Linguists' day | 2020

University of Namur | 16 October 2020

On Zoom

Programme & Book of Abstract

LSB Linguists' Day at UNamur | 16 October 2020 | On Zoom

	Room 1	Room 2	Room 3	Room 4
09:15 - 09:30	**Welcome: Opening session**			
Session 1	*Chair: Bert Cornillie*	*Chair: Sibylle Fonzé*	*Chair: Jeroen Darquennes*	*Chair: Marie Steffens*
09:30 - 10:00	**Asyndetic complementation and referential integration in Spanish: a probabilistic diachronic grammar account** Giulia Mazzola, Bert Cornillie and Malte Rosemeyer	**Freezing the hands when signing: A study of HOLDS in spontaneous French Belgian Sign Language conversations.** Alysson Lepeut	**Een veelzijdig venster. Het discours over meertaligheid in de Belgische Nederlandstalige en Franstalige geschreven pers in kaart gebracht (1995-2018)** Ilias Vierendeels and Laurence Mettewie	**L'atténuation dans des interactions controversées dans des commentaires à des articles de presse en ligne et sur Twitter** Laetitia Aulit
10:00 - 10:30	**The construction with es que in Madrilenian youth language: between syntactic dislocation, insubordination and discourse markers** Nele Van Den Driessche and Renata Enghels	**Construire l'action pour rendre les référents visibles en LSFB: une étude pilote des mouvements corporels « dépictifs »** Sébastien Vandenitte	**Les étudiants face à l'apprentissage des langues étrangères dans leur parcours universitaire** Pauline Degrave, Philippe Hiligsmann, Philippe Lambrecht, Philippe Neyt and Philippe Parmentier	**Discours politique « vert » sur Instagram : l'exemple des événements amazoniens de 2019 sur le profil de E. Macron** Erica Lippert
10:30 - 11:00	**Discourse and dialectal variation in constructional networks: on insubordinate quotative que constructions in Spanish** Sofía Pérez Fernández, Pedro Gras and Frank Brisard	**Au croisement des ressources orales, gestuelles et signées : comparaison de la prosodie du français et de la LSFB** Clara Lombart	**Quels besoins linguistiques pour les diplômés universitaire de Belgique francophone?** Pauline Degrave, Philippe Hiligsmann, Eliz Serhadlioglu, Elisa Pomponio and Jonathan Dedonder	**Pragmatics of requests in Bartolomeo Ammannati's letters (1563-1578)** Gianluca Valenti
11:00 - 11:30	**Break**			
Session 2	*Chair: Pedro Gras*	*Chair: Sébastien Vandenitte*	*Chair: Mikhail Kissine*	*Chair: Emma Vanden Wyngaerd*
11:30 - 12:00	**A case-study of recent language change: the intensifier mazo (de) in 21st century Spanish teenage talk** Linde Roels	**Measuring nonverbal stategies of Foreigner Talk: a kinematic analysis of gestures in native-non-native interactions** Valentijn Prové and Bert Oben	**The development of syntax and discourse: the early acquisition of cleft in French L1** Karen Lahousse and Morgane Jourdain	**Discoursanalytisch onderzoek naar de beeldvorming over dementie in Vlaamse blogs** Silke Creten, Priscilla Heynderickx and Sylvain Dieltjens
12:00 - 12:30	**Pues va a ser que no. The Spanish va a ser que as focus marker** María Sol Sansiñena and Mar Garachana	**Onderzoek naar de multimodale codering van motion events in het Frans en het Nederlands als T1 en T2** Christina Piot	**Probabilistic Grammar in Learner Language: The Case of the Genitive Alternation** Tanguy Dubois	**The Subtitling of Swearwords in the French version of Netflix Original Series: A Corpus-Based Analysis** Eponine Moreau
12:30 - 13:00	**Dynamizing effects of the progressive suffix on state predicates in Spanish <conditional (-*rí*-)> + progressive (aux + V- *ndo*)>** Pedro Diaz Lammertyn and María Sol Sansiñena	**Perception of discourse markers: How do native and non-native speakers view like, so and you know?** Meaghan Blanchard and Lieven Buysse	**Extramural English and productive vocabulary knowledge: an exploratory study** Lieven Bollansée, Eva Puimège and Elke Peters	
13:00 - 13:15	**Lunch**			
13:15-14:15	**General Assembly of the LSB**			
Session 3	*Chair: Tanja Mortelmans*	*Chair: Alysson Lepeut*	*Chair: Renata Enghels*	*Chair: Samantha Laporte*
14:30 - 15:00	**On inferential readings with a reportative base** Bert Cornillie	**Begroetingen in mogelijk meertalige omgevingen tussen onbekende personen: Welke talen kiezen sprekers en op welke basis?** Thomas Debois	**Default gender in Belgian Dutch: data from code-switching** Emma Vanden Wyngaerd	**Computational construction grammar and procedural semantics for visual dialog.** Lara Verheyen, Paul Van Eecke and Katrien Beuls
15:00 - 15:30	**Quirky Negative Concord : Croatian, Spanish and French ni's.** Johan van der Auwera	**Engaging in conversation with strangers in waiting rooms: resources and practices** Federica D'Antoni	**A pilot study of Codeswitching in the U.S.: The Expression of Mitigation in Spanish-English Codeswitching Context of Miami** Margot Vanhaverbeke	**Modelling meaning granularity of nouns with vector space models** Mariana Montes
15:30 - 15:45	**Break**			
15:45 -16:15	**La prosodie outil pour identifier un marqueur évidentiel, l'exemple de 'visiblement' en français** Melissa Schuring	**Zero morphology and change-of-state verbs** Pavel Caha, Karen De Clercq and Guido Vanden Wyngaerd	**Loan word accomodation biases: Evidence from Dutch and Middle English** Marlieke Shaw	**Defining modal functions - a case study of German modal verbs** Tom Koss
16:15 -16:45	**Register differences in the marking of contrastivity in French: Syntactic position of contrastive adverbs versus emphatic pronouns** Jorina Brysbaert and Karen Lahousse	**"Unbedingt einen Besuch wert" – wervend taalgebruik in reisgidsen over Karinthië** Steven Schoonjans	**The use of zo'n versus zulke 'such' in Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch. Testing Hypotheses relating to lexical biases, function, register and noun type** Dirk Pijpops	
16:45 - 17:15	**Best paper presentation: Deliberation**			
17:30	**Best paper presentation award**			

Asyndetic complementation and referential integration in Spanish: a probabilistic diachronic grammar account

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One of the most distinctive syntactic features of (pre)classical Spanish is asyndetic complementation (without complementizer *que* 'that'). While in present-day Spanish it occurs mainly with subjunctive-selecting volitional predicates, as in (1), in Classical Spanish such constructions were extended to non-volitional and indicative-selecting predicates, as in (2):

(1)	Le	rog-ó$_{\mathbf{V1}}$[1]	Ø	fues-e$_{\mathbf{V2}}$	a Cádiz.
	DAT.3SG	beg-PST.3SG		go.SBJV.PST-3SG	to Cádiz

‘S/he begged him/her to go to Cádiz’ (RAE 1973:517)

(2)	Ag-o	sab-er$_{\mathbf{V1}}$	a vues-a	[merced]	Ø	me
	do-1SG	know-INF	to your-F.SG	mercy		REFL.1SG
	quier-o$_{\mathbf{V2}}$	cas-ar.				
	want-IND.1SG	marry-INF				

‘I let Your Mercy know I want to get married’ (CODEA-2347, 1656)

While many authors attribute the asyndetic construction to a stylistic variant that eventually declined (i.a. Girón 2005), so far no exhaustive morphosyntactic study of the phenomenon has been presented. Previous works either have focused on one predicate (Blas & Porcar 2015; 2016) or do not contain detailed quantitative diachronic data (Pountain 2015).

We provide a synchronic and diachronic analysis of the alternation, based on N=2970 complement clauses selected by five main predicates, in a corpus of Spanish spanning between 1400 and 1799 (GITHE 2015). Adopting the probabilistic diachronic grammar framework (Szmrecsanyi 2013), we aim to identify the language-internal probabilistic constraints that regulated the alternation between *que* and Ø, to explore whether they changed over time.

This study is inspired by those authors suggesting that this variant was a marker of integration between the clauses (i.a. Pons 2008). More specifically, we hypothesize that referential integration (Givón 2001a:50), i.e. the sharing of participants across clauses, increases the semantic integration of the events and produces asyndetic complementation. A case in point is (1), where the indirect object of V1 (*Le*) corresponds to the agent of V2.

We fitted a logistic regression to predict the relation between the dependent variable (*que vs.* Ø) and multiple morphosyntactic and semantic predictors. Moreover, to account for diachronic changes, we modelled interactions between real time and those predictors (Jaccard 2001).

The statistical analysis shows that asyndetic complementation is favored by features typical of manipulation verbs (Givón 2001b:153). Remarkably, referential integration promotes asyndetic complements, iconically reflecting the integration of the events. This effect becomes diachronically stronger, suggesting a syntactic specialization process, which might have eventually led to chunking and to the restricted use of the asyndeton in Present-day Spanish. The results suggest that asyndetic complementation might have entered a complementary distribution also with infinitival clauses, as a marker of integration of finite complements. However, the latter intuition should be corroborated by future research.

[1] V1=main verb, V2=complement verb, Ø=absence of complementizer *que*

Our contribution shows how the application of the notion of semantic integration can be useful for a quantitative corpus study on complementation patterns. Furthermore, contrarily to current claims, we demonstrate that asyndetic complementation in (pre)classical Spanish was not simply a stylistic mannerism. Although further research should clarify the stylistic distribution of the construction, we can preliminary conclude that asyndetic complementation was a productive marker of semantic/syntactic integration in the complementation system of Classical Spanish.

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Discourse and dialectal variation in constructional networks: on insubordinate quotative que constructions in Spanish

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One of the most attractive aspects of constructional models is the possibility of including any conventional feature of the meaning or form of grammatical constructions, including discourse and dialectal information. However, there is still little research on how to include dialectal variation in constructional models (cf. Östman & Trousdale 2013), particularly for constructions that specifically express discursive meanings. Moreover, it is still not agreed upon which are the parameters relevant to explain their variation, as opposed to other well-established categories to explain phonological and morphosyntactic variation.

An interesting case study to examine how to model dialectal and register variation is the quotative use of initial complementizer que 'that' in Spanish (1-3). From a constructional perspective, quotative que constructions have been represented as a constructional network, composed by a schema with three instantiations, depending on the material being quoted (Gras 2016): (i) previous discourse by the addressee (1), (ii) previous discourse by the speaker him/herself (2), and (iii) another speech situation (3).

(1) A: Yo no fumo
'I don´t smoke'

B: ¿Que tú no fumas?
'[did you say] that you don´t smoke?'

(2) A: Ven a cenar mañana
'come for dinner tomorrow'

B: ¿Qué?
'what?'

A: Que vengas a cenar mañana
'[I've said] you should come tomorrow for dinner'

(3) Ha llamado tu madre. Que vayas a verla.
'Your mum has called. [She said] that you should go see her'

The quotative que construction is consistent with the phenomenon of insubordination (Evans 2007), the main clause use of formally subordinate clauses. Previous literature shows that insubordination is an informal spoken phenomenon, and as such is supposed to show dialectal variation. However, there is no corpus-driven research on the degree of variation of insubordinate constructions across dialects and genres (cf. Gras & Sansiñena 2017).

The aim of this paper is twofold: to identify possible instances of variation in the distribution of quotative constructions in different regional varieties of Spanish across spoken and written genres, and to represent this variation in a constructional network. In order to do so, we conducted a quantitative analysis of a corpus that represents five varieties of Spanish (Peninsular, Chilean, Argentinian, Caribbean and Mexican) and five different genres (conversations and interviews, Twitter, novels and news reports). Preliminary results indicate that, while the three instantiations are available across all varieties under study, they are most strongly associated with the Peninsular variety (variation at the schematic level). In addition, each instantiation shows strong preferences for a particular genre (variation at the level of instantiations).

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The construction with *es que* in Madrilenian youth language: between syntactic dislocation, insubordination and discourse markers

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This presentation investigates the construction with *es que* ('it is that') in contemporary Madrilenian Spanish youth language (e.g. *Ya pero es que Jennifer López es diva*, Lit. 'Yes but it is that Jennifer Lopez is a diva'). Besides the analysis of Fuentes Rodríguez (1997, 2015), this fixed, almost grammaticalized, pattern has not called much attention of scholars. The present study wants to uncover the full range of functions that the construction with *es que* can assume, by zooming in on its frequent occurrence in teenage talk.

The following two main objectives are addressed. First, our analysis wants to describe the full formal and functional features of the construction *es que* in contemporary Spanish teenage talk. Second, it aims to investigate the relationship between *es que* and discourse markers, a category in which it has been inscribed (Fuentes Rodríguez 1997; Remberger 2020). In order to accomplish these goals, data are collected form the CORMA corpus (Corpus Oral de Madrid), elaborated by Ghent University and recorded in 2016 and 2019 (Enghels et al. in press). The sample contains 365 occurrences of the construction *es que* obtained through close-reading of the conversations conducted exclusively among Madrilenian teenagers between the age of 12 and 18 years. These instances have then been subjected to a detailed functional and formal analysis including the following criteria: the function expressed by *es que* by distinguishing between the argumentative, metadiscursive and expressive function, the position of this element in the utterance and in the intervention and the collocation (e.g. *No viene porque es que se ha puesto enfermo*, 'He is not coming because it is that he is sick' (Fuentes Rodríguez 1997: 241)).

