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The forms of diminutive constructions in English, Dutch and German
A corpus-based study of the crosslinguistic differences

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This study falls within the framework of a PhD project on the acquisition of Germanic (English, Dutch and German) diminutive constructions (DCs) (e.g., *some water* [EN], *feestje* [NL], *kleiner Tisch* [DE]) by French-speaking additional language (AL) learners. The PhD has the aim to investigate the effects of the following two variables on the acquisition process of DCs:

(1) The crosslinguistic differences regarding the (morpho-syntactic) forms and the (semantic-pragmatic) meanings of DCs;

(2) The amount and the quality of exposure to the AL.

The present study concentrates on the first variable, and more specifically, on the cross-linguistic differences in the (morpho-syntactic) forms of English, Dutch and German DCs.

The present study draws on the English, Dutch and German native data from the 'Multilingual Traditional, Immersion and Native Corpus' (MulTINCo) [1]. This innovative corpus contains written productions collected from French-speaking AL learners of English, Dutch and German, as well as equivalent native productions made in the learners' L1 (viz. French) and written by native speakers of the learners' AL (viz. English, Dutch and German). The written data were collected from fifth grade secondary school students in Belgium and the Netherlands, and university students in the U.S. This corpus also includes background variables related to i.a. the amount and quality of AL input. This combination of native and learner data, as well as of written data and background variables, makes MulTINCo a valid starting point for addressing the research questions of the PhD project as a whole, and of the present study in particular.

All relevant DCs are extracted semi-automatically from the native datasets. The extraction is done on the basis of a literature-based inventory of the forms that DCs can potentially take [cf. 2-5]. For instance, all Dutch nouns ending in *-je* (a very frequent diminutive suffix in Dutch [4]) are extracted. Subsequently, the results are manually checked in order to retain only the constructions expressing true diminution.

The typological proximity/ distance between English, Dutch and German is expected to result in crosslinguistic differences regarding the (morpho-syntactic) forms of DCs. This assumption is based primarily on the Germanic Sandwich hypothesis [6]. It essentially claims that – both geographically and typologically – "Dutch occupies a middle position in between its bigger West-Germanic neighbors English and German" [6]. However, a preliminary study on the forms of nominal DCs in English, Dutch and German couldn't confirm this hypothesis. This preliminary study did show significant crosslinguistic differences, with the English data showing the highest proportion of syntactical (nominal) DCs and the Dutch data showing the highest proportion of morphological (nominal) DCs. However, these findings tend rather to assign the so-called "middle position" to German. It should nevertheless be noted that the PhD – of which the present study is a part – adopts a much broader definition of DCs. DCs are defined here to include the *entire* range of diminishing linguistic constructions. In actual practice, adjectival, adverbial and verbal DCs are analyzed in addition to nominal DCs in the present study. This broader perspective on DCs helps us draw a more realistic conclusion about the actual crosslinguistic variation in the (morpho-syntactic) forms of DCs in the three languages studied. Ultimately, the next stage of our PhD will consist in analyzing the effects of these potential crosslinguistic differences in forms for the acquisition of DCs by AL learners.

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On the role of Latin and Greek on the syntax of the modern European languages

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Although Communicative Immediacy, i.e. the speaker/writer hearer/reader dyad, is an important factor that accounts for the contexts that bring along language change, it cannot be denied how powerful important historical texts (Communicative Distance) have been in shaping the syntax of the modern European languages. For instance, the influential role of the Bible texts cannot be seen apart from both the cultural and religious heritage of Middle Eastern languages such as Hebrew, Aramaic, Akkadian and Arabic, and the transmission of their structures via Biblical Greek and Latin. Such a view calls for a specification of the types of Latin that determined the history of the Romance and other European languages. The claim of our paper is that the role of Latin is more multifaceted than sometimes expected, as the Latin textual traditions vary drastically (Fehling 1980, Ramminger 2014, Drinka 2017, Denecker 2017, Cornillie in press). Hence, a diverse view of Latin is necessary if one wants to account for its impact on the languages of Europe.

Modern European languages, belonging to the Standard Average European Sprachbund (Haspelmath 1998, 2001), differ in many syntactic features with classical Latin (e.g. the definite article, politeness forms such as 'my lord', 'your servant', the 'to'-infinitive, coordination with 'and', etc.). The focus will be on Romance and on the role of Biblical Latin and Carolingian Latin. In the case of Biblical Latin, Greek and Hebrew were prestigious sources of influence. In this context Fehling (1980: 370) states that "we must see that the "popular" and the Semitic are perfectly identical". For Carolingian Latin Germanic pride played an important role. Thus, the Romance vernaculars find their roots in contact between Latin and Semitic and Germanic cultural and linguistic traditions. In both cases highly prestigious texts are a fundamental basis for change.

Now, re-latinization during the Renaissance of the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries replaced biblical structure with classical ones (Ramminger 2014). The back to Classical Latin movement was combined with the elaboration of a logical and clear vernacular languages. Some considered the latter inferior to the former, but others elaborated their own language against the background of Latin prestige. Typically but not solely, the imposition of Classical Latin against the popular textual traditions concerns the elaboration of the Communicative Distance, far from spontaneous interaction. Due to their prestigious heritage, these varieties also became the languages of the schools and the state. Normative traditions protect that legacy.

In the light of the above-mentioned lines, this paper makes the case of Greek *παραβολή*, Biblical Latin *parabola* and Romance *parole, paraula, palavra, palabra* and discusses inherited prepositional phrases, the verbal paradigm of *ir* and the big number of (non-)finite sentential structures (Coseriu 1971)

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'Ze zeggen van: "Toen ik u leerde kennen dacht ik gij zijt zo."': a mixed-methods analysis of standard versus non-standard 2nd person pronouns in the present-day job interview in Flanders

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In Flanders, a non-standard supraregional variety of Dutch, Colloquial Belgian Dutch (CBD), is gaining ground on Belgian Standard Dutch (BSD). We study these varieties' status by zooming in on a variable with a social meaning that language users tend to be aware of, i.e. the second person singular BSD-pronoun 'jij' ('you') versus the corresponding CBD-form 'gij' ('you') (Van De Mieroop et al., 2016, p. 37). We add to the extensive body of research on this topic by integrating a pragmatic perspective in our study. In particular, we analyze CBD/BSD-variation in the changing context of the Flemish present-day job interview. Due to demographic trends, recruiters now deal with a scarcity of highly-skilled employees resulting in a changing relationship between interviewer and interviewee which is becoming less hierarchical (De Dijn & Van De Mieroop, 2021; De Smet et al., 2022).

This contribution thus aims to uncover the possible link between the use of Flemish language varieties in job interviews and the changing context of the job interview, verifying amongst others whether CBD's informal character makes it a prime candidate for a less hierarchical interactional environment (Geeraerts & Van de Velde, 2013). To that end, we have compiled a dataset of thirteen job interviews containing over 10 hours of video recordings. The recruiters in the dataset appear in at least two job which allows us to track these interlocuters over different job interviews.

We scrutinize the dataset on different levels through a mixed-methods approach: firstly, to get an overview of the data we apply visualization techniques and inferential statistics. Next, in order to get a grip on the variety shifts between BSD to CBD that occur in these interviews, we set out to track 'real-time fluctuations' (Sharma, 2018, p. 6) in the pronouns choices of the interlocuters. Finally, we focus on certain marked variety shifts through a discourse analytical perspective. Overall, with these nuanced analyses we aim to sketch an integrative image of the dataset and we demonstrate the value of integrating a pragmatic perspective that incorporates contextual aspects in the sociolinguistic study of variation.

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Het recht op vertaling in strafzaken:
op onderzoek in de correctionele rechtbank van Gent

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Elk jaar besteedt de Belgische staat een aanzienlijk budget aan vertaalwerk voor Justitie. Dat vertaalwerk faciliteert niet enkel de samenwerking tussen Europese gerechtelijke diensten, maar maakt ook communicatie mogelijk tussen de Belgische gerechtelijke diensten en anderstalige partijen. Voor bepaalde anderstalige partijen is het recht op vertaling vastgelegd in EU-regelgeving: Richtlijn 2010/64/EU en Richtlijn 2012/29/EU bepalen dat anderstalige beklaagden en slachtoffers recht hebben op de kosteloze vertaling van een aantal essentiële documenten in de strafprocedure. De omzetting van die richtlijnen in België ging echter niet van een leien dakje: België haalde de vooropgestelde termijn (2013) niet en zette de richtlijnen pas om in 2016 (Europese Commissie, 2018).

In de voorliggende bijdrage rapporteer ik over de voorlopige resultaten van een vertaalwetenschappelijk etnografisch onderzoeksproject. Het doel van het project is om na te gaan hoe het Belgische gerecht het recht op vertaling in de praktijk brengt. Ik heb daartoe 245 strafdossiers geanalyseerd waarin de correctionele rechtbank in Gent tussen 2018 en 2021 minstens één beëdigde vertaling vorderde. Bij die kwalitatieve documentenanalyse verzamelde ik een reeks gegevens over de vertaalde documenten: de opdrachtgever, de begunstigde, de tekstsoort, de functie, de taal, enz. In een tweede fase zal ik de zo verkregen dataset aanvullen met interviews met magistraten en griffiepersoneel.

