically, a sample of 500 cases of independent infinitival constructions that can be found in the Corpus of Spoken Dutch (*Corpus Gesproken Nederlands* [CGN]) will be analysed on the basis of their functional properties. Moreover, through a cross-linguistic comparison, we will investigate whether the attested pragmatic functions of Dutch insubordinate infinitives correspond to the pragmatic functions of (a) insubordinate constructions in general and (b) insubordinate infinitives in particular, as described for other languages.

The results show that we can discern three basic pragmatic functions of insubordinate infinitives that have also been attested for other types of insubordinate constructions across languages: they can be employed for (i) discursive strategies, (ii) interpersonal control, and (iii) evaluation and exclamation. In addition, through the process of semantic bleaching, a new type of output is created in which the insubordinate infinitival constructions behave as discourse markers. In general, we argue that the overarching pragmatic function of Dutch is a discourse-connective function and that this function regularly gives way to expressions of evaluation and/or exclamation.

**Keywords:** insubordination, insubordinate infinitives, root infinitives, Dutch

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## Samen lossen we het op

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*Samen*, wat is dat eigenlijk? Van Dale noemt het een bijwoord, maar ‘bijwoord’ is de afvalbak van de grammatica, en deze benoeming laat (onder meer) onverklaard waarom het woord rechts van de tweede pool kan staan (*we moesten ze toen toch ook weer in elkaar zetten samen* (CGN)). Volgen we de suggestie van de *Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* dat de Engelse tegenhanger *together* een (intransitieve) adpositie is, dan volgt deze mogelijkheid op het eerste gezicht automatisch, want voorzetselgroepen vinden we vaak in deze positie (*we moesten ze toen toch ook weer in elkaar zetten met alleen een schroevendraaier*). De *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst* behandelt *samen* alleen bij de morfologie, waar opgemerkt wordt dat er heel gemakkelijk samenkoppelingen mee te maken zijn: vormen als *samenwerken samenwonen samenstellen samenkoppelen* zijn inderdaad heel frequent. Toch moet er syntactisch ook wel wat over te zeggen zijn: zo kan *samen* alleen of als deel van een zinsdeel op de eerste zinsplaats staan (*samen bestudeerden ze het boekje* (CGN), *samen met Laura gaat ze die brief lezen* (CGN), *die twee boeken samen zijn dertigduizend euro waard*). En hoe zit het eigenlijk met de verbindbaarheid met *me*? Samen met de onvolprezen Piet Paardekooper en Hans Broekhuis ga ik deze uitdaging aan.

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# From “jump to start” to “dive to read”: The grammaticalization of Spanish movement verbs into inchoative auxiliaries.

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The inchoative construction expresses the onset of an event and is very productive in Peninsular Spanish. In contrast with other Romance languages, the understudied construction shows a high productivity in the auxiliary slot (Garachana 2017). A wide gamut of verbs, from various semantic fields, can function as inchoative auxiliary. These are, among others, change of state verbs (*Rompió a llorar* (litt. “he / she broke to cry”)), put verbs (*Se mete a escribir* (litt. he / she puts himself / herself to write”)) and also movement verbs (*Se echó a reír* (litt. “He / She threw himself / herself to laugh”) (Engiels & Van Hulle 2018). This study zooms in on the grammaticalization of the movement verbs as semi-auxiliary in the inchoative construction.

A careful consideration of the empirical data, downloaded from the European Spanish EsTenTen18 corpus (Kilgarriff & Renau 2013), reveals that 25 verbs can fill the auxiliary slot, including 8 movement verbs. These movement verbs can be divided, according to the classification of Levin (1993), in two subcategories, namely (1) the launch-verbs (*arrojar*, *echar*, *lanzar* y *tirar*) and (2) the verbs that express a specific movement, such as *embarcar* (“to embark”), *liar* (“to tie”), *saltar* (“to jump”) and *zambullir* (“to dive”).

- (1) *Los nuevos rebeldes se arrojaron a atacar al sistema del control social.*  
“The new rebels **started to** (litt. slung to) **attack** the system of social control.”
- (2) *Echevarría, un valiente español, que saltó a socorrer a una señora embarazada.*  
“Echevarría, a Spanish bold (person), who **started to** (litt. jumped to) **rescue** a pregnant woman.”