Although previous studies only mention argumentative functions of *es que* – mostly justification (Briz Gómez 2000; Fuentes Rodríguez 1997; 2015; Delahunty/Gatzkiewicz 2000; Romera 2009; Moliner/Riera 2016; Remberger 2020) – , the results reveal that *es que* can also assume more varied metadiscursive and expressive functions. This could be explained by the type of language under consideration, i.e. youth language, known for its creative uses (Zimmerman 2002). Furthermore, *es que* not only shares some functional characteristics with discourse markers, but also with insubordination, although it does not cover the whole functional spectrum of this phenomenon. *Es que* also assumes the functions of topicalization through left dislocation. However, unlike left dislocation, the construction with *es que* has the advantage of not intervening in syntactic word order.

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Freezing the hands when signing
A study of HOLDS in spontaneous French Belgian Sign Language conversations

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This talk focuses on moments in signed conversation when manual production is momentarily on hold, and its resulting interactive ramifications. Typically, the anatomical structure of a sign can be decomposed into a stream of distinct manual phases (Kita et al. 1998) that unfold in time and space in front of the signer's body. There are moments, however, when manual activity stops. This may happen for several reasons, e.g., when seeking attention, holding or yielding the floor or during overlapping talk and word searching activities (Cibulka 2016).

This paper examines manual holds (i.e., of the handshape, location, and orientation) in French Belgian Sign Language (LSFB). Holds have usually been examined in signed language (SL) research in relation to prosody, delimitation of syntactic frontiers, and corresponding to vowel lengthening in spoken languages but barely for their relevance in managing signed talk. Nonetheless, scholars have begun to argue for their non-arbitrary and motivated positions as part of interactional practices that participants employ during conversations (e.g., Baker 1977; Cibulka 2016; Groeber & Pochon-Berger 2014). Rather than approaching holds in relation to prosody and syntax, this paper investigates their relevance – in sign primary, intermediate, and final positions – as potential meaning-making practices used by LSFB signers in their organization of social interaction. Using the ELAN software for analysis, the aim is to compare holds' interactional roles between dyads of LSFB signers. More precisely, the following questions are explored: what are their roles in LSFB conversations? Do they carry meaning at all? The objectives are to examine: (i) holds' frequency; (ii) interactive functions; and (iii) concurrent gaze directions. The LSFB Corpus (Meurant, 2015) was used, including dyadic conversations of four signers, aged 66 and older, who were recorded at the university lab in Namur.

Moving beyond traditional work conducted thus far, the analysis resulted in a paradigm shift in the conception of holds by showing that an absence of manual motion does not equal an absence of meaning. On the contrary, the results have revealed that these are not mere insignificant moments of signing excursions but efficient means to achieve pragmatic goals in conversation. Results reveals that holds carry four main functions in LSFB discourse: to monitor addressees, to plan discourse, to hold the floor and suspend one's turn when the addressee intervenes in the main line of action.

This study shows how investigating such an interactive practice in a signed language strengthens the position for holds to be placed as part of discourse activities; and by extension, reinforces the argument for developing a new perspective upon the multimodal embodied nature of language.

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Au croisement des ressources orales, gestuelles et signées : comparaison de la prosodie du français et de la LSFB

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Notre recherche porte sur la comparaison des systèmes prosodiques des langues des signes (LS) et des langues vocales (LV). Ces derniers présentent des similarités fonctionnelles et structurelles tout en différant au niveau formel puisqu'ils emploient des marqueurs de natures diverses : manuels et non manuels pour les LS, oraux pour les LV (Di Cristo, 2013 ; Fenlon & Brentari, sous presse). Cette constatation peut être relativisée avec la prise en compte des gestes co-verbaux des LV, qui entretiennent des relations étroites avec la prosodie (Loehr, 2014) et qui sont souvent identiques aux marqueurs des LS. Très peu de travaux ont cependant mis en parallèle le fonctionnement des marqueurs manuels et non manuels dans les deux modalités (Fenlon & Brentari, sous presse).

Notre mémoire de master portait sur l'utilisation de différents mouvements de la tête (hochements verticaux/horizontaux simples ou répétés) en français et en langue des signes de Belgique francophone (LSFB). Nous avons analysé des données de ces deux langues selon trois axes de recherche : 1) les caractéristiques cinématiques des hochements ; 2) leurs liens avec des constituants prosodiques ; 3) leurs usages (non) prosodiques. Les résultats indiquent notamment que l'utilisation des mouvements de la tête semble fortement corrélée aux aspects discursifs de la parole et aux types d'informations (comme le topique ou le focus).

Suite à ces premières conclusions, nous avons choisi d'examiner, dans le cadre d'un projet de doctorat, la manière dont un type de structure informationnelle, le focus contrastif (FC), est encodé via des marqueurs oraux et/ou (non) manuels en français et en LSFB par des utilisateurs monolingues et bilingues. Dans cette optique, nous avons mis en place une expérience basée sur un dispositif d'enregistrement, d'annotation et de mesure de sons de parole, de vidéos et/ou de données issues de la capture de mouvement. Nous avons effectué un prétest de cette méthodologie pour le français. Les données audio et vidéo recueillies ont fait l'objet de diverses analyses exploratoires et préliminaires. Les résultats obtenus détonnent parfois des conclusions de travaux antérieurs et/ou apportent leur part d'originalité. Il apparaît par exemple que, contrairement à ce qui est documenté dans la littérature (Beyssade et al., 2004 ; Lacheret, 2003), les FC sont marqués par une durée syllabique et par un registre de F0 inférieurs à ceux des autres types d'informations. Les résultats révèlent également que les paramètres oraux (F0, durée syllabique, hauteur mélodique) fluctuent sous l'influence (conjointe) du type de geste co-verbal et/ou de la fonction du FC. Nous avons aussi observé que les inclinaisons du corps apparaissent sur les FC. Ce constat n'a, à notre connaissance, jamais été posé pour les LV alors qu'il est fortement souligné pour les LS (van der Kooij et al., 2006). Avoir une vue multimodale du phénomène étudié permet ainsi de dévoiler des aspects de la prosodie qui n'auraient pas pu être découverts si la LV (sans les gestes manuels et non manuels) et la LS étaient considérées séparément.

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Construire l'action pour rendre les référents visibles en LSFB: une étude pilote des mouvements corporels « dépictifs »

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Dans de nombreuses communautés linguistiques, il a été rapporté que les locuteurs font appel à des mouvements iconiques de leurs corps et à des modulations prosodiques de leurs voix pour donner à voir et à entendre les référents et actions dont ils parlent (Clark & Gerrig, 1990; McNeill, 1992; Hodge & Ferrara, 2014; Cormier, Smith & Sevcikova-Sehyr, 2015). Ce phénomène, appelé ici *action construite*, serait prépondérant au sein des langues des signes (Metzger, 1995; Lillo-Martin, 2012) et a été décrit pour la Langue des signes de Belgique francophone (LSFB) par Meurant (2008).

Bien souvent, l'action construite en langues des signes a été présentée comme différente de son analogue gestuel chez les locuteurs de langues vocales (Earis & Cormier, 2013; Quinto-Pozos & Parrill, 2015). Le degré et la nature de ces différences sont cependant sujets à débat. Certaines approches proposent une conventionalisation du phénomène pour les langues des signes. Ces mêmes approches soulignent que les pratiques gestuelles des locuteurs de langues vocales reflètent davantage des motivations contextuelles, explicables en termes pragmatiques plutôt que sémantiques (Herrmann & Steinbach, 2012; Quer, 2005, 2011). De façon plus consensuelle, il est reconnu que l'action construite constitue une stratégie clé, parfois perçue comme indispensable (Quinto-Pozos, 2007), du répertoire sémiotique des signeurs de nombreuses langues des signes (Ferrara & Hodge, 2018) comme la BSL, langue des signes britannique (Cormier et al., 2015), la FinSL, langue des signes finlandaise (Jantunen, 2017), ou encore la TID, langue des signes turque (Perniss & Özyürek, 2008). La création de corpus documentant des conversations (semi-)spontanées en langues des signes permet d'aborder ce phénomène de façon quantitative et d'évaluer dans quelle mesure les données sont expliquées par les modèles théoriques proposés.

Dans la présente communication, je rapporte les résultats préliminaires d'une étude pilote sur l'action construite dans le discours de quatre signeurs natifs de la LSFB. Les données utilisées sont extraites du corpus LSFB (Meurant, 2015). J'expose la méthodologie élaborée pour analyser l'action construite dans ELAN (Crasborn & Sloetjes, 2014), un outil d'annotation pour l'analyse de données filmées. Ainsi, j'explique le protocole d'annotation inspiré des travaux de Cormier et al. (2015), qui est basé sur l'activation de différents articulateurs corporels: le regard, l'expression faciale, la tête, le buste, les mains et/ou les bras et, enfin, les jambes et/ou les pieds. Je rapporte et commente les fréquences d'occurrence de l'action construite ainsi que des articulateurs qu'elle mobilise. Ces résultats préliminaires attestent la prépondérance du phénomène dans le discours des signeurs de la LSFB. Ces résultats sont ensuite comparés à ceux retrouvés pour d'autres langues des signes.

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Les étudiants face à l'apprentissage des langues étrangères dans leur parcours universitaire

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De nombreuses études ont mis en lumière les besoins d'une main d'œuvre au minimum bilingue sur le marché de l'emploi belge (Janssens, 2018; Hiligsmann, 2009; Mettewie & Van Mensel, 2009). Les diplômés de l'enseignement supérieur n'échappent pas à la nécessité du multilinguisme, pour lesquelles la maitrise d'au moins une autre langue étrangère est très souvent une exigence minimale au sortir de leurs études (Le Forem, 2017; Pomponio, 2020).

A partir de cette constatation, nous avons voulu cerner comment les étudiants de l'enseignement supérieur se préparent à ces besoins linguistiques. Quelles langues apprennent-ils ? Quel format d'apprentissage favorisent-ils ? Quelle importance accordent-ils à cette formation dans leur parcours d'études supérieures ? Quel est leur sentiment de compétence en langues étrangères à l'issue de leurs études ?

Afin de répondre à ces questions, nous avons interrogé les étudiants en fin de cycle (bachelier et master) à l'UCLouvain, tous sites et toutes orientations confondus, à travers un questionnaire en ligne. Près de 3000 étudiants nous ont fait part de leur expérience d'apprentissage des langues durant leurs études universitaires.

Les premiers résultats montrent que les étudiants ont principalement appris l'anglais et le néerlandais comme langues étrangères au cours de leur vie. Alors que l'apprentissage de l'anglais est massivement présent dans le parcours universitaire, principalement à travers un format de cours, qui s'accompagne d'un sentiment de compétence positif dans cette langue, l'apprentissage du néerlandais, quant à lui, est nettement moins présent durant les études universitaires, malgré l'importance que les étudiants lui accordent pour l'insertion socio-professionnelle.

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Quels besoins linguistiques pour les diplômés universitaires de Belgique francophone ?

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Dans notre société globalisée et numérisée, le monde professionnel actuel est de plus en plus international et multilingue (Angouri, 2014; Britt-Louise Gunnarsson, 2014). En Belgique, pays connu pour son multilinguisme, les besoins d'une main d'œuvre maitrisant plusieurs langues ont été soulignés dans de nombreuses études (Hiligsmann & Beheydt, 2011; Janssens, 2018; Le Forem, 2017; Mettewie & Van Mensel, 2009).

Dans cette recherche, nous nous intéressons en particulier aux exigences linguistiques du milieu professionnel pour les diplômés universitaires de Belgique francophone. Nous avons ainsi voulu déterminer les langues requises, les niveaux attendus et les compétences utiles que le monde professionnel attend d'un diplômé universitaire en Belgique francophone. Afin de répondre à ces questions, nous avons mené une double analyse. Tout d'abord, nous avons interrogé, par un questionnaire en ligne, les étudiants diplômés en 2014 et en 2018 de l'UCLouvain, tous sites et toutes orientations confondus. Ceux-ci ont été invités à répondre à une enquête sur leur insertion socio-professionnelle, qui contenait plusieurs questions spécifiques à l'usage des langues dans leur carrière professionnelle. Ensuite, nous avons analysé les offres d'emploi publiés par JobTeaser sur la plateforme d'aide à l'insertion socio-professionnelle de l'UCLouvain entre juin 2018 et juin 2019. Ainsi, nous avons pu analyser les réponses de près 2000 diplômés et le contenu de près de 2500 offres d'emploi. Les résultats seront détaillés et discutés en fonction des secteurs d'emploi et les lieux de travail.

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Een veelzijdig venster. Het discours over meertaligheid in de Belgische Nederlandstalige en Franstalige geschreven pers in kaart gebracht (1995-2018)

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Taal snijdt België fysiek en mentaal doormidden. Als symbool van complexere socio-economische, politieke en levensbeschouwelijke verschillen tussen Noord en Zuid heeft het immers de geschiedenis van het land gepolariseerd en ingrijpend beïnvloed. Dat resulteerde in de federale staat met drie taalgemeenschappen en drie gewesten zoals we die nu kennen (Blommaert, 2011; Wils, 2005). Vandaag zetten verschillende vormen van maatschappelijke en individuele meertaligheid, die in de huidige fase van intense globalisering steeds zichtbaarder en noodzakelijker worden, die communautair delicate en territoriaal eentalige situatie dan ook onder druk. Dat geeft weleens aanleiding tot al te eenzijdige, ideologische en subjectieve dovemansdiscussies tussen politiek, wetenschap en publieke opinie.