Uit de documentenanalyse blijkt ten eerste dat meer dan 70% van de verzamelde teksten vertalingen zijn uit een vreemde taal naar het Nederlands, ten behoeve van de rechtbank. Dat overwicht aan vertalingen ten behoeve van de rechtbank valt te verklaren door de strikte eentaligheid van de strafprocedure (Dejemeppe, 2011a, 2011b; Vanden Bosch, 2017). De relatief kleine hoeveelheid aan vertalingen naar vreemde talen impliceert echter ook dat verdachten en slachtoffers weinig gebruik (kunnen?) maken van hun recht op vertaling.

Ten tweede kon ik vaststellen dat de Gentse politie verhoren met bijstand van een tolk (zoals voorzien in Richtlijn 2010/64/EU en nationale wetgeving) regelmatig vervangt door formulieren waarop anderstalige verdachten, getuigen en slachtoffers hun verklaring noteren in een taal naar keuze (vaak niet hun moedertaal, maar een lingua franca). Die praktijk doet vragen rijzen over geletterdheid (is iedereen in staat om eigenhandig een verklaring neer te pennen?) en gelijkheid (is het wel fair om een verhoor te vervangen door een handgeschreven relaas van een halve bladzijde?) (zie ook Bambust, 2016; Engelen, 1999).

Deze bevindingen suggereren dat, hoewel België de EU-richtlijnen omgezet heeft, het huidige systeem er niet altijd in slaagt om de eerlijkheid van de strafprocedure te garanderen.

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Pour un dialogue entre sémantique spatiale et géolinguistique
Le cas de la notion ARRIVER dans les dialectes belgoromans

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La communication porte sur la manière dont la notion ARRIVER est exprimée dans les dialectes belgoromans. L'étude s'inscrit dans le champ des études de dialectologie wallonne menées à l'Université de Liège, et plus précisément dans le sillage de l'*Atlas linguistique de la Wallonie* (ALW). L'interprétation géolinguistique et l'étude sémantique des données dialectales sont nourries par la mobilisation de concepts issus de travaux sur la sémantique des verbes de déplacement français.

Dans ce cadre disciplinaire hybride, les objectifs poursuivis sont de deux ordres. D'une part, la communication présente les données dialectales recueillies pour la notion visée – encore non éditées[1] – et contribue ainsi à la connaissance du lexique belgoroman. D'autre part, nous testons et évaluons une méthode d'analyse basée sur deux principes directeurs : une intégration des apports de la sémantique verbale à l'étude dialectologique et une analyse géolinguistique et aréologique fine des types lexicaux en contexte. Cette méthode est appliquée en trois temps :

(1) Les données, issues de l'enquête dialectale par questionnaire traductif français-wallon menée par Haust (ALW 1 : 10-15), sont dépouillées, cartographiées et analysées selon les principes méthodologiques à l'œuvre dans l'ALW (Baiwir 2014 ; Boutier 2008). Quatre « jeux de données » et quatre cartes géolinguistiques sont ainsi constitués, correspondant aux formes recueillies sur le territoire belgoroman pour les quatre questions d'enquête comprenant le verbe français *arriver.*

(2) Parallèlement à l'édition des matériaux, nous réalisons une analyse sémantique du déplacement ARRIVER dans les différents contextes formés par les questions de l'enquête dialectale. Nous mobilisons la notion de polarité locative (Aurnague 2011 ; Boons 1987) et focalisons l'analyse sur les arguments sémantiques et syntaxiques impliqués dans le sémantisme du verbe (Sarda 2019 ; Talmy 2000), qu'ils soient actualisés ou non dans les contextes observés.

(3) À partir des quatre cartes géolinguistiques, nous menons une analyse aréologique de la distribution des types lexicaux recueillis en Belgique romane. À la lumière des observations géolinguistiques et de l'analyse sémantique précédemment réalisée, nous proposons des hypothèses explicatives quant à la répartition des types lexicaux et tentons de dégager des conclusions quant aux sens de ces unités lexicales et à leur spécialisation d'emploi.

Les résultats montrent que deux types lexicaux principaux se partagent la Belgique romane : le type ⌜arriver⌝ (+*arivé, -è*) est recueilli sur tout le territoire, sauf à l'est où le type ⌜venir⌝ (+*v'ni(r)*, +*vèni, -u, +m'ni*, etc.) prédomine dans une aire variable. L'étude de la structure argumentale des verbes et des contextes montre que c'est principalement le caractère déictique du type ⌜venir⌝ qui explique la variation de son extension vers l'ouest. Ces conclusions rejoignent les observations réalisées sur les verbes français *arriver* et *venir* (Petrossian 2015 ; Sikora 2009), bien qu'un élargissement sémantique du type wallon ⌜venir⌝ puisse être observé à l'est et au sud-est de l'aire liégeoise.

Références

ALW = *Atlas linguistique de la Wallonie. Tableau géographique des parlers de la Belgique romane d'après l'enquête de Jean Haust et des enquêtes complémentaires*, Liège, Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 1953 sq., 10 vol. parus. Page web : https://alw.uliege.be/.

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[1] Pour une vision d'ensemble des matériaux édités et non édités (conservés à l'Institut de Dialectologie wallonne de l'Université de Liège), voir le site de l'ALW ainsi que l'index onomasiologique général de l'œuvre (Baiwir 2012).

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« Pas d'extrême, ni de gauche, ni de droite » :
analyse d'une obsession analogique dans le discours néo-libéral contemporain
Le cas des publications Tweeter de Georges-Louis Bouchez (2019-2022)

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Au départ des travaux de Philippe Monneret sur le principe d'analogie linguistique, et notamment de la distinction opérée entre « analogie binaire » et « analogie proportionnelle » (Monneret 2004), et dans une actualisation pragma-énonciative de cette même notion d'analogie, notre communication entend analyser les formes linguistiques des analogies réalisées par un discours néolibéral contemporain entre les syntagmes *extrême gauche* et *extrême droite* et leurs variantes formulaires. Plus précisément, nous avons sélectionné un corpus exhaustif des publications Tweeter de Georges-Louis Bouchez depuis son élection à la présidence du Mouvement Réformateur en 2019 jusqu'à aujourd'hui. Sur la base du constat d'une réelle obsession discursive (on pourrait parler d'obsession analogique) – une moyenne de 3 publications par mois sur le sujet en 2022 avec un pic de 17 publications en avril –, il est question d'interroger le soubassement sociodiscursif de cette analogie en analysant ses variations formelles et ses différentes significations linguistiques en discours. La méthodologie utilisée pour récolter ces unités n'a pas sollicité l'analyse lexicométrique pour des raisons évidentes ; en effet, si les syntagmes en question pouvaient être récoltés méthodiquement, toute une série d'unités beaucoup plus implicites ou allusives entraient dans notre objet. C'est la raison pour laquelle nous avons privilégié une récolte qualitative dans le cadre d'une analyse pragma-énonciative du discours du locuteur Bouchez, dont l'impensé et les formes rhétoriques nécessitent une observation méthodique de chaque terme et de leur implicite communicationnel.

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Discourse markers and filled pauses in L2 Spanish:
a comparative analysis of spoken narratives by native speakers and Dutch speaking learners

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There is a sharp contrast between the general consensus on the need to incorporate discourse markers (DMs) in the foreign language classroom, and the shortage of studies that investigate their process of acquisition (cf. Fernández, Gates & Xiaofei 2014; Crible, Degand & Gilquin 2017). Moreover, acquisition studies mostly focus on a series of elements previously defined as discourse markers in the target language, leaving aside expressions fulfilling an analogous function in non-native discourse. The goal of this study is to analyze the devices used for modal and discourse marking (DM) used by non-native speakers of Spanish in unplanned oral narratives. With this goal in mind, we performed a comparative analysis of oral narratives produced by native speakers (Payrató & Fitó 2008) and Dutch-speaking learners of Spanish (B2 level).

Following a functional approach to second language acquisition (Zyzic 2014), we identified and classified markers that performed a structural function (opening, closing, continuation, reformulation, etc.), as well as filled pauses. On the one hand, the total frequency of markers as well as filled pauses were compared in native and learner production. On the other hand, we considered coincidence and divergence in the use of all markers so that forms produced only by native speakers, forms produced only by learners, and forms equally used by both populations are identified. Preliminary results show that FL learners make a significantly higher use of filled pauses. Moreover, non-native speakers do not seem to have acquired markers that are more specific to informal registers, failing to assign the appropriate discursive values to sentence-level adverbs and connectors (sí `yes', o 'or'), or resorting to paraphrase strategies (e.g. cómo decir, cómo se dice 'how do you say'). Our results indicate the need to include more instances of informal input in the FL classroom.