This study pursues two main objectives. First, it investigates the degree of near-synonymy of the (semi-) auxiliaries, derived from movement verbs. To which extent does the original semantic meaning of the movement verbs persist in their use as inchoative auxiliary? Which verbs add a specific (aspectual) nuance? To answer these questions, a hierarchical cluster analysis is conducted. This analysis is based on the infinitives and their corresponding semantic classes with which each of the 8 auxiliaries is combined. The first results reveal that, on the one hand, *echar* shows a significantly different behavior compared to the other verbs, possibly due to its higher degree of grammaticalization; on the other hand, the launch-verbs belong to one and the same cluster, which implies that they follow the same collocational patterns and share syntactic and semantic preferences. The verbs that express a specific movement form a less homogenous group.

Second, more attention is dedicated to the degree of grammaticalization of each auxiliary. For this analysis we rely on several criteria, such as: (a) the presence of the original semantics of the verb, (b) the productivity of the each ‘micro-construction’ (Bybee & Torres Cacoullos 2009) and (c) the general attraction of the verb to the inchoative construction at macrolevel (Engiels & Comer 2020). The data point out that the verbs can be situated on a continuum of grammaticalization, from highly grammaticalized auxiliaries, like *echar*, to less grammaticalized cases, like *embarcar* and *zambullir*.

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# Bi/Multilingual diminutive constructions: Spanish-English codeswitching in Miami and Belize in contrast

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The present cross-community analysis of the diminutive construction sheds new insight into how, when and why (i.a. Tomic & Valdés Kroff, 2021; Vanhaverbeke & Enghels, in press; Enghels & Vanhaverbeke, 2020; Balam & Parafita Couto, 2019; Balam et al., 2020; Herring et al., 2010) bilingual speakers alternate between morphemes, words or structures of two languages – in particular Spanish and English – in multilingual contexts. In this study, the bi/multilingual speech of the Spanish-English communities in Miami and Belize will be compared. Miami accommodates one of the largest Hispanic populations outside Latin America (Carter & Lynch, 2015). Although English remains the dominant language, Spanish-English bilingualism is incontestably the social norm among U.S.-born Spanish heritage speakers. Also in the Central American country Belize, language alternation is a common practice as a result of widespread societal multilingualism (Balam, 2014), with Spanish as the majority language, English as an official language and Belizean Kriol as the country's lingua franca (Balam, 2017).

The diminutive construction serves as case study for this cross-community analysis. The semantic-pragmatic linguistic category of diminutiveness can be used to indicate dimensional, scalar or temporal reductions (e.g. *a tiny window*, *a small group*, *a little while*) or to express a broad range of affective connotations, positive or negative (e.g. *my hubby*, *that nasty little dog*) (i.a. Bagasheva, 2020; Schneider, 2003). Formally, the diminutive can be generated through various apparatus, including affixation, reduplication, compounding, truncation, and periphrastic constructions (Schneider, 2013). The expression of diminutiveness may thus strongly diverge across languages, as is the case in Spanish and English. While Spanish primarily makes use of synthetic diminutive affixes (*-ito/a*, *-illo/a*, *-ico/a*, *-uelo/a*, etc.; RAE, 2011), English mostly turns to analytic periphrastic constructions (article + *little (bit of)*, *small*, *tiny*, etc. + N; *a little (bit)* + Adj/Adv) (Hägg, 2016; Schneider, 2003). Accordingly, the diminutive acts as a conflict site in Spanish-English codeswitching (Enghels & Vanhaverbeke, 2020). The primary aim for this presentation is then to examine and contrast the diminutive construction in the two multilingual communities of Miami and Belize.

The present study discusses the formation and use of diminutives in the conversational Bangor Miami corpus and a corpus of sociolinguistic interviews carried out in Belize. The results show that from a morphological perspective, the multilingual speakers of Miami and Belize have different tendencies regarding how they form diminutives. Miami bilinguals use significantly more analytic markers than Belize multilinguals. Moreover, Miami bilinguals seem to employ a more varied system of diminutive types than Belize multilinguals. Remarkably, multilinguals in Belize significantly apply more codeswitching within the diminutive construction (e.g. *unos lee kids*, *un lee pursito*, *un baguito*). From a functional perspective, the multilingual speakers of Belize and Miami seem to use the diminutive construction in similar manners, both favoring English markers to express objective meanings (e.g. *un little estante*) and Spanish ones for affective connotations (e.g. *un partimecito*). As such, the diminutive language can be seen as a marker that facilitates the correct interpretation of the diminutive meaning.

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# Om opstandig van te worden?