Rekening houdend met de taalgeschiedenis en met de onderlinge maatschappelijke verhoudingen tussen beide gemeenschappen, bespreken we daarom hoe de notie 'meertaligheid/multilinguisme' de voorbije twintig jaar (1995-2018) geconceptualiseerd, gevaloriseerd en beargumenteerd werd in het discours van de Nederlandstalige en Franstalige geschreven pers. Om de impact van emoties en taalideologieën te kunnen objectiveren, verschillende argumentaties te kunnen kaderen en zo vooral de fundamentele complexiteit van iedere taalkwestie te kunnen benadrukken, is zowel kwantitatief als kwalitatief onderzocht welke concrete frames en taaloriënteringen (Ruíz, 1984) dat discours vorm geven.

Met de persdatabank GoPressAcademic werden twee corpora samengesteld van Nederlandstalige (n=1085) en Franstalige (n=625) kranten- en tijdschriftartikels waarin de termen 'meertaligheid', 'multilinguisme' of hun allomorfen voorkomen. Een concordantie- en collocatieanalyse van dat corpus (Mautner, 2016) vormt de basis voor een beschrijvend statistisch *entry*-deel waarin algemene patronen blootgelegd worden m.b.t. de thematische, typologische (maatschappelijk – individueel – institutioneel) en ideologische (*language as problem – language as right – language as resource*) facetten van de term. Daarbij valt het meteen op dat 'meertaligheid' hoofdzakelijk positief, en dus *as resource*, wordt benaderd. Ook het grote aandeel voor artikels met een economische inslag in het Franstalige corpus en de significante frequentieverschillen tussen beide corpora van zowel *language as problem* als *language as right* trekken de aandacht. Een kritisch-kwalitatieve argumentatieanalyse contextualiseert die tendensen nadien. Daaruit zal dan blijken dat de voornaamste argumenten in het discours van beide gemeenschappen moeten begrepen worden binnen de historisch gegroeide, politieke en socio-economische ontwikkelingen die ze doorgemaakt hebben. Op die manier bieden zulke taalanalyses een venster op dieperliggende verhoudingen die taal overstijgen.

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L’atténuation dans des interactions controversées dans des commentaires à des articles de presse en ligne et sur Twitter

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Le développement d’Internet ces dernières années a influencé notre manière d’interagir avec les autres et de se positionner dans la sphère publique (Moya Muñoz 2015). En effet, comme le mentionne cet auteur, Internet aujourd’hui offre à ses utilisateurs un espace dans lequel non seulement ils peuvent accéder à différents contenus, mais également en générer, ce qui a favorisé la création de contenus nouveaux, mais aussi l’apparition d’une communication interpersonnelle. Olaizola (2013), en s’appuyant sur Loch (2009), souligne par ailleurs que la rhétorique digitale qui en émerge ne se caractérise pas seulement par l’échange d’arguments et les médias sociaux peuvent être également le lieu de commémorations, accusations, célébrations, demandes de justice, etc.

Dans ce contexte, on observe un intérêt croissant pour l’étude de l’atténuation dans les genres discursifs digitaux (Helfrich et Pano Alamán 2018). Définie comme une stratégie rhétorico-pragmatique employée pour des nécessités d’image, l’atténuation permet de mitiger les effets négatifs qui pourraient surgir au cours de la communication et/ou de réduire le compromis du locuteur vis-à-vis de ce qu’il dit (Albelda et Briz 2020, entre autres) et est influencée par l’implication de l’image des participants, le cadre situationnel de l’interaction, mais aussi le type d’acte de parole et sa force illocutoire (Albelda 2010). A cet égard, certains genres discursifs en ligne caractérisés par le partage de points de vue peuvent faire émerger des discussions controversées, marquées par le désaccord, la polarisation des opinions et la (dé)courtoisie (Pano Alamán 2018). Ainsi, l’atténuation a été étudiée dans des sections de commentaire aux articles de presse sur des sujets politiques (Pano Alamán 2018), mais également en comparaison avec des sujets sportifs (Moya Muñoz et Carrió-Pastor 2018). De même, elle a également été analysée dans le cadre des réseaux sociaux, avec par exemple des études sur les stratégies d’excuse d’entreprises à des plaintes de clients sur Twitter (Page 2014).

En tenant compte de la bibliographie mentionnée, l’objectif de cette communication est de présenter une analyse de l’atténuation dans un corpus d’interactions en ligne (commentaires à des articles de presse et sur Twitter) concernant une fête traditionnelle espagnole, la fête des Maures et chrétiens, objet de controverse ces dernières années suite au traitement et à la représentation qu’elle donne de certains groupes sociétaux, ce qui permettra d’analyser un thème quelque peu moins abordé du point de vue de l’analyse du discours en vérifiant les hypothèses suivantes. Tout d’abord, l’atténuation apparaitrait principalement dans des interventions centrées sur la fête en elle-même ou la négociation du point de vue avec un interlocuteur. Ensuite, elle apparaitrait plus fréquemment avec une fonction préventive dans des séquences d’échanges marquées par la dissension. Pour ce faire, cette étude analysera et présentera les stratégies linguistiques utilisées en se basant sur la fiche d’analyse pragmatique de l’atténuation développée par Albelda et al. (2014), amplement reconnue dans le champ d’investigation pragmatique espagnol, et une réflexion méthodologique sur son adaptabilité aux genres discursifs ici étudiés.

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Discours politique « vert » sur Instagram : l'exemple des événements amazoniens de 2019 sur le profil de E. Macron

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Les réseaux sociaux offrent aux dirigeants politiques de nouvelles manières polysémiotiques de communiquer, et depuis la campagne de Obama en 2008, ils sont largement employés par tout le corps politique occidental. De nombreuses études ont examiné les discours de politiciens sur Facebook ou Twitter (Mercanti-Guérin 2010, Yanoshevsky 2010, Paveau 2013, Longhi 2017, etc.), en revanche, peu étudient Instagram, un réseau social basé sur le visuel pourtant très utilisé par les jeunes (Vossen 2019, Lalancette 2019). Le XXI^{ème} siècle a vu proliférer les discours écologiques et relatifs au changement climatique dans les médias, et sur Internet, pourtant ces discours ne sont guère fréquemment l'objet d'analyse du discours dans le monde francophone à quelques exceptions près (Posthumus 2011, Fløttum 2019, Gjerstad 2019).

Dans le souci de participer à l'élargissement de ces recherches, nous voudrions comprendre quelles sont les représentations de la Nature véhiculées dans les publications de politiciens francophones sur Instagram ? Ces discours ont-ils recours au pathos et de quelle manière ? Le discours s'appuie-t-il sur des actes de paroles promissifs ? Notre hypothèse est que la Nature est représentée de manière fragile et dramatique, dans des discours peuplés d'affect, et que les actes de paroles ne sont pas vraiment promissifs mais plutôt descriptifs (observer la catastrophe) et comportatifs (déplorer et critiquer la crise écologique). Pour vérifier ces hypothèses, nous recueillons les publications du président français Emmanuel Macron sur son profil Instagram en 2019, en nous concentrant sur les événements amazoniens, parce que ceux-ci sont les plus commentés durant cette période. En analyse du discours, nous nous servons des outils méthodologiques de Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2008) et Adam (2005), et en analyse visuelle de Barthes (1964). Par le biais d'une analyse visuelle et discursive, nous cherchons à répondre aux questions précédemment posées. Les métaphores et représentations de la Nature sont consensuelles et appellent à la mobilisation collective, en responsabilisant aussi l'interlocuteur / abonné. Nos recherches montrent en outre que le discours s'appuie largement sur le pathos, mais aussi sur l'ethos. L'analyse linguistique montre enfin que les discours reposent sur des actes de paroles promissifs.

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Pragmatics of requests in Bartolomeo Ammannati's letters (16th c.)

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In the past decades, linguistic analyses have been progressively applied to semi-educated writers. One of the new questions that recently arose, and is still waiting for an answer, concerns the pragmatic structure of the language of artisans / artists that increasingly made use of writing in documents of various kinds between the 15th and the 16th centuries. Within this framework, I propose a sociopragmatic study of the request strategies used by Bartolomeo Ammannati in a corpus of 54 letters, sent to Giovanni Caccini between 1563 and 1578, and recently published (Valenti 2019). In so doing, I also test a new method of analysis, which tries to formalise the rank of imposition of these requests.

It is well known that the requests did not find a specific place in Austin's taxonomy. They received more attention in the taxonomy proposed by Searle, who included them among the "directives", because «the illocutionary point of these consists in the fact that they are attempts [...] by the speaker to get the hearer to do something» (Searle 1975, p. 355). In order to adequately perform a request, the speaker must be persuasive but at the same time not intrusive, effective but not aggressive. This situation of tension is due to the very nature of the request, which—as is well known—is a *Face Threatening Act* (FTA) that threatens both the positive face of the person expressing it, and the negative face of the person receiving it, as theorized by Brown & Levinson (1987, p. 76). It is distributed according to a scale whose politeness degree is directly proportional to the benefits and inversely proportional to the costs demanded to the receiver.

Taking as a point of departure the formula—$W_x = D(S, H) + P(H, S) + R_x$—suggested by the two previously mentioned scholars in order to calculate the weight of a verbal act,[1] I will verify whether Ammannati introduces mechanisms to safeguard the face, and I will explain what they are, how they act and if their application is coherent.

To study Ammannati's request implementation strategies, I will analyse <u>modifiers</u> and <u>preparation</u> (whose primary *objective* is to alter the threat to the face) as well as the <u>cost</u> of the request to the recipient (whose primary *effect* is to alter the threat to the face). For each request, the combination of these three variables—according to an ad hoc constructed model—will provide the politeness value of the request. In so doing, I will verify whether Ammannati's letters are regulated by some kind of politeness code, which eventually modifies the sociopragmatic modalities of his requests.

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[1] Where W is the *weight* of a FTA; D is the *distance* between the actors; S is a *speaker*; H is a *hearer*; P is the *power* that affects the relation between the actors and finally, R is the *rank of imposition* of a FTA.

Dynamizing effects of the progressive suffix on state predicates in Spanish <conditional (*-rí-*)> + progressive (AUX + V- *ndo*)>

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The Spanish conditional (e.g. *cantaría* 'I would sing') has traditionally been assigned a variety of modal meanings, including the expression of indirect evidentiality, either inferential or hearsay (Bermúdez, 2016; Böhm & Hennemann, 2014; Vatrican, 2015). However, the past decade has seen the steady rise of a virtually undescribed set of constructions in which speakers recruit the evidential conditional, often in combination with a progressive (Cond + Pr), to convey first-hand accounts with irony. In these constructions, particularly frequent on online social media, the interlocutor must infer pragmatic meanings from modal markers, as in (1), where the speaker parodies the (usually indirect) evidential conditional as if they had become aware of a personal attitude through hearsay or inferential evidence (Díaz Lammertyn & Sansiñena, 2019, 2020).

(1)	*En*	*este*	*momento*	*te*	*esta-rí-a*	*odia-ndo*
	at	this	moment	ACC.2SG	be-COND-1SG	hate-PROG

'At this moment, it would seem that I hate you (lit. I would be hating you)'

Moreover, beyond their pragmatics constructions like (1) are also innovative with regards to aspect, since the predicate with the progressive mark is in most cases a state predicate (e.g. *odiando* 'hating'). The combination of a state with a progressive mark raises questions about the relationship between the lexical aspect of the predicates and the grammatical aspect of the periphrasis. In particular, the Spanish <*estar*+V-*ndo*> periphrasis, as in (1), has been described as favoring dynamic interpretations (Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos, 2010, p. 17) and has been traditionally considered incompatible with state predicates (Garachana Camarero, 2016, p. 139), except for a restricted set of contexts where the periphrasis coerces the predicate into different dynamic interpretations (García Fernández, 2009, p. 252; Yllera Fernández, 1999, para. 52.1.3.22)

This study aims to contribute to the discussion on the interplay between grammatical and lexical aspect of state predicates in dynamic constructions by analyzing a recent set of constructions with Cond + Pr. The objectives are to describe the aspectual interpretations they afford, and to explain the potential mechanisms of aspectual coercion. The hypothesis is that Cond + Pr allows speakers to coerce more dynamic readings over states, e.g. by construing them as temporary and anchored in the here and now of the speech situation, as in (1), and that changes in the perception and construal of aspect in Cond + Pr have allowed for the extension of the structure to a wider group of predicates.

500 tokens were selected at random from a purpose-built corpus of +5,000 tweets with Cond + Pr from 2010-2018 and annotated for a variety of grammatical, semantic-pragmatic and discourse-interactional features. The analysis confirmed that state predicates (denoting necessity, volition and mental states, among others) are more frequent in Cond + Pr than other lexical aspect types. Additionally, we found evidence of the periphrasis dynamizing the state predicates by emphasizing agency over a state and for states to be construed as non-permanent or atypical. Furthermore, speakers are shown to recruit lexical and pragmatic resources to reinforce the effects of these mechanisms.