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Where to measure within vowels? Comparison and evaluation of acoustic techniques for the selection of measurement points

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Measuring features of speech sounds requires choosing a measurement point within a continuous acoustic signal. To select that measurement point, there exist several possibilities and this paper aims at comparing and evaluating their reliability. To measure features of vowels (e.g. f_0, F1 or F2) measuring where the acoustic signal of the vowel is stable is often considered ideal. A widely used and traditional method for that consists in measuring around the middle of the vowel. To cope with vowels whose most stable portion might not be situated around its centre, alternative acoustic techniques have been developed to allow for flexibility in the selection of the measurement points by adapting them from one vowel to another (cfr. Lennig 1978; van Bergem 1988; 1993; Miller 1989; Hillenbrand et al. 1995). Within the framework of the present research, a novel method has been developed with the same purpose. After chunking vowels into successive and overlapping frames, the new technique consists in selecting the frames characterized by the highest between-frames correlation in terms of Long-Term Average Spectra.

The present study aims thus at establishing which of the traditional or acoustic techniques leads to the most reliable measurements. To this end, we created a corpus on which to compare the ability of the different techniques to detect the stable portion of vowels. To maximize control over the location of the stable part of the vowel, the corpus consists of artificial stimuli created with PRAAT (Boersma 1998; Boersma & Weenink 2021) in which the location of the stable part is made to vary randomly. Our mixed modelling analysis shows that the pre-existing acoustic techniques and the novel one differ in quality but hardly reach the performance of measuring around the middle of the vowel.

The extent to which those methods affect the consequent acoustic measurements when applied to the same data is also investigated by comparing the results published by Verhoeven et al. (2016) to the results obtained via the different above-mentioned techniques. The results of the acoustic techniques which perform best on the synthetic corpus correlate highly with those obtained via the most traditional method.

In other words, our contribution shows that finding more reliable measurements than measurements around the middle of the vowel is difficult and going for acoustic techniques has very little effect on the measurements. Thus, this study empirically validates long-standing intuitions about the validity of measuring around the centre of the vowel.

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Relations syntaxiques et grammaire scolaire.
Analyse des diagrammes de la *Terminologie grammaticale* (2020)

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Parue en France en 2020, la dernière terminologie grammaticale française, intitulée *Grammaire française. Terminologie grammaticale* (2020), a suscité de nombreuses critiques de la part de linguistes (voir entre autres Coltier & Combettes 2021, David & Roig 2021). Si celles-ci ont principalement porté sur la nature de l'objet, sur les critères de l'analyse et sur la vision de la langue exprimée, la conceptualisation même de la relation syntaxique n'a pas fait l'objet d'une analyse approfondie.

Or, cette terminologie se singularise des précédentes en ce qu'elle comprend pour la première fois des diagrammes syntaxiques (p.ex. fig. 1-3), qui ne font toutefois l'objet d'aucun commentaire dans le texte. Puisqu'ils ne sont pas équivalents, constituant le résultat de choix formels et théoriques, les diagrammes renseignent sur la conception des relations syntaxiques (Mazziotta 2016). Nous souhaitons ainsi, à partir de l'étude des formalismes mobilisés, préciser la manière dont la grammaire scolaire française conçoit l'assemblage syntaxique des unités linguistiques.

Pour mener à bien cette étude, nous mobilisons deux outils descriptifs complémentaires. Le premier, tiré de Mazziotta & Kahane 2017, permet de mesurer l'inscription d'un modèle syntaxique au sein du continuum entre *approche en dépendance* et *approche en constituants*, continuum structurant le champ théorique (Kahane & Mazziotta 2015 : 153-154). Les cinq critères de Mazziotta & Kahane (2017 : 119-120) sont explicitement élaborés en vue d'analyser des diagrammes. En l'occurrence, il s'agit de la connexion, de la binarité, de la présence d'une tête, de l'absence de stratification et du ratio nœud par mot. Le second outil concerne les logiques internes à la grammaire traditionnelle. Selon Lauwers (2004), qui s'appuie sur Chervel (1977), on observe dans ce domaine une articulation de deux approches opposées, à savoir une approche catégorielle ascendante, focalisée sur les parties du discours (p.ex. *adjectif épithète*), et une approche logique descendante, fondée sur des segments sémantico-logiques (p.ex. *proposition subordonnée relative*). Lauwers mobilise dans son étude dix critères (2004 : 91, 101), qu'il applique à des ouvrages grammaticographiques de la première moitié du xxe siècle.

Au niveau théorique, l'étude permet de combiner les deux outils, recoupement que nécessite une analyse approfondie de la théorie syntaxique véhiculée par la grammaire scolaire. La pertinence de chaque outil pourra subséquemment être évaluée au regard d'un nouvel objet : le premier en ce qui concerne la grammaire scolaire ; le second en ce qui concerne les diagrammes. Au niveau empirique, nous précisons le statut d'un représentant de la grammaire scolaire française récente, tant en ce qui concerne l'influence des savoirs linguistiques dits « savants » qu'à propos du poids de la « tradition grammaticale » (Neveu & Lauwers 2007), ce qui contribue à identifier la *recomposition* (Vargas 2014) que subit actuellement cette grammaire.

Les résultats provisoires démontrent une double hybridité du modèle observé dans la *Terminologie* (2020) : d'un côté, malgré l'influence de l'analyse en constituants (Vargas 2003), qui se traduit par certaines caractéristiques syntagmatiques (ratio nœud/mot, relative stratification), celui-ci est principalement dépendanciel ; de l'autre, nous observons la rémanence, au sein d'une approche essentiellement catégorielle, d'une approche logique descendante (typologie des propositions, bipartition de la phrase). Les deux outils démontrent donc leur efficacité, bien que leur intégration au sein d'un modèle d'analyse général soit difficile.

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Annexe.

Figure 1. Hiérarchie de la phrase (2020 : 13)
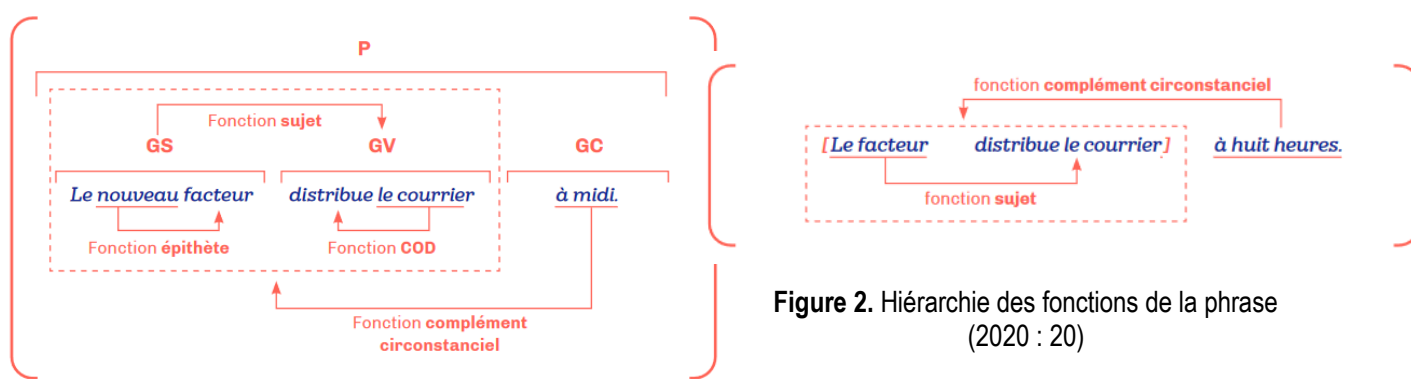
Figure 2. Hiérarchie des fonctions de la phrase (2020 : 20)
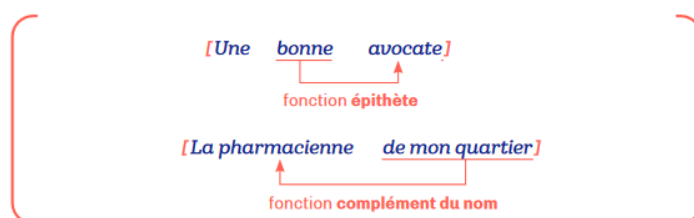
Figure 3. Fonctions épithète et complément du nom (2020 : 21)

Do speakers align at the discourse level?
The role of discourse segments in task-oriented dialogue

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Spoken discourse is constituted by a sequence of conversational discourse units (CDUs) that are involved in the encoding and decoding of spoken language. In a previous corpus-based study, we proposed an objective method for identifying CDUs based on the mapping of syntactic, prosodic, and pragmatic units, yielding several types of CDUs (Anonymous, 2022). In this study, we investigate to what extent interlocutors converge regarding the type of CDU used when undertaking a similar action at a given sequential position as the instructive dialogue unfolds.

We use a description-drawing task in which two native speakers of English form one conversational pair (N_{pairs} = 10; F =10, M = 10; M_{age} = 30.3). In the first trial, Participant A, who serves as the *describer*, describes a novel 2D object (cf. Rasenberg et al. 2022). Participant B functions as the *drawer*, who draws the object according to A's description. Then, they reverse roles and repeat the process until all 12 objects have been drawn. In the dataset, four types of CDUs have been observed (see Table 1), and every trial is roughly composed of four types of instruction giving sequence pairs: understanding confirmation, understanding display, repair initiation, information request (Table 2). We focus on examining the type of CDU used at the instruction-giving and information-request positions, because these positions show relatively complex language production.