## Meertaligheid geconstrueerd als probleem in de Nederlandstalige en Franstalige geschreven pers in België

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Taal roept in België veel emoties op. Als een prominent symbool van socio-economische, levensbeschouwelijke en politieke tegenstellingen heeft het de twee voornaamste gemeenschappen van het land immers sterk gepolariseerd (Blommaert 2011; Nelde, 1997; Wils, 2005). In de loop van de 19e en 20e eeuw zijn de delicate spanningen tussen Nederlandstaligen en Franstaligen stelselmatig gekanaliseerd door een taalgrens te defini  ren en een federale staatsstructuur te installeren, gebaseerd op historisch gegroeide principes van territoriale eentaligheid. In de huidige fase van intense globalisering worden verschillende vormen van meertaligheid echter almaar zichtbaarder, waarmee eens te meer het ideaal uitgedaagd wordt dat taal- en territoriumgrenzen rechtmatig samenvallen. In de taalgevoelige Belgische context is het niet verwonderlijk dat zulke botsingen tussen ideologie en realiteit weleens leiden tot opstandige reacties en hevige discussies tussen wetenschappelijke bevindingen, publieke opinie en politieke agenda's.

Deze presentatie focust op negatieve percepties van meertaligheid in de Belgische Nederlandstalige en Franstalige geschreven pers. Concreet trachten we de volgende vragen te beantwoorden: (a) in relatie tot welke onderwerpen wordt meertaligheid weergegeven als een probleem, (b) met welke talige strategie  n wordt dat probleem discursief geconstrueerd en (c) hoe echo  n die strategie  n historisch gegroeide taalideologie  n? Het datamateriaal bestaat uit 1710 kranten- en tijdschriftartikels uit het GoPress Academic-archief die minstens    n keer het trefwoord 'meertaligheid/multilinguisme' of allomorfen bevatten. Door middel van een concordantieanalyse en *close reading* werden 317 items van de *language as problem*-ori  ntering ge  dentificeerd (Hult & Hornberger 2016; Mautner 2016; Ru  z 1984). Deze zijn opvallend verdeeld over de Nederlandstalige (233) en de Franstalige (84) pers.

Het taalgebruik van die teksten met een negatieve ori  ntering tegenover meertaligheid werd vervolgens onderworpen aan een kritisch-pragmatische analyse volgens de principes van de *Discourse Historical Approach* (Reisigl & Wodak 2016). Daaruit komen drie kenmerkende patronen naar voren die zullen benadrukken hoe inherent ideologisch het publieke debat over meertaligheid is en hoezeer die idealen verankerd zitten in de geschiedenis van het Belgische conflict. Daarmee rijst dan ook de vraag voor onderzoekers, opinie- en taalbeleidsmakers of zulk diepgeworteld taalideologisch denken beschouwd moet worden als een foute mening om opstandig van te worden of als een onvermijdbare realiteit om volwaardig rekening mee te houden.

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## There is More to the Morphology of –š/ –iš : the Comparative in Ukrainian

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The comparative suffix in Ukrainian seemingly has four allomorphs: the most productive –iš, the non-productive –š, –č, and –šč, as presented below:

POS	CMPR	gloss
sviž -yj	svižiš -yj	'fresh'
dešev -yj	deševš -yj	'cheap'
doroh -yj	dorožč -yj	'expensive'
vys-ok -yj	vysšč -yj	'tall'

In this talk I argue that these four allomorphs can be reduced to –ṣ and –iš, and their distribution is not phonologically, but rather morphologically conditioned.

In particular, following Bevzenko (1960) and Plušč (2010), I analyse –č and –šč as phonological variants of –ṣ, brought about by processes of assimilation and dissimilation, as in:

1. (1) doroh-š-yj -> dorož-š-yj -> dorož-č-yj 'more expensive';
2. (2) vys-š-yj -> vyš-š-yj -> vy-šč-yj 'taller'.

When we are left with the two allomorphs, the picture is comparable to other Slavic languages, such as Polish -sz/-iejsz, Slovak and Czech -ṣ/-ejš.

The distribution of the two allomorphs is phonologically conditioned in Slovak and Polish (Wyngaerd et al 2020). Following Caha et al (2019) I aim to show that just like in Czech, such distribution in Ukrainian is regulated not by phonology, but by morphosyntax. As an example, the stems of both *solod-š-yj* and *blid-iš-yj* end in alveolar -d, but have different suffixes. The study by Bobaljik (2012) serves as a starting point, but is taken further by Caha, where CMPR is represented in syntax not by one but by two functional heads. To be more precise, I propose that –iš is decomposed into two morphemes -i and -š, where -i is a spellout of C1 and -š is a spellout of C2. The roots that take the -š allomorph are bigger than the ones taking -iš. As a result, it helps to explain the mechanism behind allomorphy in Ukrainian.

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