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A case-study of recent language change: the intensifier *mazo (de)* in 21st century Spanish teenage talk

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In the last decades, teenage talk has turned into one of the main topics in sociolinguistic research, for mainly two reasons. First, teenage talk is generally spoken more resistant to linguistic norm and rules which define standard language. Second, and more importantly, teenage talk is considered a catalyst for linguistic change, that is, it is said to prepare and mark new tendencies that, in a later stage, can spread into other generations' speech (Palacios Martínez y Núñez Pertejo 2014; Zimmerman 2002). Indeed, thanks to their key role in general culture (cf. their influence on social media), adolescents have acquired more prestige as a social group and have turned into role models for other generations (Briz Gómez 2003). This study analyses a typical feature of teenage talk, that is, the frequent and creative use of intensifiers (Martinez López 2009). These are of a particular interest for studies on recent language change due to their versatility and rapid change. Because of their recurrent use in spoken language, intensifiers quickly lose their expressive force, reason for which speakers easily tend to renew their intensification strategies.

The intensifier under consideration in this case-study is the typical Madrilenian intensifier *mazo (de)*. The main aim is to examine the rise and spread of this particular intensification marker in teenage talk since the beginning of the 21st century, taking into account both internal (morphosyntactic and semantic-pragmatic) and external (sociolinguistic) factors. Special attention is paid to the grammaticalization process that has given rise to the use of *mazo (de)* as a highly frequent and versatile intensifier in teenage talk.

In order to pursue this goal, the data of the corpus COLAm (Corpus Oral de Lenguaje Adolescente de Madrid), collected at the beginning of the 21st century, and the data of the second generation in CORMA (Corpus Oral de Madrid), recorded in 2019, are contrasted. The general assumption is that processes of language change can be monitored by applying different methodologies, namely by conducting a Real-Time Analysis or an Apparent-Time Analysis (Bowie 2005; Díaz-Campos 2014). When conducting a Real-Time Analysis, one compares the speech of a constant group of speakers over different time periods, resulting in a longitudinal study. This approach involves the exploration of highly comparable data which, however, are hard to find, especially with regard to oral corpora. Thanks to the fact that the subcorpus of teenage talk of the CORMA has been obtained in parallel to the design of the COLAm corpus, resulting in highly comparable data, it is now possible to carry out comparative studies on recent language change in youth language.

The data clearly show that, through a process of grammaticalization, *mazo (de)* has become a multifunctional intensifier. It even seems to fulfill more and more pragmatic functions. Moreover, the sociolinguistic analysis suggests that the social diffusion of *mazo (de)* can best be understood as a 'change from below'(Eckert 2003; Blas Arroyo 2005).

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Pues va a ser que no. The Spanish *va a ser que* as focus marker

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The Spanish periphrastic future construction (PF) <*ir a* + INF> (lit. go to + INF) has recently evolved new uses expressing different types of modal, evidential and attitudinal meanings (Maiden et al. 2011; Ledgeway & Maiden 2016, Marín Arrese 2017). Several of these non-temporal uses are still un(der)described, and there is thus a great need for comprehensive studies that have explanatory potential for directions of change.

This study seeks to use corpus evidence (CREA, CORDE, CORPES) to gain a better insight into the origin and expansion of the construction <*va a ser que* + *SÍ/NO*> (lit. goes to be that + YES/NO) in Peninsular Spanish. This construction is documented since the beginning of the 21st century with assertive and refutative (1) values. Its *intersubjective* evidential meaning is 'surely' (cf. Downing 2001), but the 'I-and you-see' cannot be fitted very well into the abstract meaning of the speaker invoking conjectural evidence.

(1) *"Que lo hagan ellos si son tan listos", venía a decir, con otras palabras, el recurso de la magistrada. Y el Supremo le respondió: "**Va a ser que no**".*

'"Let them do it if they are so clever", said, in other words, the magistrate's appeal. And the Supreme replied: "**Surely it won't be** [the case]"' (CORDE, 2015)

We argue that the construction under study derives from the use of the PF followed by *que* 'that' introducing complement clauses (2), and that the etymological structure evolves towards those refutative and assertive values by the conventionalization of the assertive meaning of the PF. We show that the construction <*va a ser que* + *SÍ/NO*> emerges as a result of the extension of the emphatic meanings that the use of <*ir a* + INF> has in contexts in which the alternation with the present or with the morphological future is possible (2).

(2) *Lo mejor va a ser que tú mismo vayas a buscarlos.*

'The best thing will be that you go looking for them yourself.' (CORPES, 2005)

Besides those assertive and refutational uses, as in (1), the construction is attested in other contexts in which <*va a ser que*> introduces not only a positive or negative polarity term, but a sentence that formulates an assertion bluntly (3). We argue that <*va a ser que* + *SÍ/NO*> and <*va a ser que* + *SENTENCE*> are part of a radial category.

(3) *No me mires así. Ni que hubieras visto un muerto.* ***Va a ser que*** *me he pasado adelgazando*.

'Do not look at me like that. As if you had seen a dead person. **Surely** I have lost too much weight.' (CORPES, 2003)

The hypothesis is that we are witnessing the development of a construction specialized in focusing the information that follows —a type of argumentative reinforcement strategy—, stemming from the PF. To demonstrate this directionality, we examine recent stages of change and develop syntactic and semantic-pragmatic arguments grounded in a data-based approach.

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Perceptions of discourse markers: How do native and non-native speakers view *like, so, well and you know*?

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The majority of discourse marker research focuses around function, syntax, and sociolinguistic distribution in native (see Schriffin, 1987, Fischer, 2006, and Beeching, 2016) and, more recently, non-native discourse (see Aijmer, 2011, Buysse 2012). However, only a handful of studies have been done on speaker perception towards discourse markers (Buchstaller, 2006, Fox Tree, 2007), and no studies have been done on non-native discourse. This study's purpose is to fill a gap in discourse marker studies over non-native speaker perceptions of discourse markers. The data (24 hours of recordings/244,369 tokens) consist of gathered recordings of dyad interactions in three language groups and a survey that measured participant perception of so, like, well and you know. It is comprised of 96 participants, all of whom are 2nd/3rd-year university students. The first 32 are native speakers of British English; 32 are Belgian EFL (English as a Foreign Language) students with Dutch L1 majoring in English; and the final 32 are various ELF (English as a Lingua Franca) speakers studying Economics in Belgium. Taking inspiration from Buchstaller (2006) and Fox Tree (2007), the survey is made up of three parts: an evaluation of other speakers who use discourse markers (i.e. native-likeness, friendliness, intelligence), an evaluation of self-perceived usage of discourse markers, and a multiple choice section evaluating knowledge of discourse marker functions (e.g. what functions can the discourse marker like fulfill?). This study will answer four questions: 1. How do NS, EFL learners, and ELF speakers perceive these discourse markers? 2. How do NS, EFL learners, and ELF speakers perceive their own usage of discourse markers? 3. How familiar are NS, EFL learners, and ELF speakers with the functions of these discourse markers? The groups tended to share similar beliefs about all four discourse markers, which implies that both usage of discourse markers and prejudice towards specific discourse markers transfers to other language groups. 4. How do NS, EFL learners, and ELF speakers' usage of discourse markers correlate with their reported perceptions of said markers? Preliminary results show that the three language groups tend to have similar views of these markers. For example, all 3 groups show awareness that markers such as you know and like are considered less formal or inappropriate for professional settings. These groups also tended to associate the word like with being more friendly, more feminine, and less educated. On the other hand, the discourse marker so was associated with being more intelligent and being male. All users tended to have a similar understanding of each discourse marker, which was general (e.g. knowing you know could be used as a filler) rather than specific (e.g. not being able to share specific functions of you know). Usage of these discourse markers and perception do not seem to be highly correlated, as many students rated certain markers quite negatively but used them upwards of 200-300 times.

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Onderzoek naar de multimodale codering van motion events in het Frans en het Nederlands als T1 en T2

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Verschillende studies hebben gesuggereerd dat de typologische verschillen tussen *verb-framed* en *satellite-framed* talen, zoals geobserveerd door Talmy (2000), weerspiegeld worden in co-verbale gebaren (Brown & Chen, 2013; Kita & Özyürek, 2003; McNeill, 2005; McNeill & Duncan, 2000). De resultaten van deze studies tonen verschillende correlaties tussen de types talen en de realisatie van het aspect *manier* in co-verbale gebaren. Toch zijn de bovenvermelde onderzoekers tot de consensus gekomen dat gebaren zowel over universele als over taalspecifieke kenmerken beschikken. Tegen deze achtergrond heeft de huidige studie als doel te bepalen hoe Franstalige en Nederlandstalige moedertaalsprekers en Franstalige leerders van het Nederlands dynamische en statische *motion events* realiseren in hun spraak en gebaren.

In navolging van de methodes ontwikkeld door Kita & Özyürek (2003), McNeill (1992, 2005), Stam (2006) en Lemmens & Perrez (2012, 2018) werd een experiment uitgevoerd waarin de deelnemers gevraagd werden scènes uit de cartoon *Tweety & Sylvester* te beschrijven en objecten op prenten te lokaliseren. De deelnemers werden gefilmd en zowel hun talige producties als hun gebaren werden geanalyseerd. De taalanalyse berustte op de taxonomieën van Kopecka (2006) en Lemmens & Perrez (2018) en de gebarenanalyse op die van McNeill (2006).

Hieruit blijkt (1) dat Franstalige leerders van het Nederlands de neiging hebben om de manier in het werkwoord te coderen als ze dynamische *motion events* beschrijven, net als moedertaalsprekers van het Nederlands; (2) dat Franstalige moedertaalsprekers vaker het pad in hun gebaren coderen dan Nederlandstalige moedertaalsprekers; (3) dat moedertaalsprekers, zowel Franstalige als Nederlandstalige, vaker iconische co-verbale gebaren produceren dan leerders, die eerder de neiging hebben om niet-substantieve gebaren te produceren; en (4) dat leerders de neiging hebben om dezelfde informatie te coderen in hun iconische gebaren in het Frans en in het Nederlands – namelijk het pad.

Daarnaast bevestigen de resultaten ook de eerdere bevindingen van Talmy (2000), Lemmens (2002), Kopecka (2006) en Lemmens & Perrez (2010, 2012, 2018). Het blijkt immers dat, als Nederlandstalige sprekers dynamische *motion events* beschrijven, ze de neiging hebben om de manier te coderen in het werkwoord en het pad in een satelliet. Franstalige sprekers hebben daarentegen voor dezelfde taak eerder de neiging om het pad in het werkwoord te coderen en de manier in een satelliet. Om objecten in de ruimte te situeren, maken de Nederlandstalige sprekers vooral gebruik van de drie positiewerkwoorden *staan*, *zitten* en *liggen*, terwijl Franstalige sprekers eerder neutrale werkwoorden zoals *être* ‘zijn’ en *se trouver* ‘zich bevinden’ gebruiken. Franstalige leerders van het Nederlands nemen een tussenpositie in: ze gebruiken de drie positiewerkwoorden in kleinere mate dan de moedertaalsprekers van het Nederlands en neutrale werkwoorden in grotere mate.

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Measuring nonverbal strategies of Foreigner Talk: a kinematic analysis of gestures in native-non-native interactions

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Foreigner Talk has been described as a type of linguistic adaptation that occurs when native speakers (NS) adapt their communicative style to nonnative speakers (NNS) and that includes simplification strategies that align with perceived features of less proficient NNS language production such as hyper-articulation, the use of high frequency forms, omission of morphosyntactic items and reformulations (Ferguson 1971; Fischer 2016). Concerning gestural behavior in such contexts, some pilot studies have observed an increased gesture rate, more iconic and deictic gestures, extended proportions of specific representational modes (drawing and shaping) and more visually salient gestures (Bergmann et al. 2018). However, empirical evidence for nonverbal adaptation is still scarce.

The objective of this paper is to provide a detailed, kinematic (e.g. Trujillo et al. 2018) exploration of gestural modification in NS-NNS interactions. In order to build a corpus that allows for a comparison between NS-NS and NS-NNS conversations, we filmed 24 dyadic conversations of each type during a picture description task. The control group consisted of pairs of NS of either Dutch or French and for the experimental group we worked with pairs of a NS of Dutch and a NS of French. Each participant was instructed to provide his or her partner with a detailed description of a picture so that s/he would be able to distinguish it from a slightly modified copy from memory. The task was designed to elicit iconic gestures and to control the entities and spatial relationships depicted.

Our video material contains frontal shots of each participant, which have been manually segmented into hand gesture units by means of the ELAN annotation tool (Wittenburg et al. 2006). As a next step, we implemented the OpenPose framework (Cao et al. 2017) in order to automatically detect the 2D coordinates of both hands, on the basis of which we calculated different kinematic measures of gesture salience and articulatory effort. We found that the gestures of NS use more space and they are performed in more peripheral gesture space (both vertical and horizontal) when interacting with NNS. Our results also indicate that gestures are slower and less sloppy in this group of speakers. However, we note that the language and gender of the participants also have an important effect on all kinematic variables.

Hence, we measure adaptive gesture use in a more objective and fine-grained way as compared to previous studies that use size ratings (Campisi & Özyürek 2013; Bergmann et al. 2018) and we show that control variables that relate to inter-speaker differences in communicative style should be expected to account for a non-negligible part of the variation.

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Extramural English and productive vocabulary knowledge: an exploratory study

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Extramural English (EE, i.e. English language contact outside of the classroom) has been shown to be beneficial for language acquisition and for vocabulary knowledge in particular (De Wilde et al., 2020; Lindgren & Muñoz, 2013; Peters, 2018; Puimège & Peters, 2019; Sundqvist, 2019; Sundqvist & Wikström, 2015). Many studies in the field of second language acquisition concerning English as a foreign language have been conducted in the context of learners who both receive formal instruction and engage with EE, with a strong focus on receptive word knowledge. However, little is known about the relationship between EE and productive vocabulary knowledge in young learners prior to formal instruction in English.