Type of CDU	Inside structure of CDU (Pragmat.U: < >; SU: //; IU: each line stands for one IU)	Example
Congruent	1 Pragmat.U + 1 SU + 1 IU	<You see it kind of straight on.//>
Pragmatics-syntax-bound	1 Pragmat.U + 2 SU + 1 IU	<The first shape? looks like a cup? with a bunch of stuff attached to it.//>
Pragmatics-prosody-bound	1 Pragmat.U + 2 SU + 1 IU	<But// other than that it's a regular rectangle.//>
Pragmatics-bound	1 Pragmat.U + 2 SU + 2 IU	<And then// they go, in like a, like a staircase?//>

Table 1. Type of CDU
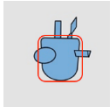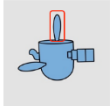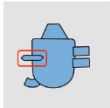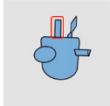
| Descriptive sequence	Contents of the sequence			Target of description
Type 1 IGUC	**Instruction giving** Speaker 1 — So, hum, there is a cup that is rounded at the bottom. Speaker 2	**Understanding confirmation** Okay.		
Type 2 IGUD	**Instruction giving** Speaker 1 — It's gonna coming right off the top of it, but it has that same feather-type shape coming right out of the middle of the top. Speaker 2	**Understanding display** Right out of the middle of the top. Okay.	**Confirmation** Yeah	
Type 3 IGRI	**Instruction giving** Speaker 1 — And the short ends of the rectangle are points. Speaker 2	**Repair initiation** Are what?	**Repair solution** Rather than just ending like this. It's a little point.	**Understanding confirmation** Okay.
Type 4 IGIR	**Instruction giving** Speaker 1 — Then more or less in the middle of the cup at the top, there's a long rectangle sticking out Speaker 2	**Information request** Just going straight up?	**Further explanation** Yeah just going straight up in the middle	**Understanding confirmation** Okay.

Table 2. Type of instructive sequence (: Instruction-giving position; :Information-request position)

It is argued that if interlocutors repeat a communicative action several times, they tend to converge onto a similar mental representation of action and thus a similar way of using language to achieve the communicative goal (Garrod & Anderson, 1987; Pickering & Garrod, 2021). Accordingly, we expect to see participants converge on the choice of CDU to describe objects or to request more information at the same sequential positions as the dialogue unfolds. For instance, if, at the instruction-giving position, the frequency of the congruent type becomes less used for Speaker 1 as the dialogue extends, it is expected to observe a similar tendency for Speaker 2. Preliminary results show that this is indeed the case.

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Are there differences in the treatment of female and male speakers in the German Federal Parliament?
A quantitative analysis of verbal interruptions from the year 2019

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Perceived differences in the treatment of women and men in German politics in general and specifically in the German Federal Parliament, the German Bundestag, have been and are an often-discussed topic in the public discourse in Germany. A lot of attention in these discussions is paid to verbal interruptions during debates in the Bundestag, the suggestion being that female speakers across parties are interrupted regularly by male colleagues and often with sexist remarks. A small-scale analysis of verbal interruptions (see Burkhardt 1990) suggests differences in the amount and also the kind of verbal interruptions female and male members of parliament (MPs) receive respectively, but these results have neither been confirmed or refuted by quantitative analyses. The present study has aimed to contribute to filling this gap in research by using a two-step statistical analysis with descriptive methods and a generalised linear mixed effects regression in *R*. Based on Burkhardt's and other studies conclusions on gendered differences in parliaments, the following research question was formulated: Is there a relation between the gender of the speaker and the quantity and quality of verbal interjections occurring during their speech? The empirical evidence comes from over 10,000 verbal interjections collected from the official transcripts of the Bundestag from the year 2019 and coded for illocutionary polarity with the levels *negative*, *neutral* or *positive*. The data were collected and annotated by the author. Researcher bias was minimised in early stages of data collection by computing the inter-annotator-agreement (90%) of a small subset of 200 interruptions annotated by the author and two other native speakers of German. The speaker's and the interrupter's gender, party affiliation, the age of both persons involved and the respective topic's potential for polarising opinions were included as additional factors. The descriptive statistical analysis showed that most interjections were negative in nature and that in contrast to the tendencies found in Burkhardt's results, female speakers did not receive proportionally more negative verbal interjections than male speakers. This was confirmed by the results of the analysis in *R*: The speaker's gender was not shown to have a significant effect on the chances of interjections that are negative in nature occurring during their speech. However, a Chi²-test revealed an almost significant interaction of the two gender variables (p = 0.54). The cautious interpretation of this interaction is that female speakers have a slightly higher chance of being negatively interrupted by a female interrupter rather than by a male interrupter. An analysis of a bigger dataset would be required to confirm whether or not women are more often interrupted by fellow women. Whilst gender as a whole turned out not to be significant, the (scaled) age variables did. With a *p*-value of 0.01 the analysis showed that MPs across ages tend to interrupt speakers in their own age group more often than speakers younger or older than themselves. This is a surprising result, since age was initially included as a control variable, but it shows that age should be a factor considered in future research on verbal interruptions.

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An investigation of stance in French native novice academic writing: Bringing the Anglo-Saxon tradition into the French-speaking research sphere

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Stance, or the linguistic ways writers express their (1) assessment and commitment and (2) attitudes and value judgments towards the information presented, is an area of difficulty for native and non-native novice writers of English academic writing. Novices have, for instance, been found to take on a more assertive tone and to adopt a more personal style than experts (e.g. Aull & Lancaster 2014, Larsson 2019). Research on French native novices appears to reveal similar findings (e.g. Rinck & Pouvreau 2010), but the results of studies from the Anglo-Saxon and the French traditions are difficult to compare. Stance is in fact approached very differently in the two traditions, be it in terms of descriptions and categorizations of stance, or in terms of methodologies adopted. The most striking difference might be the fact that linguists from the French tradition typically conduct qualitative analyses of a limited number of texts (e.g. Donahue 2002, Delcambre & Laborde-Milaa 2002) while linguists from the Anglo-Saxon tradition tend to favor corpus-based quantitative analyses of lexico-grammatical stance features (e.g. Aull 2015, Hyland 2012).

This paper brings the Anglo-Saxon tradition into the French-speaking research sphere by applying typical Anglo-Saxon stance frameworks and methodologies to corpora of French academic writing. It aims to revisit findings from the French tradition, and to understand whether the stance features typically highlighted in English novice writing also characterize French novice writing. The analyses are conducted by comparing a corpus of native novice French academic writing (i.e. the *French Academic wRiting* corpus, or FAR) with a corpus of French expert academic writing (i.e. the KIAP-FR-LING). The FAR is comprised of 70 academic papers written by French-speaking students in the framework of their linguistics courses at UCLouvain (Belgium), and the KIAP-FR-LING holds 50 research articles written in French and in the field of linguistics. The focus is placed on epistemic and attitudinal adverbials and complement clauses controlled by adjectives, nouns, and verbs. Stance markers are extracted by combining a corpus-driven approach and a manual selection of those markers (e.g. *hypothèse*, *peut-être* and *intéressant*), which are then disambiguated in context. The data is then analyzed in terms of marker frequencies, lexical preferences, and lexical diversity.

Adopting such a systematic corpus-based approach to stance in the study of novice writing arguably allowed us to empirically (in)validate findings made on the basis of a restricted number of texts, in the same way as corpus-based studies on personal pronouns have allowed researchers to gain empirical insights into the use of those pronouns in French academic writing (e.g. Hartwell & Jacques 2014, Fløttum & Vold 2010). On the one hand, it was found that French novices do not necessarily take on a more assertive tone than French experts. In fact, it is quite the opposite: they are more tentative than their expert counterparts as they tend to overuse hedges like *sembler* and *peut-être*. On the other hand, and in a similar way as English novices, French novices tend to adopt a more personal tone than experts, with a heavy reliance on items like *difficulté* and *intéressant*. This result is in line with the description made by researchers from the French tradition, of French novice writing as being more attitude-laden than French expert writing.

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Les procédures de reformulation : un nouvel outil d'analyse de productions ?
Comparaison de restitutions orales/écrites
par des étudiants de 19 ans (FLM, FLS, FLE)

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Cette recherche s'inscrit dans le projet international intitulé *Les procédures de reformulation : outil d'appropriation de la langue maternelle et étrangère, à l'oral et à l'écrit*, coordonné depuis 2019 par Claire Martinot. Elle est menée auprès de quinze étudiants âgés de 19 ans scolarisés en section BTS dans un lycée de la banlieue nord de Paris. Le français est la langue de scolarisation pour quatre d'entre eux, et pour un étudiant appartenant à un programme d'échange avec le Mexique, elle constitue une langue étrangère. Cette étude compare pour la première fois les procédures de reformulation qu'ils produisent à l'oral à celles effectuées à l'écrit à partir d'un protocole semi-écologique fondé sur la restitution d'une histoire d'environ 500 mots lue auparavant par le chercheur appelée « texte source » (TS). Celle-ci est d'abord faite individuellement à l'oral (RO), et de manière collective à l'écrit (RE) une semaine après pour limiter l'influence de la première passation sur la seconde, sans accès à leur enregistrement. Afin d'éviter l'enchevêtrement des données, l'unité d'analyse retenue est la prédication élémentaire au sens harrissien du terme (Harris, 1988) que l'on peut isoler à l'oral comme à l'écrit, et qui présente l'avantage de véhiculer une seule information dans un cadre syntaxique complet ou reconstructible. La théorie transformationnelle non générative permet ainsi une observation plus précise. L'analyse des reformulations sur laquelle les résultats sont fondés va consister à repérer le changement majeur qu'un locuteur-scripteur introduit lors de sa reformulation des prédications élémentaires du texte source. Cette étude a pour objectif d'analyser l'organisation prédicative résultant de chaque mode de restitution (Berrendonner, 2004) : le contenu informatif restitué est-il le même à l'oral et à l'écrit ? Par l'analyse des processus de transformation mis en œuvre par les étudiants, elle vise également à observer si les procédures de reformulation utilisées à l'oral tendent vers une simplification des prédications sources tandis qu'à l'écrit, les étudiants tentent de maintenir leur degré de complexité. Enfin, pouvons-nous distinguer des mouvements reformulatoires propres au medium (Cappeau, 2018) ? Les premiers résultats soulignent que les étudiants peuvent transformer l'organisation prédicative source (Koch et Oesterreicher, 2001) en synthétisant deux prédications en une. Les informations du TS peuvent ainsi être présentes sans constituer autant de noyaux prédicatifs (Martinot et Lambert, 2022). L'analyse des procédures de reformulation fait apparaître des tendances distinctives en reformulation orale et en reformulation écrite. Les paraphrases par analyse syntaxique sont spécifiques de la reformulation orale tandis que les paraphrases synthétiques, formelles par transformation et les paraphrases interprétatives avec extrapolation sont beaucoup plus nombreuses en reformulation écrite. Cette dernière procédure n'avait pas été répertoriée dans les projets précédents. Cette étude permet de s'interroger sur l'identification de nouvelles procédures de reformulation, d'une part parce que les productions des adultes ont des caractéristiques propres et d'autre part parce que les cinq étudiants maîtrisant le français depuis peu d'années conçoivent peut-être de façon différente leurs reformulations à l'oral et à l'écrit (Gerolimich, 2004).

D'un point de vue didactique, le protocole utilisé, comparant un texte de départ (TS) à une restitution d'arrivée (RO ou RE), permet d'analyser des productions sous un angle nouveau : l'accent est mis sur l'observation et la description du mouvement, des mécanismes de transformation plutôt que sur les erreurs commises. Relevant du choix inconscient des étudiants et dépendant uniquement de leurs compétences langagières (lexicales et morphosyntaxiques), les procédures plus ou moins complexes mises en œuvre sont révélatrices de l'habileté syntaxique des étudiants et permettent d'obtenir des informations importantes sur le degré de maîtrise de la langue parlée et écrite des apprenants. Par

ailleurs, les résultats permettront de se demander dans quelle mesure l'entrainement de la parole orale peut être exploité pour produire un meilleur écrit (Plane, 2017). Enfin, les procédures de reformulation que nous utilisons prennent à la fois en compte la construction syntaxique, le choix lexical et le sens comme trois aspects indissociables. S'appuyant sur les capacités reformulatoires des apprenants, elles pourraient ainsi constituer un nouvel outil efficace et pertinent pour travailler l'expression.

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Noun incorporation in English: diachronic case-studies

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This paper discusses noun incorporation (N+V compounds) in English based on Mithun's (1984) four-way typology. Adopting a constructional perspective and hence also including forms that derive from nominal compounds like *baby(-)sit*, we regard noun incorporation as a productive process in English (cf. Hall 1956, Rice & Prideaux 1991, Feist 2013), cf. (1) to (3).

(1)   I **channel-surf** occasionally to find out what passes for public service television these days. (WB)

(2)   Channel V […] will godfather them as "adopted daughters", **handholding** them for the next two years. (WB)

(3)   O'Meara […] said: "I **baby-sat** Tiger Woods and I told Tiger it's his turn to babysit Sergio [García]. He's an incredible talent but he is still only 19." (WB)

This paper takes as the point of departure our synchronic findings about to what extent Mithun's (1984) typology can be applied to present-day English. This synchronic study is based on 11 N+V compounds that vary in semantic relation of N to V and semantic features of N, searched in WordBanks *Online*. We find that Mithun's types I, II and IV are attested, while type III is not. Type I, compounding for nameworthy activities, is most common (1). Type II, which involves manipulation of case roles, is exemplified in (2): the incorporation of the patient noun allows its possessor to be "promoted" to object position (non-incorporated equivalent: *holding their hands*) (see also Feist 2013: 170). Type III, incorporation as a productive means for backgrounding known or incidental information, does not seem to occur in English (*contra* Feist 2013: 166). Finally, we argue that examples like (3) instantiate type IV, classificatory incorporation: the external noun phrase *Tiger Woods* identifies the argument implied by the incorporated noun *baby* (cf. Mithun 1984: 863), and *baby* semantically classifies the referent of *Tiger Woods*. This analysis is supported by the widened semantic scope of the incorporated noun *baby* in such uses, generalized to 'entity in need of care', with animacy restrictions lifted, as evidenced in (4). Unlike for the cases of type IV discussed by Mithun (1986), cases like (3)-(4) do not result in a broad system of nominal classification, and cannot be used to keep a topic straight over a stretch of discourse with different verbs (cf. absence of type III).

(4)   The printers are part of a system that automatically generates 60-day renewal notices each night. "There have been issues with some of the notices getting out," Miss Witt said. "We're **baby-sitting** the printers." (WB)

While English thus seems to provide a counter-example to Mithun's (1984) implicational hierarchy (type I > II > III > IV) in synchrony, we set out to investigate whether the same holds for its diachronic validity. We will conduct diachronic case-studies of five lexical items showing type I as well as type II or IV uses in synchrony, and will argue that these 'skip' type III in their development. Data come from exhaustive samples from the Corpus of Historical American English. This lack of type III may relate to the analytic nature of English, which lacks pronominal affixes on the verb, a feature indicated as typical of languages displaying types III and IV by Mithun (1984: 859-872).

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Corpora

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To drill or not to drill? Towards a holistic approach to English language teaching

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The talk will focus on different types of exercises which have prevailed in the teaching of English as a foreign language (TEFL). In particular, the issue of drill exercises used to practise the phonology, the lexis and the structure will be addressed. Ur (2012; 46) also defines these three main language components as the '*what*' of language. The following questions will be considered:

- What is drill work and what is it based on?
- Was there still a place for drilled systematization at the outset of CLT (Communicative Approach to Language teaching), back in the 1980's? If so, was there a significant break noticed in the frequency of such exercises?
- How has drill work evolved since the early days of CLT?
- Has Task Based Language Teaching (TBLT), which is seen as the practical application of the Communicative Approach (Nunan, 2004; Andon & Eckerth, 2009; Mitchell *et al.*, 2013), brought about new types of drill activities?
- Have the latest textbooks – or renewed issues of old ones – dealt with drilling differently?
- How can drill exercises be classified into sheer mechanical language practice on the one hand and more meaningful work on the other?

Bearing these questions in mind, the talk will provide practical examples of drilling techniques and touch upon the types of exercises that are found beyond the drilling stage.

Concluding remarks will discuss the need of maintaining the technique of drilling in today's foreign language teaching as a necessary, yet insufficient, step towards integrated language and skills work. Hence, the case will be made for considering a holistic approach when teaching English as a foreign language. Further implications for TEFL will highlight the importance of training student-teachers in identifying the variety of exercises on offer in textbooks so that they should be able to better discriminate and build upon them.

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Using distributional semantics to annotate for semantic predictors: a case study on the English dative alternation

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The dative alternation in English is one of the most extensively investigated alternations in English. The ditransitive (i) and prepositional (ii) variants (Bresnan et al. 2007) are acknowledged to be broadly equivalent semantically:

i. *[The waiter]*subject *[gave]*verb *[my cousin]*recipient *[some pizza]*theme
ii. *[The waiter]*subject *[gave]*verb *[some pizza]*theme *[to my cousin]*recipient

Many quantitative studies focused on the more traditional formal predictors, such as structural complexity of constituents, pronominality, constituent length (e.g. Szmrecsanyi et al 2017) to explain the choice of one variant over the other. In contrast, semantic properties have been largely neglected in variationist alternation research due to its perceived cost efficiency. Manually annotating for semantic predictors is labor-intensive, time-consuming, and challenging to perform systematically and objectively, while not promising much in terms of explanatory power. Röthlisberger et al. (2017) has tried to tackle this issue via inclusion of lexical random effects in regression analysis, but while this method works reasonably well to increase the goodness of fit of regression models, it does not contribute to explaining the phenomenon. In this presentation, we introduce a potential solution to this issue: automatically generated semantic predictors using distributional models of meaning (Lenci 2018). The objectives of this research are on the one hand to determine the importance of semantic properties of the lexical context for predicting variant choice, and on the other hand whether and what they add to the explanatory power of traditional formal predictors. To accomplish our aims, the heads of the noun phrases that take the role of theme and recipient (e.g. *pizza* and *cousin*, respectively, in (i)) are represented in terms of their association strength to other items in a corpus. Based on such a numerical profile, we can cluster both the theme heads and the recipient heads and use the resulting classes as categorical predictors in a regression model. The approach is applied on a dataset of 1200 observations of the alternation for *give* in Spoken American English (Bresnan et al. 2007); the heads are modelled with data from the Spoken COCA (Davies 2008 - , ~127 million words).