This presentation zooms in on the productive word knowledge of young learners in Flanders who have not received any formal instruction (aged 10-13; $n = 61$; 36 male) and their EE. Learners were tested on their productive knowledge of 96 single words from the Picture Vocabulary Size Test (Anthony & Nation, 2017). They also completed a questionnaire about their EE. The findings show that young learners in Flanders have large amounts of EE, especially through gaming and TV viewing. The analyses suggest a positive relation between EE and young learners' productive word knowledge in English. A regression analysis ($r^2 = .59$) showed that playing games in English in particular seems to contribute to learning ($\beta = .39$, $p = .001$). Additionally, the analysis indicated that English language audio-visual input without subtitles is also beneficial for productive vocabulary knowledge ($\beta = .23$, $p < .05$). However, watching TV with subtitles in the L1 appeared to be negatively correlated to the vocabulary test scores ($\beta = -.52$, $p < .001$). Finally, listening to songs was not found to be related to the vocabulary test results.

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Probabilistic Grammar in Learner Language: The Case of the Genitive Alternation

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In this study, I investigate how learners of English as a Foreign Language choose between the variants of the genitive alternation (*the tail of the dog/the dog's tail*). The study of alternation phenomena is particularly interesting because they shed light on the different kinds of factors that lead speakers to choose between semantically equivalent structures (Marneffe et al. 2012: 28).

While most studies consider native speakers, the present study contributes to the existing literature on alternation phenomena by focusing on learners of English as a Foreign Language. More specifically, I investigate whether learners of English differ in their use of the variants compared to native speakers, and if so, whether these differences are due to processing-related effects and/or learner variables such as proficiency level and mother tongue background. It is hypothesized that more advanced learners with similar structures in their mother tongue should better approximate target usage (see Wulff et al. 2018).

The data stems from the Trinity Lancaster Spoken Learner Corpus, a three-million word corpus that features intermediate to advanced learners of English from typologically diverse language backgrounds (e.g. Chinese, Spanish, Russian, Hindi) taking part in an official language exam. The multifactorial nature of the alternations I account for by annotating thousands of genitive observations for a wide range of constraining factors, such as the length, animacy, discourse status and overall frequency of the possessor and/or possessee (Heller et al. 2017). The same applies to genitive observations retrieved from the examiners in the corpus, all of whom are native speakers of British English. To these datasets I apply state-of-the-art statistical techniques, specifically mixed-effects logistic regression, where the different factors figure as predictors of the genitive variant. The regression models then reveal how learners deviate from target usage in terms of the predictors' effect sizes compared across the native and learner samples (e.g. Röthlisberger et al. 2017, Wulff et al. 2014).

In order to offer a theory-based account of learners' use of the genitive variants, I analyze the results from the perspective of both the Probabilistic Grammar framework (Bresnan 2007), which is specifically tailored to deal with alternation phenomena, and compatible Usage-based approaches to Second Language Acquisition such as the CREED model (Ellis 2006). Analysis shows that learners are not (equally) sensitive to all native-speaker constraints: their choice of variant relies on fewer constraints, i.e. simplified probabilistic grammars (Shin 2014).

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The development of syntax and discourse: the early acquisition of clefts in French L1

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I. BACKGROUND. The linguistic literature on cleft sentences in adult French (1) is very extensive. As for the *emergence* of clefts in French L1, however, we only know that they appear around age 2 [De Cat 2002, Belletti 2005, Canut 2014]. There is however almost no data on and analysis of the syntactic development and the discourse (i.e. information structure, henceforth IS) properties of clefts in early L1 of French (ages 1-4).
II. METHODOLOGY. Our analysis is based on a set of 295 clefts produced by children (ages 1-4) from a transversal (TCOF) and a longitudinal (Lyon, Demuth & Tremblay, 2008) corpus of spontaneous speech production.
III. SYNTAX. 3.1. We will show that the **developmental path of clefts** is the following (with only some months between the 1st occurrence of each type): (i) REDUCED CLEFTS (2) of the type *c'est X* → (ii) CLEFT TRIALS with first stages of a cleft relative clause (CRC) (3a-c) (see Lobo et al. 2016 on cleft trials in Portuguese L1) → (iii) ADULT-LIKE CLEFTS, with a complete CRC (4). Only at age 2, reduced clefts are more frequent than the other types. **3.2.** Very young children perform **complex syntactic operations** (see Haegeman et al. 2013 on adult clefts) **on the clefted element**, such as *wh*-movement and Clitic Left Dislocation. This indicates that the left periphery is acquired at the same time as the rest of the clause (confirming Manetti & Belletti 2017).
IV. INFORMATION STRUCTURE. 4.1. We will first show that all discourse interpretations of adult *c'est*-clefts occur in our French L1 corpora, in all syntactic types of clefts defined in 3.1. We will conclude from this that children seem to have access to all discourse features adult clefts are endowed with, even before full (adult-like) syntax is acquired. **4.2.** We will then show that, in our corpora, the only instances of clefts with a non-adult-like discourse use are instances of *c'est* clefts with an additive particle (*aussi* 'also') (3c). This confirms experiments with older children, showing that they do not master exhaustivity at age 6 [Tieu and Kriz 2017].

(1) - *Qui a mangé le gâteau ? – C'est Jean qui l'a fait.*
'Who ate the cake? It's John who did it.'
(2) Reduced cleft
Mother : *qui c'est qu'a accroché l(e) ballon d(e)ssus ?*
'Who is it that attached the balloon up there ?'
Child (age 2;07): *C'est Chloé.* 'It's Chloé'
(3) Cleft trial
a. c'est + X + verb (phrase) *C'est Marie fait.* 'It's Marie does' (age 2;0.8)
b. c'est + X_i + $subject_i$ + verb (phrase)
c'est Maéva elle a apporté ça. 'It's Maéva she took that' (age 2;4)
c. c'est + X_i + $subject_z$ + verb (phrase) (age 2;10)
c'est à la crèche aussi il a régurgité. 'It's in the kindergarten too he vomited'
(4) Adult-like clefts
C'est moi qu'est fatiguée toute seule 'It's me who is tired alone' (2;6)
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Discoursanalytisch onderzoek naar de beeldvorming over dementie in Vlaamse blogs

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In 2015 schatte Alzheimer's Disease International dat er wereldwijd ongeveer 50 miljoen mensen met dementie (MMD) waren, waaronder 135,000 MMD in Vlaanderen. Aangezien leeftijd een van de grootste risicofactoren voor de aandoening is en er nog geen genezing mogelijk is, neemt dat aantal in onze vergrijzende samenleving snel toe (Evans, 2018). Bovendien is het aantal mensen dat met de aandoening geconfronteerd wordt (bv. naasten die voor de zorg instaan en professionele zorgverleners) drie keer groter dan het aantal MMD (Constant et al., 2018). Ondanks het toenemend aantal MMD krijgen deze mensen nog steeds te maken met een dubbel stigma. Aan de ene kant ervaren ze negatieve houdingen ten opzichte van hun leeftijd (bv. leeftijdsdiscriminatie), aan de andere kant worden ze geconfronteerd met het stigma rond geestelijke gezondheid (World Alzheimer Report, 2019). Onderzoek heeft aangetoond dat deze stigmatisering een negatieve impact kan hebben op MMD, met een verlaagd zelfbeeld, schaamte en sociale isolatie tot gevolg (Evans, 2018: 264). Een negatieve beeldvorming over dementie kan de publieke perceptie over de ziekte beïnvloeden en zelfs het stigma versterken (Van Gorp & Vercruysse, 2011).

Het doel van deze studie is de representatie van dementie in subjectieve tekstkanalen te analyseren, om zo tot een beter inzicht te komen over het stigma rond dementie in Vlaanderen. Daarom analyseren we blogsites over dementie van twee mantelzorgers en een zorgverlener discoursanalytisch. Die individuele blogs zijn natuurlijke teksten, die veel gelijkenissen vertonen met dagboeken, aangezien ze vaak beschrijvingen van gedachten, ervaringen en gevoelens bevatten (Rains, 2014). Onderzoek heeft aangetoond dat een discoursanalytische methode geschikt is om blogs te bestuderen, aangezien die betrekking heeft op de manier waarop teksten zijn opgesteld, de functies van teksten in verschillende contexten en de macrostructuren die teksten verbinden (Bosangit et al., 2016). Bovendien is discoursanalyse een goede methode om ideologie in taal te detecteren (Lupton, 1992), waardoor negatieve houdingen opgespoord kunnen worden.

De blogposts voor het corpus worden geselecteerd op basis van het aantal woorden, relevantie en randomisatie. Ze worden zowel kwantitatief als kwalitatief geanalyseerd. In de kwantitatieve analyse ligt de nadruk op keyness en collocaties. In de kwalitatieve analyse wordt er exclusief gekeken naar het gebruik van metaforen in de context van dementie, aan de hand van de Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) (Crespo Fernández, 2011). De kwantitatieve analyse toont aan dat er op blogsites op verschillende manieren over dementie gecommuniceerd wordt. Waar bij de zorgverlener een probleemoplossende structuur in communicatie gehanteerd wordt, ligt bij de mantelzorgers de focus op de eigen ervaring bij het samenleven en het zorgen voor iemand met dementie. Dat blijkt uit (negatieve) emotiewoorden en het aanhalen van concrete gebeurtenissen. Uit de kwalitatieve analyse blijkt dat dementie regelmatig wordt gepersonifieerd door middel van metaforen en zo negatief wordt voorgesteld. Het gebruik van beeldspraak is uiterst persoonlijk en varieert sterk van blogsite tot blogsite.

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The Subtitling of Swearwords in the French version of Netflix Original Series: A Corpus-Based Analysis

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Over the past few years, the "massive importation of audiovisual products, mainly from English speaking countries" (Bucaria 2007) has given way to interesting new prospects in the field of audiovisual translation research. The high frequency of taboo language occurrences in the dialogues has drawn the attention of scholars both in the field of linguistics (Bednarek 2019) and in the field of translation studies (Beseghi 2016, Bucaria 2007, Scandura 2004). Indeed, the translation of these emotionally charged terms can be challenging for the audiovisual translators thus making it an interesting subject for an increasing number of researchers.

This paper reports on a study into the strategies used to translate the swearwords *fuck, shit, motherfucker* and *cunt* (and their derivatives) in the French subtitled version (FST) of the first episodes of three Netflix Original Series. The main criteria used to select those three TV shows (*Orange Is the New Black, House of Cards* and *Bloodline)* were the average episode length and the streaming platform on which they were first broadcast. Adopting a corpus-based approach to analyse the subtitling of English swearwords into French, this study aims to shed some light on the translation of offensive words in audiovisual programmes.

First, we will use the same theoretical framework as Ávila-Cabrera (2016) to classify the translation strategies into literal translation, calque, explicitation, substitution, transposition, compensation, omission and reformulation. A quantitative analysis of those strategies will be carried out to determine which strategies were preferred to transfer the swearwords under study. We will then use this classification to describe and determine the instances where the offensive terms have been toned up, maintained, toned down, neutralised or omitted in the FST. A quantitative analysis will allow us to determine how much of the offensive/taboo load has been transferred to the FST. Finally, we will determine whether the cases of neutralisation, omission and/or substitution were justified by the spatio-temporal constraint using the same table of equivalence between time and space for a reading speed of 180 words per minute that Cabrera (2016) adapted from Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007).

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Adverbialiserende achtervoegsels

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Het Nederlands heeft een aantal suffixen die voorkomen in gelede bijwoorden:

- gewijs: paarsgewijs; paginagewijs;
- (s)halve: beroepshalve; volledigheidshalve;
- waarts: achterwaarts; bergopwaarts; huiswaarts
- weg: gaandeweg; domweg;
- erwijs: spelenderwijs.

De vorm van deze achtervoegsels doet een naamwoordelijke herkomst vermoeden. In mijn lezing zal ik ingaan op de geschiedenis, de betekenis en de structuur van deze en vergelijkbare formaties. Aan de hand van het Corpus Gesproken Nederlands zal ik de productiviteit in het Nederlands van nu van de respectieve(lijke) achtervoegsels bespreken, en met datzelfde corpus zal ik laten zien dat hun distributie binnen het taalgebied op dit moment behoorlijk scheef is. Bovendien zal ik proberen aannemelijk te maken dat er een nieuw adverbaliserend achtervoegsel in opkomst is, te weten genoeg. Interessant genoeg ben ik niet de eerste die met deze gedachte speelt (cf. Barbiers 2001, 2016).

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Register differences in the marking of contrastivity in French: Syntactic position of contrastive adverbs versus emphatic pronouns

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The goal of this talk is to analyze the use of two competing strategies to mark contrastivity in French, contrastive adverbs (such as *par contre* 'on the other hand') (1a) and emphatic pronouns (such as *lui* 'he') (1b), in different registers. Contrastive adverbs can show up before the subject, between the subject and the verb, or after the verb. Emphatic pronouns cannot occur before the subject:

(1) *Eva travaille dans le jardin.* 'Eva is working in the garden.'
 a. ***[Par contre]*** *Jean* ***[par contre]*** *lit le journal* ***[par contre]****.*
 '**[On the other hand]** Jean **[on the other hand]** is reading the newspaper **[on the other hand]**.'
 b. ***[*Lui]*** *Jean* ***[lui]*** *lit le journal* ***[lui]****.*
 '**[*He]** Jean **[he]** is reading the newspaper **[he]**.' (lit.)