The preliminary findings suggest that semantic clusters have significant predictive power, but traditional predictors appear to be subtly more powerful than type-level semantic predictors. Nevertheless, lexical effects emerge as the most important features for both theme and recipients, opening the research to further applications and developments.

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Enriching learner corpora with crowdsourced L2 proficiency assessment and the technique of adaptive comparative judgment

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Though proficiency is one of the most important constructs in Second Language Research, its measurement has not always received the attention it deserves, and practices of proficiency level assignment have been the subject of continued criticism (e.g. Hulstijn et al. 2010). In Learner Corpus Research, more particularly, Carlsen's (2012) review of some of the most commonly used methods of proficiency-level assignments of texts showed that many learner corpora still rely on variables such as institutional status or year of study as a proxy for proficiency, despite the fact that these external criteria are largely regarded as unreliable (Thomas 1994). While a handful of learner corpora prove the exception by including reliable text-based proficiency scores (e.g. AndreSpråksKorpus, a learner corpus of Norwegian as a second language; Carlsen 2012), the time and cost difficulties typically associated with analytical scoring means that it is often absent from, or operationalized in unreliable ways, in learner corpora.

This presentation has two main objectives. First, we will introduce the technique of adaptive comparative judgment (ACJ), coupled with a crowdsourcing approach, as a practical solution to the reliability issues as well as the time and cost difficulties associated with a text-based approach to proficiency assessment in learner corpus research. The method of CJ is based on Thurstone's (1927) 'Law of Comparative Judgment', which builds on the assumption that people are able to compare two performances more easily and reliably than to assign a score to an individual performance (Lesterhuis et al. 2017). The CJ approach involves the consensus of a panel of judges who are asked to compare two performances of any kind (be they dance performances, design portfolios, or, as in the present study, written learner productions) and to simply decide which of them is better. Under the ACJ framework, performances are paired adaptively, reducing the overall amount of comparisons required to achieve a reliable scale of performance abilities. A second critical assumption underpinning CJ is its reliance on holistic judgment: Judges do not receive criteria to guide their judgment process, but at best a general description regarding the competence to be assessed. We showcase this method by reporting on the methodological framework implemented in the Crowdsourcing Language Assessment Project (CLAP; Paquot et al., 2022) and presenting the results of a first pilot study that demonstrate that a crowd of 43 judges is able to assess (i.e. rank) 50 learner texts with high reliability (SSR = .95). No effect of language skills or language assessment experience was found on the assessment task, but there was a difference in the decisions made by judges who received formal language assessment training and those who did not. Nevertheless, the scores generated by the crowdsourced task exhibited a strong correlation with the rubric-based scores released with the learner corpus used (ETS Corpus of Non-Native Written English; Blanchard et al., 2014).

The second objective of this presentation is to report on a newly launched collaborative initiative that aims to replicate and extend the pilot study described above by addressing some of the most pressing theoretical issues and avenues for future L2 research identified therein (Paquot et al., 2022).

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The attribution of responsibility to perpetrators of human rights abuses

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From a social point of view, it is important to understand how human rights violations are represented in the different discourses that recount them. Indeed, the way these discourses represent the abuses may influence the way they are perceived within the population. In this sense, a linguistic approach can be particularly interesting. This study therefore analyses the discursive construction of human rights violations, and more specifically the attribution of responsibility to the perpetrators, in the discursive genre of human rights reports.

Various studies already have been carried out on the topic of human rights violations. In the Hispanic context, which interests us, various authors explore the discursive construction of the violations committed during the different dictatorships that characterized the 20th century of Latin America. For instance, Achugar (1999; 2007; 2009) analyses the representation of the abuses in the military discourse about the Uruguayan dictatorship. In the Chilean context, Oteíza (2017; 2020) investigates the means of representation of the abuses committed during the dictatorship of Pinochet in history classroom interactions. De Cock and Michaud Maturana (2014; 2018) study various aspects of the Rettig report such as the attribution of responsibility, which is particularly interesting for this work. Whereas the existing literature tends to focus on past events, this study analyses a more contemporary context, namely the abuses committed during the social protests that arose in Chile in 2019. The corpus is made of two human rights reports, published by Amnesty International (Amnesty International, 2020) and by an organism of the United Nations (OHCHR, 2019), and both written in Spanish.

In order to study the attribution of responsibility, the expression of agentivity was investigated in the corpus. In Spanish, we can hide the agent thanks to various linguistic strategies such as the use of the passive voice without an agent, the "*se*" impersonal structure and nominalizations. The corpus was analysed using the five levels of agentivity developed by De Cock and Michaud Maturana (2014; 2018) in the framework of their analysis of the Rettig report, published after the Dictatorship of Pinochet in Chile. The authors have established these levels on the basis of three main criteria: the nature of the perpetrators' references, the syntactic function of these references and the transitivity of the verb.

The present analysis revealed a tendency to reduce the agentivity in the report of the OHCHR (e.g. use of the passive voice and impersonal structures with "*se*"), whereas the report of Amnesty International tends to maximize the agentivity (e.g. use of active verbs with explicit subjects). The attribution of responsibility to the perpetrators is therefore represented differently in both reports, which can be explained by the different objectives they pursue. A further step is to analyse the attribution of responsibility in a wider corpus, made of four discursive genres (human rights reports, criminal lawsuits, newspapers articles and tweets), taking into account how the text's genre and legal status influence the expression of agentivity. This will imply testing and amplifying the proposed taxonomy of agentivity which was initially developed for the specific genre of human rights reports. In this presentation, I will then also include the preliminary results of a pilot study on these next steps.

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An exploratory product- and process-based analysis of L2 writing by dyslexic language learners

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In this presentation, we will present an ongoing research project aimed at investigating the written production of learners of English as a foreign language (L2) with dyslexia. Our approach relies on data representing both the written product and the writing process.

Technological methods such as screencasting and keylogging have made it possible to consider learners' composition processes, with their several stages of editing and revision, alongside the final texts. Such methods can reveal information about intermediate steps such as text planning, frequency and location of pauses, or number and types of revisions (Galbraith & Vedder 2019). While process-based approaches have provided interesting insights into L2 writing processes, to the best of our knowledge they have not yet been applied to L2 writing produced by language learners with dyslexia.

In our project, we use data collected within the frame of the Process Corpus of English in Education (PROCEED; Gilquin 2022). For each subject taking part in a writing task (writing of short narrative texts elicited by text and pictures), we collect the final text, as is usually the case in learner corpora, but we also record the screen and keyboard activity by means of OBS Studio (Jim & OBS Studio Contributors 2021) and Inputlog (Leijten & Van Waes 2013), respectively, to represent learners' composition processes. The participants are French-speaking dyslexic students learning English in a Belgian university. Data from a control group made up of non-dyslexic students are also collected, but for the purpose of this presentation, we concentrate on dyslexic participants only.

In order to investigate the writing characteristics of dyslexic learners, screencasting and keylogging are supplemented by individual stimulated recall sessions. Such sessions aim to elicit the thought processes in which participants engaged while carrying out a certain task (here, the writing of the narrative text) on the basis of a stimulus (here, the screen recording of the writing task) (Gass & Mackey 2016; Révész, Lu & Pellicer-Sánchez 2021). Used in combination with screencasting and keylogging, this method helps get a better understanding of learners' cognitive activities during the writing task.

This presentation will offer an exploratory analysis of a small sample of the product and process data produced by dyslexic learners. We will examine the number and types of spelling errors (orthographic, phonological, grammatical, see Protopapas et al. 2013 for more details) made during the composition process as well as in the final texts and how this affects high-level processes such as sentence structure and text organisation. Special attention will be paid to writing fluency, including the frequency and location of pauses as well as the number and types of revisions, which will be determined by means of Inputlog. We will also look at participants' writing strategies, distinguishing between those that turn out to be successful and those that lead to errors or problems. This will lead to preliminary insights into the L2 writing of dyslexic language learners.

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Comme si t'allais réussir! Distribution sémantico-syntaxique des constructions introduites par *comme si* à l'interface subordination-insubordination

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Depuis Evans (2007), le terme *insubordination* est utilisé pour parler des phrases d'apparence formelle subordonnée qui, néanmoins, fonctionnent comme des phrases indépendantes. Ce phénomène a fait l'objet de nombreuses études qui rendent compte de son existence et fonctionnement dans des langues typologiquement différentes (Evans & Watanabe 2016, Bossaglia et al. 2017, Horie 2018). À leur tour, les études qui portent sur l'insubordination en français se concentrent principalement sur son origine (Patard 2014), son fonctionnement sémantique (Detges et Gévaudan 2018) et son statut syntaxique par rapport à la subordination (Debaisieux 2013, 2020).

L'étude ici présentée vise à contribuer à l'expansion de la connaissance de l'insubordination en français, se concentrant sur les constructions introduites par *comme si*. L'objectif de l'étude est double. Premièrement, à partir d'une approche ascendante, elle fournit une caractérisation des différentes fonctions sémantiques que ces constructions peuvent accomplir et comment ces fonctions interagissent avec le comportement syntaxique de ces phrases. Deuxièmement, ces configurations sémantico-syntaxiques forment la base pour tracer les limites entre les catégories de subordination et d'insubordination.

L'étude se base sur l'analyse de 642 occurrences de propositions introduites par *comme si*, dans 3 registres différents : oral conversationnel (*Orféo*, 214 exemples), écrit sur internet (*frTenTen17*, 214 exemples) et écrit littéraire (*ParCoLab* et *Corpus Romans* du Cental, 214 exemples). Chaque occurrence a été soumise à une double analyse :

(i) catégorisation sémantique, constituée par la fonction discursive (établie de façon ascendante à partir des données) et la macro-fonction (i.e. idéationnelle, rhétorique (subjective), textuelle ou interpersonnelle [Crible & Degand 2019])

(ii) relation syntaxique par rapport à la phrase précédente, établie par des tests de proportionnalité (i.e. substitution par un pronom ou une proforme avec la même fonction syntaxique, p.ex., *il fait comme s'il est président > il fait comment ?*) et d'antéposition (p.ex., *Comme s'il était président, il nous donne des ordres*)

L'analyse des données permet de distinguer 4 types de phrase, dont les fonctions sémantico-discursives sont : (1) manière hypothétique ; (2) cause hypothétique, (3) description ou interprétation hypothétique et (4) négation d'une hypothèse.

(1) *À sa mort, les patrons de Warner Bros se sont mis à parler de lui <u>comme s'il était leur ami</u>.*
(2) *La porte suivante s'ouvre avant qu'il ne l'ait touchée, <u>comme si quelqu'un l'avait tirée de l'intérieur</u>.*
(3) *C'est <u>comme si tu allais voir un film</u>, sauf que c'est toi l'acteur.*
(4) A : *Alors, ta bonne résolution ?* – B : *Arrêter de fumer.* – A : <u>*Comme si t'allais réussir !*</u>

En termes de macro-fonction, le domaine idéationnel (c-à-d, la phrase donne une qualification au niveau représentationnel) est réservé au type 1, tandis que les 3 restants sont concernés par le domaine rhétorique, lié aux méta-commentaires subjectifs du locuteur.

Au niveau syntaxique, nous constatons une multifonctionnalité de la conjonction *comme si*. Les tests révèlent ainsi trois niveau d'intégration de la phrase par rapport à la précédente : des subordonnées sous la forme d'un complément régi par un verbe principal [+prop ; -anté] (types 1 et 3); des subordonnées sous la forme d'un complément non-régi par un verbe principal [-prop ; +anté] (type 2); et des insubordonnées [-prop ; -anté)] (type 4). Ces dernières se trouvent, en termes de distribution

quantitative, en plus grande proportion dans le registre littéraire (26%), suivi du registre écrit digital (16%) et du registre oral conversationnel (11 %).

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¡Deja de fumar y para de quejarte!
The constructionalization of two Spanish near-synonymous periphrases

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Verbal periphrases make up one of the most productive syntactic patterns for the expression of modal, temporal, and aspectual values in Spanish (see, a.o., Dietrich 1983, Gómez Torrego 1988, Fernández-Montraveta et al. in press). It has been claimed that the changes in the type and token productivity over time have a direct impact on the type of subjects that a certain construction admits (e.g. meteorological and existential verbs admit zero subjects) and on the tense and mood in which the periphrasis is conjugated (Garachana 2016, 2017). Existing studies (Olbertz, 1998; Fernández de Castro, 1999, a.o.) also point out the affinity of these constructions with predicates that express duration (non-permanent states, processes, and accomplishments), but they do not discuss their token or type frequency (Garachana 2021). What is more, it has not been sufficiently explored whether the evolution of combinatorial patterns in near-synonymous periphrases follow similar constructionalization paths. Adopting a constructionist, usage-based approach, and combining a diachronic and synchronic perspective, we investigate the evolution of the Spanish near-synonymous periphrases *dejar de* + INF and *parar de* + INF, as in *Deja de/Para de gritar* (Lit. Stop of to shout 'Stop shouting') and we pose the following research questions:

1. What is the functional distribution between these two near-synonymous periphrases both per period and throughout time? What semantic areas do they cover? Do these periphrases follow a parallel evolution (in terms of collostructional patterns)?

2. Given the observed lower token frequency of *parar de* + INF —with respect to *dejar de* + INF— over time, how does productivity relate to changing token frequency of each of the types of each of the periphrases?

All documented instances of both periphrases in the CORDE (*Corpus Diacrónico del Español*) are extracted and each token is analysed in terms of morphosyntactic and semantic-pragmatic parameters, as well as contextual elements. We conduct a collostructional analysis to investigate which lexemes are strongly attracted or repelled by the non-finite verb form slot in the construction. This is done through a distinctive collexeme analysis (Gries & Stefanowitsch 2004), which is known to be well suited for the study of related constructions. We analyze the realized and potential productivity of both periphrases paying special attention to the *aktionsart* of the attracted or repelled predicates. Our findings are then contrasted with data extracted from the CORPES XXI, that allow access to data from more recent decades and less formal registers.

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In de naam van Merlijns ongewassen ondergoed?
De vertaling van de IAW-frasen bij Harry Potter en SpongeBob SquarePants

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Een courant fenomeen in talen als het Duits en het Engels is dat vraagwoordvragen geïntensifieerd kunnen worden door vaste verbindingen die meteen na het vraagwoord komen en veelal een nuance van onbegrip (of iets dergelijks) tot uiting brengen. In het Duits gaat het om frasen als *zum Teufel* (1), *zur Hölle*, *in aller Welt*, *in drei Teufels Namen* en dergelijke meer, in het Engels onder andere om *the fuck*, *the hell* (2), *in all world* en *for heaven's sake*. Naar het voorbeeld van Stefanowitsch (2011) worden die vaste verbindingen hier IAW-frasen genoemd.

(1)   Was *zum Teufel* machst du da oben? (COSMAS-II)
       'Wat IAW doe jij daarboven?'

(2)   Who *the hell* is the Count de Cintre? (MICASE)
       'Wie IAW is de Count de Cintre?'

Terwijl zulke IAW-frasen in het Engels en het Duits behoorlijk courant zijn, zijn ze in het Nederlands en het Frans niet zo gebruikelijk. Er zijn weliswaar ook vormen als *in Gods naam* of *diable*, maar zowel de typefrequentie als de tokenfrequentie liggen toch duidelijk lager. Dit is vooral een uitdaging voor de vertaling van diverterende teksten, waarin in het Engels en het Duits geregeld met IAW-frasen gespeeld wordt. Een typische eigenschap van IAW-frasen in het Duits en (in iets mindere mate) in het Engels is immers dat ze ad hoc gevarieerd kunnen worden.

Twee reeksen waarin creatief met IAW-frasen wordt omgesprongen, zijn Harry Potter en SpongeBob SquarePants. Naast courante varianten als *the hell* en *on earth* wordt er hier geregeld gebruik gemaakt van creatieve variaties die veelal als aanspelingen op de tovenaarswereld respectievelijk het onderwaterleven te zien zijn. In de Harry-Potter-boeken vind je bijvoorbeeld frasen als *in the name of Merlin* en bij SpongeBob zijn onder meer *the barnacles* en *the holy mackerel* te vinden.

(3)   What *in the name of Merlin* are you doing?
       'Wat IAW ben je aan het uitspoken?'

(4)   What *the barnacles* is going on here?
       'Wat IAW is er hier gaande?'

In deze lezing wordt de vraag gesteld hoe de vertalers met die gelegenheidsvarianten omspringen. Concreet wordt voor de officiële Duitse, Franse en Nederlandse vertalingen van de zeven Harry-Potter-boeken en van drie SpongeBob-reeksen bekeken hoe deze gelegenheidsfrasen in de verschillende talen vertaald werden. De keuze voor deze drie talen is geen toeval: Het Duits laat net als het Engels veel variatie in IAW-frasen toe, terwijl er in het Nederlands en het Frans lang niet meer zo veel IAW-frasen gebruikt worden als in het Engels. Toch blijkt dat er in elk van de talen zulke creatieve IAW-variaties voorkomen, die vaak weliswaar geen directe vertalingen van het Engelse origineel zijn, maar toch analoog gevormd zijn. Het variatiepotentieel van IAW-frasen lijkt dus in alle vier de talen vergelijkbaar te zijn, al wordt het in het IAW-rijke Duits meer benut, terwijl de vertalingen naar het IAW-armere Frans en Nederlands toch minder creatief zijn en meer aansluiten bij de traditionele frasen.