Previous research on CONTRASTIVE ADVERBS mainly deals with the different types of discourse relations they express, and is almost only based on formal (written) data (Danjou-Flaux 1980). Authors which do consider their syntactic position (Csűry 2001; Hamma & Haillet 2002; Dupont 2015) do not single out cases in which the adverb occurs between the subject and the verb, and unambiguously marks the contrastivity of the subject. EMPHATIC PRONOUNS have received almost no attention (but see Rocquet 2014), and nothing is known about their distribution in different registers.

We present the results of a corpus analysis of the adverbs *par contre* and *en revanche* 'on the other hand' and the pronouns *lui* 'he' and *eux* 'they' in formal written (ER, https://www.ortolang.fr/market/corpora/est_republicain), informal written (YCC, https://fr.answers.yahoo.com/) and informal spoken French (CFPP, http://cfpp2000.univ-paris3.fr/).

We first show that across all registers, contrastive adverbs occur most frequently before the subject, whereas emphatic pronouns are more likely to show up between the subject and the verb (see Table). This result is in line with the form and function of emphatic pronouns, which refer to the subject, and unambiguously mark its contrastive nature.

We then show that the syntactic position of the adverbs and the pronouns is influenced by the register. In formal French, contrastive adverbs and emphatic pronouns occur more often after the verb than in informal French (see Table). This finding supports the hypothesis that connectors are more often used sentence-internally in written than in spoken language (Dupont 2015).

Finally, we show that register does not affect the position of all contrastive adverbs to the same extent: in the formal ER corpus, *par contre* occurs much less often after the verb than *en revanche*. This can be linked to the fact that *par contre* is most often used in informal French, whereas *en revanche* is more frequent in formal French (Brysbaert & Lahousse 2019). The informal character of *par contre* thus seems to have a bigger influence on its position than the general register effect described above: *par contre* has a strong preference for the initial position in all registers.

	ADVERBS			PRONOUNS		
	ER (formal written)	YCC (informal written)	CFPP (informal spoken)	ER (formal written)	YCC (informal written)	CFPP (informal spoken)
before S	2681 (67,7%)	1424 (91,6%)	166 (85,6%)			
between S and V	208 (5,3%)	32 (2,1%)	2 (1,0%)	1517 (53,7%)	226 (83,4%)	17 (81,0%)
after V	1069 (27,0%)	98 (6,3%)	26 (13,4%)	1306 (46,3%)	45 (16,6%)	4 (19,0%)
TOTAL	3958 (100%)	1554 (100%)	194 (100%)	2823 (100%)	271 (100%)	21 (100%)

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On inferential readings with a reportative base

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The most frequently quoted typologies of evidentiality clearly distinguish between inferential readings and hearsay/quotative/reportative readings. Within the group of indirect evidence, Willett (1988) differentiates between the two evidential readings in terms of “Reported (second-hand/third-hand/folklore)” and “Inferring (from results/reasoning)”. Chafe (1986) distinguishes between “induction (mode of knowing) from evidence (source of knowledge)” and “hearsay (mode of knowing) from language (source of knowledge)”. Yet, both seminal typologies do not include inferences from reported evidence. In the same line, Aikhenvald (2004) does hardly pay any attention to inferences on the basis of speech.

Izquierdo Alegría (2016) convincingly argues that inferences are a mode of access in complementary distribution with direct access and hearsay access and that the inferential mode of access can be combined with a sensory, discourse or cognitive base. Hence, Izquierdo Alegría’s (2016) proposal includes the possibility of inferences from third-hand information. That is, by means of an inferential marker speakers can express linguistically that they have made an inferential conclusion from some piece of discourse pronounced by somebody else.

European languages are characterized by indeterminate evidential expressions that, for instance, convey both inference and hearsay readings, depending on the specific contexts of use (see Cornillie 2009, 2018). I claim that that inferential hearsay readings have been completely forgotten in the literature. In the Spanish example with *al parecer* ‘seemingly’ in (1), the speaker makes an inference on the basis of the coparticipant’s words, which (s)he has heard.

(1) … para que tenga conocimiento de los incumplimientos, **al parecer,** según sus palabras, reiterados, de la parte demandada, es decir, del portero, del emplea… del empleado o ex-empleado de la finca urbana. (CORLEC. PJUR005C. Lawyer consultancy on the radio regarding usurpation of a key)
‘So that he has knowledge of the breaches, apparently, according to your words, repeated, by the sued part, that is to say, by the doorkeeper, the worker or ex-worker employed at the urban estate’

I will take the analysis one step further and discuss evidential conditional uses as hearsay inferences. That is, I will claim that conditionals, which often have been accounted for in terms of a combination of epistemic modality and hearsay evidentiality (Wiemer 2010), can be considered as expressions conveying an inferential mode of access on the basis of reportative information.

This paper explores qualitatively how such inferential hearsay readings can be disentangled from hearsay proper, i.e. an evidential value without inferential dimension and from inferences based on sensory and cognitive evidence. In addition to the Spanish data, evidence will be presented from the literature on Baltic, Germanic, Romance and Slavic evidentials.

Keywords: indirect evidentiality - inferences – hearsay – European languages

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La prosodie outil pour identifier les adverbes exophrastiques et endophrastiques
L'exemple de *visiblement* en français

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Visiblement a, comme tant d'adverbes, un emploi endophrastique (1), et un emploi exophrastique (2) (Guimier 1996). Exophrastique, *visiblement* est un marqueur évidentiel d'inférence. Endophrastique, *visiblement* est un adverbe de manière, signalant la manière dont un procès ou un état se manifestent, à savoir « de manière visible » (Dendale, Vanderheyden & Dámaso 2020).

(1) L'enregistrement était bref. On y entendait un homme, **visiblement** paniqué, refusant de donner son identité, mais réclamant d'urgence une ambulance à l'adresse du Boomerang. (Musso, *Sept ans après*)
(2) **Visiblement**, leur hôte était un amateur de bonnes bouteilles. Outre quelques pinots noirs californiens, il collectionnait les grands crus français. (Musso, *Central Park*)

Pour déterminer si *visiblement* dans un contexte particulier est marqueur évidentiel, il faut donc déterminer s'il est exophrastique ou non. Nous fondant sur les critères et les tests de manipulation existants, nous relevons quatre types de co(n)textes dans lesquels l'interprétation de *visiblement* reste multiple : (i) *visiblement* antéposé à un adjectif ou un participe passé, (ii) *visiblement* entre l'auxiliaire et le participe passé et (iii) *visiblement* postposé à un verbe ou (iv) à une locution verbale.

Cette contribution a pour objectif de développer de nouveaux critères « non invasifs » pour désambiguïser *visiblement* dans ces positions, critères que nous cherchons dans la prosodie. Nous analysons 79 occurrences de *visiblement,* prises dans cinq livres audio, au moyen du logiciel d'analyse *WinPitch* (modèle SCI ; Martin 2007). Quatre paramètres prosodiques sont examinés : la durée, les pauses, le ton et l'accentuation.

Contrairement à ce qu'affirment les études précédentes (Allerton & Cruttenden 1974 ; Astruc & Nolan 2007), ni la présence de pauses ni la durée de prononciation de *visiblement* n'influencent son emploi (exophrastique ou endophrastique). Le paramètre pertinent pour distinguer *visiblement* exophrastique et endophrastique en position ambiguë s'est révélé être le ton : exophrastique, *visiblement* se prononce avec un ton montant (C1), endophrastique, l'adverbe se prononce avec un ton descendant ou neutre (C2 ou Cn).

L'analyse supplémentaire des virgules dans notre corpus nous montre en outre qu'une virgule à l'écrit ne correspond pas systématiquement à une pause dans la chaîne parlée. Ainsi, nous remettons en cause la relation d'un à un entre pauses et ponctuation (Wiklund 2012, Chafe 1988).

Le présent travail se veut une contribution modeste à la prosodie des adverbes en parole lue et ouvre la voie à l'établissement d'un futur protocole pour identifier de nombreux marqueurs évidentiels adverbiaux comme *certainement* (Dendale & Kreutz, à par), *à coup sûr* (Anscombre 2013), *à vue d'œil* (Dendale & Vanderheyden 2018) et autres.

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Quirky Negative Concord: Croatian, Spanish and French *ni's*

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In 'Negative Concord' ('NC') a single clausal negation is expressed with a clausal negator and a negative indefinite (a 'Negative Concord Item', 'NCI'). NC has subtypes, a prominent parameter being the position of the NCI vis-a-vis the finite verb. Thus the first clause in (1a) has NC with a postverbal NCI, whereas the second part has a preverbal NCI and there is no NC. The pattern in (1a) is 'Non-Strict NC', different from 'Strict NC', illustrated in (1b). (NCIs in italics, negators in bold).

(1) 'Judge nobody and nobody will judge you.'
 a. **Noh** joj *nobadi*, ahn *nobadi* wahn joj unu. [Belizean English Creole]
 b. *Nikogo* **ne** sudi, i *nikto* tebja **ne** budet sudit'. [Russian]

This exploratory study investigates how connective negators ('CoNeg'), like English *neither/nor,* interact with NC. Are they ordinary clausal negators or ordinary NCIs or are they special, 'quirky'? The answer, based on Croatian, Spanish and French, is that they are quirky, relative to what we are used to in NC studies. The presentation will allow a discussion of three to five (out of twelve) quirky features.

► (2) shows the Croatian negative auxiliary *nisu* to be in concord with a *ni ... ni* phrase; the *ni ... ni* phrase is not indefinite, different from in the usual NC constellation.

(2) *Ni Sofija ni Lea* **nisu** išle u školu. 'Neither Sofija nor Lea go to school.'

In fact ...

Q1	In NC with CoNeg constructions (in)definiteness is irrelevant.

Q1 prompts us to a wide view of NC, in the spirit of Jespersen (1922) and Mathesius (1937).

► In Spanish, *ni ... ni* shows 'classical' non-strict NC.

(3) a. **No** somos (*ni*) *de izquierda ni de derecha*. 'We are neither from the left nor from the right.'
 b. *(*Ni*) *Fulano ni Mengano* (***no**) salieron … 'Neither Fulano nor Mengano went on to …'

But there is also a 'quirky' non-strict NC.

Q2	In Spanish a first *ni* is optional when *ni ... ni* follows the finite verb, but obligatory when *ni ... ni* precedes the finite verb.

Q2 also holds for Croatian, which shows classical strict NC. The asymmetry in Q2 is explained by the Jespersen 'Neg Early' principle that an early negative expression makes the negative meaning clear enough to allow its strict NC to be relaxed, either with respect to the clausal negator ('classical' non-strict NC) or the first of two CoNegs ('Q2 non-strict NC'). In Spanish and French Neg Early also applies to CoNegs scoping over negative indefinites – Q3.

► CoNegs, like Croatian *niti*, can scope over clauses – Q4.

(3) **Niti** je nekoga/ikoga/**nikoga* slušao, **niti** … 'He neither listened to anybody, nor …'

Croatian has classical strict NC and Q2 non-strict NC, yet – with *nekoga* 'somebody' or *ikoga* 'anybody' instead of *nikoga* nobody' ....

Q5	The Croatian CoNeg *niti* forbids NC.

We know that NCIs can become negators. With CoNeg NCIs this may happen when they scope over clauses.

Zero morphology and 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 demonstrate this approach on adjective-verb conversion.

2. Data. In English there are two types of verbs based on adjectives. One type is identical to the adjective (*cool, narrow, open*), the other has the adjective suffixed (*tighten, widen, shorten, solidify, prettify, simplify*). All these verbs have both an inchoative and a causative sense:

(1) a. The road narrowed d. The workers narrowed the road

b. Her stomach tightened e. She tightened the lid

c. The mixture solidified f. The company solidified its position

3. Analysis. We take the overt suffixes to realise two abstract heads, PROC (for *process*) and INIT (for *initiator*); see Ramchand (2008).

(2) [INIT [PROC]] ⇔ /-en, -ify/

(2) instantiates phrasal spellout: a complex node with two abstract heads is realised by a single morpheme. Our account extends this idea to verbs like *cool* and *narrow*. We give them the lexical entry (3), which makes them capable of realising all the meaning components.

(3) [INIT [PROC [A]]] ⇔ /cool, narrow, … /

The three-way ambiguity between the inchoative or causative verb and adjective falls out as a consequence of the Superset Principle (Starke 2009), which says that a lexical entry can spell out any subtree which it contains. Both the inchoative sense and the adjective sense corresponds to proper parts of (3), and we therefore derive these readings without the need to postulate zeroes.

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Engaging in conversation with strangers in waiting rooms: resources and practices

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Drawing upon conversation analysis (Sacks, 1992; Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) and interactional linguistics (Selting & Couper-Kuhlen, 2001; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018), in this talk I investigate how unacquainted individuals, who are incidentally co-present in the same space, engage in interaction, thereby moving from unfocused to focused interaction (Goffman, 1963). I base my analysis on a video corpus (7 hours) recorded in a doctors' waiting room of the Italian region Friuli-Venezia Giulia, where Italian is the official language, whereas Friulian, Slovene and German are recognized minoritarian languages. In my excerpts, speakers use Italian and Friulian. The data are transcribed using Jefferson's (2004) conventions for talk and Mondada's (2018a) principles for embodied conduct.

The phenomenon addressed in this talk has been tackled by previous research in different ways. Within conversation analysis, researchers have identified "openings" of conversations as an object of investigation. Focusing on telephone conversations, Schegloff (1968; 1986) described their organization as a succession of sequences, i.e., the summons-answer sequence, the greeting sequence, the identification sequence, and the how-are-you sequence, which is followed by the introduction of the reason for the call. Recent research has shown that in face-to-face encounters, similar resources are employed together with embodied resources (Pillet-Shore, 2008; De Stefani & Mondada, 2018). However, most of the prior research focused on encounters initiated by individuals who had a specific practical need to engage in interaction—hence the recurrence of sequences such as greetings. In contrast, in the data analysed for this talk, I find that greetings are usually absent and speakers use other kind of resources to engage in interaction. The description of these resources constitutes the first aim of my presentation. For instance, the data show that proffering assessments and/or jokes about local contingencies is a recurrent practice available to speakers to initiate conversation with unknown co-waiters. In addition, in the specific area under investigation, openings are also the locus in which languages and varieties are exhibited and negotiated. Previous research has described openings as a resource for establishing the language of the conversation (Mondada, 2018b). On occasion, speakers orient to a mixed-language mode of interaction (rather than one language only). The second objective of my talk is thus to examine how the language(s) of the encounter is/are established within the very first turns. Finally, my talk also connects with research on small-talk (De Stefani & Horlacher, 2018) and with how speakers manage to sustain small talk while pursuing other courses of action. Hence, the third aim will be to show how interactants display what they are doing as 'just' being small talk.

My talk thus contributes to the following lines of research from an interactional perspective: to the analysis of openings between unacquainted persons, to the description of the actual use of language varieties in Friuli, and to the emergence of small talk among co-waiters.

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Begroetingen in mogelijk meertalige omgevingen tussen onbekende personen: Welke talen kiezen sprekers en op welke basis?

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Binnen de Conversatieanalyse zijn de openingen van gesprekken een klassiek onderwerp dat uitvoerig bestudeerd is (Schegloff, 1967, 1968, 1986). Zo bestaan er verscheidene studies over openingssequenties (*opening sequences*), zowel die van telefoongesprekken (Schegloff 1967, 1968) als die van *face-to-face* interacties (Kendon & Ferber, 1973; Duranti, 1997; Pillet-Shore, 2008). De openingen van interacties tussen onbekenden zijn echter zelden geanalyseerd (maar zie o.a. De Stefani & Mondada 2010, 2018). Studies over hoe onbekenden met elkaar in gesprek treden in mogelijk meertalige contexten waarin ze onzeker zijn welke taal hun gesprekspartners spreken, zijn nog zeldzamer (Heller, 1982; Mondada, 2018).

In zulke mogelijk meertalige contexten zijn begroetingen dan ook een krachtig aangrenzend paar (*adjacency pair*) (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) waarmee individuen die co-present zijn deelnemers aan een interactie kunnen worden. Meer zelfs, via een begroeting kan een spreker een taalmonster (*language sample*) van de taal die hij/zij voor het daaropvolgende gesprek voorstelt te gebruiken, produceren (Mondada, 2018). De gesprekpartner kan zich daarop wel of niet aansluiten, bijvoorbeeld door aan te geven dat hij/zij het eens is met die taalkeuze door in dezelfde taal een begroeting terug te doen, of door juist in een andere taal een begroeting terug te doen, en zo het taalonderhandelingsproces verder te zetten. De begroetingen die interactanten gebruiken (en de gebruikte taal), zijn verder van belang voor de lidmaatschapscategorisering (*membership categorization*), d.w.z. hun categorisering van zichzelf en de andere deelnemers (*self- and other-categorization*; Sacks, 1992).

In deze presentatie ga ik na hoe sprekers die in interactie treden met onbekende personen de taal (of talen) van het gesprek kiezen. Daadwerkelijk duidt een spreker door zijn/haar taalkeuze ook aan a) hoe hij/zij de gesprekspartner categoriseert (als een Franstalige, een Duitstalige, etc.), en b) welke taal de meest verwachtbare/gangbare is in een bepaalde omgeving. Aan de hand van naturalistische video- en audio-opnames van meertalige interacties die ik in toeristische centra verzameld en volgens de conventies van Jefferson (2004) getranscribeerd heb, ga ik de samenhang tussen taalkeuze en sociale zelf- en ander-categorisatie onderzoeken. De studie is gebaseerd op een corpus van 19 uur, waarin sprekers (baliemedewerkers en klanten) in verschillende talen (Nederlands, Duits, Engels, etc.) met elkaar interageren. Een tweede luik van het categorisatieprobleem betreft het herkennen (voor de deelnemers) en het beschrijven (voor de taalkundige) van de gesproken taal of taalvariëteit. Een belangrijk punt dat tot nog toe relatief onbesproken bleef, is inderdaad het mogelijk ambigue karakter van bepaalde begroetingen. Zo kan bijvoorbeeld de begroeting *hallo* in het Nederlands gehoord worden als Vlaams of als Nederlands-Nederlands, en kan die zelfs verward worden met het Engelse *hello* of het Duitse *hallo*. Die ambiguïteit verduidelijkt de relevantie van het categoriseringsproces als een emisch probleem voor de deelnemers. Wanneer het voor de deelnemers onduidelijk is welke taal er in een begroeting wordt gebruikt, is het dat des te meer voor de onderzoekers. Zij moeten immers kampen met het epistemologisch dilemma van een emische (d.w.z. zoals relevant gemaakt door de deelnemers) (taal)beschrijving te voorzien, terwijl ze afhankelijk zijn van etische beschrijvingen van de gebruikte taal en taalvariëteiten.

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“Unbedingt einen Besuch wert” – wervend taalgebruik in reisgidsen over Karinthië

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Zoals onder meer Fandrych & Thrumair (2011) al hebben besproken, hebben reisgidsen eigenlijk een dubbel doel: enerzijds het informeren over de bestemming, anderzijds het creëren of versterken van een positieve ingesteldheid tegenover de bestemming. Dat laatste kan onder meer door de selectie van de informatie die gegeven wordt en door de vormgeving van de reisgids (o.a. het gebruik van foto's), maar een andere belangrijke factor is het taalgebruik. Typisch voor reisgidsen is immers een vorm van wervend taalgebruik die aan reclame doet denken.

In deze studie wordt dit wervend taalgebruik in reisgidsen van naderbij bekeken. Aan de hand van acht Duitstalige reisgidsen voor de Oostenrijkse deelstaat Karinthië wordt onderzocht welke kenmerken van wervend taalgebruik we terugvinden in reisgidsen. Bovendien wordt een onderscheid gemaakt tussen vier reisgidsen die door locals werden geschreven, en vier reisgidsen waarvan de auteurs uit andere regio's in Oostenrijk of Duitsland stammen, om na te gaan in hoeverre zij dezelfde talige strategieën gebruiken om een attractief beeld te schetsen van de bestemming.

In deze presentatie worden de eerste resultaten van een pilootstudie voorgesteld, die zich enkel richt op de zogenoemde oriënteringsteksten, die een globaal beeld van de bestemming schetsen, en een beperkte selectie van bezichtigingsteksten, d.w.z. teksten die concrete activiteiten op de bestemming bespreken (voor deze studie werden vier activiteiten uitgekozen die telkens in minstens zes van de reisgidsen besproken worden). Het voornaamste verschil tussen beide tekstsoorten is dat het wervende taalgebruik zich in de bezichtigingsteksten vooral beperkt tot adjectieven, terwijl in de oriënteringsteksten een veel breder spectrum aan talige strategieën gebruikt wordt (onder meer zogenoemde gevoels- en affectwoorden, vgl. Römer 2012). Het voornaamste verschil tussen beide groepen auteurs heeft net betrekking op die adjectieven. Bij de wervende adjectieven moeten we immers een onderscheid maken tussen adjectieven die een objectieve of een subjectieve waardering uitspreken (Krieg-Holz 2018:305), en terwijl de locals nagenoeg uitsluitend subjectieve adjectieven gebruiken, is de verdeling bij de auteurs van buiten Karinthië veel meer in evenwicht. Opvallend is ook dat superlatieven, hoewel ze als typisch kenmerk van wervend taalgebruik gelden (ook in reisgidsen, zie o.a. Fandrych & Thurmair 2011 en Gorsemann 1995), bij beide groepen van auteurs nauwelijks voorkomen, en hooguit bij de objectieve adjectieven.

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The use of *zo'n* versus *zulke* 'such' in Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch. Testing hypotheses relating to lexical biases, function, register and noun type.

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Topic & objectives – This study investigates the use of the determiners *zulke* vs. *zo'n* 'such' in front of plural and uncountable singular nouns in European Dutch (Ghesquière and Van de Velde 2011; Van Olmen 2019). Countable singular nouns are not taken up because previous research indicates that *zulke* is exceedingly infrequent in that context (Van Olmen and van der Auwera 2014: 217). In addition, Van Olmen and van der Auwera (2014: 217) show that *zo'n* is generally more popular in Belgian Dutch than in Netherlandic Dutch. Three hypotheses are put to the test. The first predicts that both Belgians and Dutchmen will be more inclined to use the 'Belgian' variant *zo'n* in phrases that are more often used in Belgian Dutch. This would be an effect of lectal contamination (Pijpops and Van de Velde 2018). The second hypothesis states that in Netherlandic Dutch, there will be an important distinction between the functions that both determiners fulfill, among the instances in front of uncountable, singular nouns. In that context, *zulke* will be preferred for identifying the following noun, whereas *zo'n* will be preferred for intensifying the following noun (Van Olmen 2019: 218). The third hypothesis claims that in Belgian Dutch, there will be an important distinction in register, among the instances in front of plural nouns. In that context, *zulke* will be preferred in a formal register, whereas *zo'n* will be preferred in an informal register (Taaladvies.net).

Data – To test these hypotheses, data were drawn from the Sonar corpus of written Dutch (Oostdijk et al. 2013) and the Corpus of Spoken Dutch (Oostdijk et al. 2002). Speaker information is available for the entire Corpus of Spoken Dutch, so all of its material was used, whereas for the Sonar corpus, only the material was used for which writer information is available. First, a list of all potentially uncountable nouns was drawn from the Reference File Dutch (van der Vliet 2007; Referentiebestand Nederlands - RBN 2014). Next, all instances of *zo'n* and *zulke*, including spelling variants, were extracted from the corpora, when they were followed within the five words by a plural noun or a potentially uncountable singular noun. This yielded 9206 instances, which were then manually checked.

Method and preliminary results – To test the first hypothesis, a measure was calculated for each unique phrase, i.e. each unique lexical realization of the noun phrase containing *zo'n* or *zulke*, that quantified how often the phrase is used in Belgian Dutch compared to Netherlandic Dutch, regardless of whether it is used with *zo'n* or *zulke* (Pijpops & Van de Velde 2018). To test the second hypothesis, all data were manually annotated for their function, based on the criteria mentioned in Altenberg (1994: 234) en Van Olmen (2019: 227, 232, 235, 255). Finally, all hypotheses were put to the test used mixed model regression analysis (Gries 2015; Speelman, Heylen and Geeraerts 2018). The results show that only one hypothesis is straightforwardly confirmed, while another is confirmed pending important qualifications, and another is not confirmed.

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Loan word accommodation biases: Evidence from Dutch and Middle English

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According to Harris and Campbell (1995), loan words are easier to assimilate in categories with fewer inflectional markings. In contrast, Wohlgemuth (2009) concludes from his typological study of loan verbs that borrowing is not constrained by inflection. This is illustrated by the fact that *direct insertion*, the most frequently used loan word accommodation strategy, as in German *downloaden* (English stem *download* + direct addition of native German inflection -*en*), does not allow speakers to avoid inflecting borrowed stems, unlike other accommodation strategies, and has a high cross-linguistic frequency. However, closer scrutiny of corpus evidence shows a more complicated picture: cases of direct insertion regularly reveal statistical biases in loan word usage towards specific inflectional categories, as well as syntactic positions. Since speakers try to reduce the processing cost when they integrate loan words in their recipient language (Matras, 2009), the notion of direct insertion (cf. Wohlgemuth, 2009) might be an idealisation (De Smet, 2014; Shaw, 2019, 2020). In this paper we give an overview of evidence found for the existence of accommodation biases and the possible factors behind those biases.

Shaw (2019, 2020) has encountered instances of inflectional biases in verbs and adjectives for both English loans in Present-Day Dutch and Anglo-French loans in Late Middle English (at the timing of the borrowing peak, cf. Jespersen, 1905; Dekeyser, 1986). The data for Dutch and Middle English were extracted from CGN (Nederlandse Taalunie, 2004) and the Helsinki Corpus (Rissanen et al., 1991), respectively. In general, loan verbs turned out to be more frequent in non-finite forms than in finite forms. Also, English loan verbs in Dutch were more prevalent in categories without formal marking (Shaw, 2019). For adjectives, loans were more frequent in non-attributive than in attributive position, and when inflection was not compulsory, they occurred more often without (Shaw, 2020). Although direct insertion is not completely unproblematic, inflection per se does not seem to be the most important obstacle to loan word accommodation.