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Complexity in complementation:
understanding lifespan change in verb complementation of individuals

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For many linguists – regardless of their theoretical framework – linguistic variation occurs at the level of speech communities. Some have even ventured to say that the individual is "reduced below the level of linguistic significance" (Labov 2012: 265) regarding language change. This view, however, is too narrowly focused on social identity and leaves important questions unanswerable: Does individual (cognitive) processing impact the spread of a variant at the community level, and if so, how/why? How do individuals accommodate change in their understanding/use of the language? To answer these questions, the behaviour of the individual must be studied in detail.

This paper aims at providing such a detailed study of twelve writers across two generations born around the 1660s and the 1710s respectively. It provides an investigation of the changes in their use of the competing variants of finite/nonfinite complement clauses (CCs) with a select group of complement taking predicates (CTPs). An example of the variation at issue is given in (1)

(1) a. They *believed that* the Bible was the word of God. (1821, CLMET)
    b. They *believed* the Bible *to be* the word of God. (adapted from (1a))
    c. The Bible *was believed* to be the word of God. (adapted from (1a))

In this type of variation the newer, nonfinite variants (i.e. the *believe*-ECMs, as in 1b and 1c)[2] coexist with the older, finite variant, thus complementing the variationist literature focused on replacement of the older counterpart (e.g. Nevalainen et al. 2011). It has also been theorised that syntactic change often resides below the level of awareness (Labov 2001:28), making this an ideal case to study the role of cognitive representations and their flux due to the lowered influence of social variables. With this analysis of an unstudied type of syntactic change from a new perspective, we aim to add to Fonteyn & Nini's (2020:18) usage-based model of individual variation. Further, in studying long-term variation we seek to contribute to a theory of language as a complex adaptive system (Beckner et al. 2009).

Data consist of over 500,000 words per individual, annotated for CCs featuring a selection of CTPs falling within two semantic clusters (private and public factual verbs). Each instance is coded on eight functional variables (semantic, structural and discourse). Multifactorial classification models (conditional inference tree and random forest algorithms) are then employed to determine which language-internal factors an individual uses to condition the variation in their linguistic output, and to compare the relative importance of the constraints across individuals. An important advantage of the proposed statistical methods is that they are robust even with a relatively small amount of data (Fonteyn & Nini 2020).

Results suggest that individuals organise their complementation behaviour more along the lines of smaller partly idiosyncratic local systems rather than sweeping semantic groupings, which results in a substantial degree of inter-individual variation, which we will argue correlates with continued long-term variation. We also discuss the available evidence that certain individuals' grammatical generalisations exert more impact on the subsequent generation than others.

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[2] Earliest attestations of the *believe*-Exceptional Case Markings [ECMS] are found c. 1390 (see Los 2005:254-255).

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Word order distributions for dative-nominative verbs in German and Icelandic: a corpus study

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It is common knowledge that in Icelandic the subject status of a verbal argument is not necessarily associated with nominative case marking (Andrews 1976, Zaenen et al. 1985, Sigurðsson 1989, Jónsson 1996, i.a.). In this study, we focus on verbs licencing a dative subject and a nominative object. Interestingly, these come in two different guises: non-alternating DAT-NOM verbs, which only licence dative subjects, and alternating DAT-NOM/NOM-DAT verbs, which allow both verbal arguments to take on the role of subject, yet not at the same time:

(1a) ***Barninu** likar **bragðið***   (1b) ****Bragðið** líkar **barninu***

　　　child.the.DAT likes **taste**.**the**.NOM   　　　**taste**.**the**.NOM likes **child**.**the**.DAT

(2a) ***Skipstjórum** hentar **veiðarfæri***   (2b) ***Veiðarfæri** hentar **skipstjórum***

　　　skippers.DAT suits **fishing gear**.NOM   　　　**fishing gear**.NOM suits **skippers**.DAT

The existence of a class of alternating DAT-NOM/NOM-DAT verbs has also been acknowledged for German, as can be deduced from examples 3a–3b (e.g. Lenerz 1977; Primus 2012; Barðdal, Eyþórsson & Dewey 2019):

(3a) ***Das Buch** gefällt **dem Mädchen***   (3b) ***Dem Mädchen** gefällt **das Buch***

　　　the.NOM **book** is.to.liking **the**.DAT **girl**   　　　**the**.DAT **girl** is.to.liking **the**.NOM **book**

The aim of this study is to lend empirical support to the idea that Icelandic indeed possesses two distinct classes of DAT-NOM verbs by focusing on word order distributions in declarative clauses. We subsequently carry out a comparison with German, by directing our attention to cognates or (near-)synonyms of the Icelandic verbs. The data come from the Icelandic isTenTen20 corpus (520 million words) and the German deTenTen13 corpus (5.3 billion words) (cf. Jakubíček et al. 2013). For each type, 200 randomized tokens are extracted from the two corpora. The analysis is couched in a CxG framework.

For Icelandic, we selected five alternating verbs from Barðdal (2001) and compared their word order distributions to those of five non-alternating verbs, as well as five NOM-DAT verbs like Icelandic 'help'. The latter were hypothesized to be strongly inclined to the NOM-DAT construction. The results show that the subjects of both non-alternating verbs as well as NOM-DAT verbs are very strongly associated with clause-initial position (up to 99.5% in the [NP]-[V]-[NP] condition). The class of alternating verbs deviates significantly from the baseline set by both of the aforementioned verb classes, yielding clause-initial nominatives approximately 70% of the time in constructions with double NPs.

For German, we find similar results for the group of NOM-DAT verbs containing verbs like *helfen* 'help', in that they are also very strongly associated with clause-initial nominatives. However, the remaining ten verbs all alternate to a greater or a lesser extent, thereby confirming the existence of a class of alternating verbs, yet refuting the existence of a class of non-alternating DAT-NOM verbs.

The observed frequencies support the hypothesis that Icelandic, but not German, possesses a class of non-alternating DAT-NOM verbs whose oblique subject behaves similarly to canonically case marked subjects. They also show that both German and Icelandic possess a class of alternating verbs for which subjecthood is constructionally determined (Barðdal 2001, Barðdal, Eyþórsson & Dewey 2019).

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Valency Patterns of TAKE in New Englishes

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Valency pattern is a lexical grammar model put forward as a combination of pattern grammar and valency grammar, with a view to improving the applicability of pattern grammar. Due to the fact that pattern grammar only emphasizes parts of speech and the necessary lexis in its descriptive model (e.g. *N of N*), which often leads to different interpretations for one and the same pattern (Teubert, 2007: 224), some researchers (e.g. Reichardt, 2014; Zhen & Yang, 2015) have tried to adopt the syntactic functions in valency grammar to overcome the ambiguity of pattern grammar by clarifying the dependency relationships between the headword and its governed lexical items (e.g. *sub V obj vb(to-inf)*).

Within this framework, the present study aims to investigate the structural features of the highly polysemous verb TAKE at the lexico-grammar interface in two new Englishes, namely, Hong Kong English (HKE) and Singapore English (SINE), representing stage II to III and IV to V respectively in Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes. Student writing samples from the Hong Kong and Singapore components of the International Corpus of English (ICE) are used, together with the British university student essays from the Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays (LOCNESS) as a reference corpus.

Due to the lack of phraseological descriptions in the valency pattern model, this study analyzes the valency patterns of TAKE at two levels. At the higher level, all the cases including TAKE are analyzed in the manner of valency pattern, namely by distinguishing between monovalency, divalency, trivalency and quadrivalency, and their subcategories. At the lower level, I will examine phraseological uses including phrasal verbs (PVs), light verb constructions (LVCs) and idioms. To identify the potential variations of valency patterns of TAKE in HKE and SINE, I use the chi-squared test to detect the differences in valency patterns and phraseological uses between HKE, SINE and British English (BrE).

The results reveal that a significant difference ($p<0.01$) could only be found between BrE and HKE at the two levels of analysis. The BrE data include 4 types of valency pattern with 52 subcategories, while the SINE data include 3 types with 23 subcategories, and the HKE data include 3 types with 28 subcategories. There are 5 and 1 nonstandard cases in the HKE (e.g. *be taken place*) and SINE data (e.g. *take into consideration of* nom) respectively.

Although the phraseological uses are quite frequent in the three varieties, the types of PVs, LVCs and idioms in BrE are far more diverse than those in SINE, followed by HKE (standard type-token ratio (sttr) = 40.28%, 37.59% and 37.08%, respectively). Some potential variations in new Englishes can be observed at the lower level as well as new verb combinations in the LVCs. Finally, SINE follows BrE more closely than HKE in terms of valency patterns and phraseological uses of TAKE in this study, which is opposite to the finding that the more advanced a variety is in the Dynamic Model, the more different it is from the input variety (Schneider, 2004; Mukherjee and Gries, 2009).

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