Whether biases occur, and to which degree, depends on several undocumented factors, such as the contact situation. It could be that biases are inversely proportional to the intensity of the contact situation, since the biases found for Dutch are stronger than those for Middle English (cf. Shaw, 2019, 2020) and the Dutch-English contact situation is less intense than the French-Middle English one (cf. Finkenstaedt & Wolff, 1973; Thomason & Kaufman, 1991; Zenner, 2013). Another factor is the part of speech: while loan verbs, for instance, are more often used without marked inflection, there is no evidence for that phenomenon in loan adjectives (Shaw, 2019, 2020). Last, biases might be stronger in more recent loans, which we would like to further investigate by focusing on French loan words in earlier stages of the Middle English language.

Further looking into loan word accommodation biases could not only give us more insight into loan word accommodation, including its strategies, features and constraints, but also more generally into the indirect effects of language contact.

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Default gender in Belgian Dutch: data from code-switching

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Code-switching (CS) is the use of multiple languages in one conversation and has been saidto be a hallmark of linguistic contact situations (Poplack 2001:2062). When one of the languages involved in CS has grammatical gender, it has repeatedly been shown that simultaneous bilinguals[1] assign default gender to a code-switched noun from a gender-less language (Liceras et al. 2008; Valdés Kroff et al. 2017; Parafita Couto 2019). An example of this for for *Spanish*-**English** CS can be found in (1).

(1) *el* **house**
the(M)

For Spanish, “[t]here is little doubt that masculine is the unmarked or default gender” (Harris 1991:43). When looking at Belgian Dutch, on the other hand, the picture is a bit more complicated. How can data from code-switching help us in determining the default gender? When a Spanish-English bilingual code-switches an English noun into a Spanish sentence, this English noun does not have a grammatical gender. When the determiner tries to agree with that noun, it finds no gender feature and the determiner that is unmarked for gender is selected, in this case the masculine one (Harris 1991; Kramer 2015). Which determiner is unmarked for gender in Dutch? For Belgian Dutch, Rooryck (2003) argues that the neuter gender is the underspecified category, while the masculine and feminine are marked for gender. This would predict that English nouns would be preceded by a neuter determiner when incorporated in a Belgian Dutchsentence.[2] In (2), some examples of recent **English** loans/code-switches[3] into *Belgian Dutch* are given.These examples were encountered informally on social media posts by Belgian Dutch speakers.

(1) a. *precies* *nen* **date**
looks.like a[M]
‘looks like a date’

b. Wie neemt er ne **onesie** *mee?*
who takes EXPL a[M] with
‘Who is bringing a onesie?’

Examples like these are abundant, while examples of English nouns with the neuter determiner are not easily found. To verify the initial observations, an acceptability judgment task was developed. In this task, simultaneous bilinguals were asked to rate (Belgian) Dutch sentences containing an English noun on a 7 point scale. Results surprisingly show a preference for *feminine* gender, in addition to neuter being dispreferred. I speculate that this unexpected result is due to influence from Standard Dutch, where common gender is the default.

Notes

1. Sequential bilinguals, on the other hand, prefer an “analogue” gender assignment strategy, in which the de-terminer agrees with the gender of the translational equivalent of the noun, in this case feminine: *casa*[F]. In this study, only judgments by simultaneous bilinguals are reported.
2. In Northern Dutch, it seems to be the case that the common gender is the default one, at least currently. It is overgeneralised in monolingual L1, child L2 and adult L2 acquisition of (Standard) Dutch (Blom et al. 2008). It is possible that in an earlier stage, neuter was indeed the default gender, since Standard Dutch has a preference to assign neuter gender to (older) French loanwords (Audring and Booij 2009:17).
3. Going into the distinction here is beyond the scope of this abstract.

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A pilot study of Codeswitching in the U.S.: The Expression of Mitigation in the Spanish-English Codeswitching Context of Miami

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The codeswitching context between English and Spanish in the U.S. has triggered numerous and, at times, emotionally charged debates in every possible respect (about its denomination, positive and negative perceptions of the phenomenon, its sociolinguistic status, and so on; see Betti and Enghels 2018 for an overview). A more specific topic of debate concerns the grammatical aspects of intrasentential codeswitching, whereby a prominent question remains whether bilingual speakers switch codes by means of an underlying, homogenous grammatical system (Sankoff & Poplack, 1981; Balam & Parafita Couto 2019) or whether individual preferences and idiosyncratic uses dominate (MacSwan 2005; Valdés Kroff et al. 2018).

In the research field of Spanish-English codeswitching, this question has commonly been addressed by studying the motives behind the (un)grammaticality of switches at 'conflict points', that is, structures in which the grammars of both input languages differ (e.g. MacSwan 2005). An overlooked, but highly interesting, construction in this context is the mitigation construction, which is very differently represented in both languages not only from a syntactic but also from a semantic-pragmatic perspective.

The Spanish and English grammars are clearly different as regards the instantiation of the mitigating construction, both in terms of formal (synthetic vs. analytic) and functional (objective vs. (inter)subjective meanings; i.a. Nañez Fernandez, 1973) features. Spanish has a highly productive mitigating system that can construct forms of various grammatical categories through a large inventory of diminutive affixes (i.a. *-ito/-ita, -illo/-illa, -ico/ica, -ete/-eta, -uelo, -uela*; RAE 2010, Eddington 2002) and is used mostly to convey any emotional connotation towards the referent (e.g. *mamacita, pobrecita* 'mommy', 'poor little girl'). English, on the other hand, is considered a language that does not have many (or any) diminutive affixes (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, Hägg 2016) but mostly turns to lexical items (i.a. *little, tiny, small*; Schneider 2003). Moreover, these items mainly express a pure dimensional reduction of the referent (e.g. *a tiny house*). By studying this construction in the Spanish-English bilingual context of the U.S., I aim to examine how these grammatical differences are administered by highly competent bilingual speakers in the U.S. and as such to contribute to a better understanding on the grammatical nature of codeswitching.

This presentation can be framed within the theme of my upcoming PhD project, which has three main objectives: (1) to conduct a thorough descriptive analysis of the mitigation construction in Spanish-English codeswitching contexts in the bilingual communities of Miami and El Paso; (2) to empirically evaluate previous theoretical accounts on codeswitching by applying them to mitigation structures; (3) to carry out a comparative analysis of the use of mitigation expressions in both communities to get better insights into the factors governing this construction in codeswitching contexts. The present pilot study discusses preliminary results on the formation and use of mitigation in the conversational Bangortalk Miami corpus. In particular, two common codeswitching theories, namely Poplack's Universal Constraints (1980), and Gumperz' Metaphorical Codeswitching framework (1982), will be used to provide a series of hypotheses to be empirically tested.

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Defining modal functions through co-text manipulation

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This paper deals with modality as a grammatical category. Modality can be further subdivided along three parameters: modal target, modal domain and modal value. Modal targets are the semantic units modified by a modal verb, such as agents, events or propositions. Modal domains can be facultative (concerned with naturally given factors), deontic (concerned with social or legal norms) or epistemic (concerned with human knowledge). The term ‘modal value’ refers to the distinction between modal necessity and modal possibility. Modal functions as expressed by modal verbs can then be considered specific combinations of values on these three parameters, such as *participant-oriented* (target) *deontic* (domain) *necessity* (value).

While modality represents a well-researched sub-field of cross-linguistic typology, there is a surprising lack of clear-cut criteria to distinguish between different modal functions in the literature. In most cases, authors seem to take the existence of certain modal distinctions as given, without further elaborating on how these distinctions are reflected in the linguistic behaviour of those elements assumed to express them (Auwera & Plungian, 1998; Narrog, 2005). The definition of modal functions often rests on the description of non-linguistic contextual cues which favour a specific modal reading. This amounts to rather circular statements such as “Modal verb X expresses an agent-oriented deontic function in utterance Y because the interpretation of Y as a whole favours an agent-oriented deontic reading of X”.

Quite recently, a new way to define modal functions that does not rest on such circular reasoning has emerged in the literature. The basic idea behind this method is to evaluate whether the linguistic context, or co-text, in which modal elements are present can be manipulated in different ways without leading to infelicity – meaning either ungrammaticality, logical contradiction or the distortion of semantic information (Peterson, 2017; Olbertz & Dall’Aglio Hattnher, 2018). Modal functions are then not defined through non-linguistic context, but through their interaction with other linguistic elements in a specific co-text.

As an example, consider how the distinction between modal possibility and modal necessity can be tested for through co-text manipulation: In logical terms, a statement as “A is a possibility” can be paraphrased as “A, or not-A, is the case”, whereas “A is a necessity” can be formulated as “A, and only A, is the case”. For this reason, a construction expressing modal possibility can be felicitously combined with its negated counterpart, while doing the same for modal necessity results in a logically contradictory statement. This is illustrated below within the domain of epistemic modality. The manipulated co-text (the negated counterpart of the original statement, in this case) is given in bold.

(1) *It might rain tomorrow,* ***but it might also not rain tomorrow****.* (possibility)
(2) **It must rain tomorrow,* ***but it must also not rain tomorrow****.* (necessity)

This paper presents a set of co-text manipulation tests which are able to distinguish between all combinations of the three modal parameters discussed above. The theoretical guideline used for this purpose is the framework of Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld & Mackenzie, 2008).

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Modelling meaning granularity of nouns with vector space models

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The present study is part of a larger research project with the goal of developing tools for large-scale corpus-based semantic analyses. One such tool involves representing semantic structure with **vector space models** (VSMs), a computational tool that currently requires a deeper understanding of its inner workings and how its results relate to cognitive theories of meaning.

Count-based VSMs represent words as vectors of co-occurrence frequencies in a multidimensional space (Lenci, 2018; Turney & Pantel, 2010). They can be generated at both type- and token-level (De Pascale, 2019; Heylen, Wielfaert, Speelman, & Geeraerts, 2015). At type level, two words are represented as more similar if they tend to co-occur with the same features (e.g. context words). At the token level, two occurrences are more similar if the words in their contexts tend to co-occur with the same features. (Prediction-based VSMs are not examined here because the relationship between parameters and results is more opaque.)

As a distributional method, it builds on the context of a lexical item to describe it and compare it to others, which raises our main research question: how is that context defined, and how does it vary for different semantic phenomena, where the various context words play different roles? Although **token-based VSMs** are increasingly used in corpus-based cognitive semantics (e.g. Hilpert & Correia Saavedra, 2017), we believe it is insufficiently appreciated how alternative parameter settings impact both the selection of features to model the tokens and the selection of (second order) features to model those features. Accordingly, we investigate how models based on different parameter settings deal with a range of semantic issues, such as granularity of meaning.

A set of 8 **polysemous homonyms** in Dutch was selected to test how the distance between homonymous usages of a lexical item are represented in relation to polysemous usages within the same homonym. Ideally, tokens belonging to different homonyms will be far away from each other in the vector space and form two distinct groups, while the different sense distinctions within a homonym will be harder to pull apart. For example, literal and metaphorical senses of Dutch "horde" 'hurdle' should be closer together and far from its homonym meaning 'horde'.

The models were built from a 520MW corpus of contemporary Dutch and Flemish newspapers. The resulting VSMs were evaluated through visual analytics: although multidimensional, they can be reduced to 2D and represented in scatterplots where more similar tokens appear closer to each other. For this case study, these are also color-coded with manual sense tags, which allows us to compare how they were grouped by human annotators and by the computational models in a way that is consistent with the cognitive approach to meaning and categorization.

Preliminary results indicate that not one set of parameters deals well with granularity in all cases. For example, those that disambiguate "horde" 'horde/hurdle' and "staal" 'steel/sample' well fail with "hoop" 'heap/hope' and vice versa. Furthermore, for some nouns some senses may be well grouped while the homonyms are not.

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Computational Construction Grammar and Procedural Semantics for Visual Dialog

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Visual Dialog denotes an activity that consists in a robotic agent holding a meaningful and coherent conversation with a human interlocutor, thereby answering questions about the scene that it perceives (Das et al. 2017). There is a range of cognitive functions that a robotic agent must be capable of in order to be able to participate in such multi-turn conversations. First, it must be able to process the visual input and determine the properties of the objects and events that it perceives. Second, it must be capable of understanding the precise meaning of questions formulated in natural language. Finally, it must be capable of reasoning about information that was conveyed in earlier dialog turns (e.g. for resolving co-references).

Current approaches to visual dialog fall short especially when it comes to the third capability (Kottur et al. 2018). Here, we present a novel methodology that overcomes this problem by (i) keeping track of relevant information from earlier turns (i.e. topic of the turn, mentioned entities, etc…) in a 'conversation memory', and (ii) designing a procedural semantic representation that effectively integrates this conversation memory in the agent's reasoning process.

The methodology builds further on the computational construction grammar approach to visual question-answering that was introduced by Nevens et al. (2019). Within this approach, utterances are mapped onto an executable meaning representation using a computational construction grammar. The meaning representation is expressed in procedural semantics, which means that the meaning of an utterance is represented as a network of cognitive operations that an agent needs to execute in order to find the answer (Winograd 1971; Johnson-Laird 1977). Here, we extend the agent's inventory of cognitive operations with operations that add information to the conversation memory or retrieve information that was previously added.

We have evaluated the methodology on the MNIST dialog benchmark dataset (Seo et al. 2017) and the more challenging CLEVR dialog dataset (Kottur et al. 2018). Using the symbolic annotations of the images, we achieve a question-level accuracy of 100% and 99.99% respectively.

The results confirm that our methodology based on computational construction grammar, procedural semantics, and the newly introduced conversation memory, is indeed an excellent candidate to be used as the natural language understanding component in visual dialog systems.

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