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Learning vocabulary in L2 German: Which word-related variables affect productive knowledge?

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In vocabulary research, factors affecting second/foreign language (L2) receptive vocabulary have been investigated extensively (e.g., De Wilde et al., 2020, 2022; Peters, 2020; Puimège & Peters, 2019; Reynolds & Ding, 2022). However, few studies have examined factors affecting productive knowledge (i.e., form recall), especially concerning Languages Other Than English (LOTES). Moreover, not much is known about the influence of time on L2 learners' productive single word knowledge. However, insights into the variables that affect productive vocabulary learning can help teachers to identify words that are easy or hard to learn and to guide their learners to successful productive word learning.

This longitudinal study aims to investigate which word-related variables (i.e., frequency, cognateness, concreteness, and age of acquisition (AoA)) play a role in the development of productive word knowledge (form recall) in L2 German. Our participants were 64 Dutch-speaking university learners of German, who participated three times in a German productive vocabulary test, once a year. This test, modelled after Nation's Productive Vocabulary Levels Test for English (Nation, 1990) and developed by ITT Leipzig, consists of 90 items, which measure students' productive vocabulary on the levels 1000, 2000, 3000, 4000, and 5000. Each year, a different version of the test was administered, which means that our dataset contained 270 different items in total. The results of a generalized linear mixed effect model showed that time, frequency, cognateness, and AoA together explained 28% of the variance. Frequency was the main predictor for L2 form recall. Cognateness also plays a role, although the impact is lower compared to the findings of studies on receptive vocabulary. Concreteness did not affect L2 learners' form recall scores. In our presentation, we will discuss our findings and talk about how these insights can be applied in practice.

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From *de* to *ke*: functional transfer of a topic shift marker from Turkish to Cappadocian Greek

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This presentation discusses how the particle *ke* is used as a topic shift marker in Cappadocian Greek (CG), which I argue is the result of contact-induced language change. CG is a cluster of closely related, critically endangered Greek dialects that were spoken in the Turkish region of Cappadocia until the Greek-Turkish Population Exchange of 1924 (Janse 2020). Due to intensive influence of the Turkish language, CG became a textbook example of language contact cited by many scholars as a case of heavy borrowing (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 215-22; Thomason 2001: 74; Winford 2005: 402-9; Matras 2020: 231-4).

A salient example of this strong Turkish influence is the extension of the functional range of the CG proclitic particle *ke*. In CG, *ke* functions as a coordinating ('and'), additive ('also') and scalar-additive ('even') particle, as was already the case in Ancient and Medieval Greek (Beekes & Van Beek 2010: 615). However, a new function appears in the following examples:

- (1) *k'* *ekíno* **ke** *lex:* "írta na vró ta tría gúzélja."
ADD DEM.NOM ADD say.PRS.3SG

'And he says, "I came to find the three Fair Ones."' (Dawkins 1916: 306-7)

Alongside a first *k(e)*, which functions here as a coordinating particle, a second, seemingly redundant *ke* is introduced, usually positioned between the topic and the verb of the sentence. I argue that this specific use of *ke* marks a topic shift, which is the result of 'functional transfer' (FT) from the Turkish enclitic particle *dA*. FT is defined by Siegel (2012: 189) as "applying the grammatical functions of a morpheme from one language (the Source Language) to a morpheme in another language (the Recipient Language)". More specifically, the transfer from *dA* to *ke* is a case of 'type II' (2012: 194-8), meaning that "[t]he functional range of a grammatical item or construction is extended and/or reduced" (Jennings & Pfänder 2018: 91).

In this case, the functional range of the Greek (RL) proclitic particle *ke* is extended and incorporates the function of topic shift marker associated with the Turkish (SL) enclitic particle *dA*, based on already existing similarities with Greek *ke*: both are used not only as a coordinating particle, but also as a (scalar-)additive particle (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 110; Dawkins 1916: 605). Additionally, Turkish *dA* also functions as a topic shift marker, unlike Ancient and Medieval Greek *ke*. It is this function of topic shift marker that is included into the functional range of the CG particle *ke*. The analysis of this specific use of the particle was carried out in a corpus of 58 CG folktales (ca. 50,000 words, the largest CG text collection to date).

This paper contributes to the research on language contact by investigating the mechanisms by which the Greek dialect in Cappadocia – which was isolated from the rest of the Greek-speaking world from the 11th century onwards – underwent significant changes under the strong influence of the surrounding Turkish *superstratum*. Additionally, it contributes to the overall knowledge of this underdocumented Greek dialect at the brink of extinction.

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Do French-speaking musicians outperform French speaking non-musicians in Dutch word stress production?

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In recent years, the relationship between music and language has received increasingly more attention, resulting in multiple studies analysing the impact of music training or musical skills on various domains of foreign language acquisition, such as phonological skills [1, 2], vocabulary [3] and prosody perception [4]. Studies addressing the influence of music on prosody production in a foreign language, however, are scarce [5] and address primarily the acquisition of English Mandarin or Spanish [6, 7, 8].

The acquisition of Dutch prosody by French-speakers is especially interesting since French and Dutch show great prosodic differences. One major difference is the use of word stress: Dutch is a variable-stress language where stress is a lexical property of words that can be used contrastively (e.g. *voorkomen*, 'to happen', vs. *voorkomen*, 'to prevent') [9]. French does not have lexical contrastive stress: French has a "primary accent" which falls on the last syllable of "accentual" word groups and which has a demarcative function [10]. Due to these differences, French native speakers show difficulties in acquiring Dutch word stress [11, 12]. Hence, this study focuses on the production of Dutch word stress by French-speaking musicians and non-musicians and aims to analyse the production in relation to the musical profile of the learners.

The present study includes 20 practising musicians with at least 5 years of music education, and 21 non-musicians who have had no more than 2 years of music learning experience, at least 8 years ago (M age = 20,84). The participants were monolingually raised with French as their mother tongue, have an intermediate proficiency level of Dutch (A2-B2), and benefit from a similar exposure to Dutch (e.g. no intensive daily contact with Dutch for more than 6 months and no immersion schools). The control group consists of 10 native speakers of Dutch with a similar profile (5 musicians, 5 non-musicians).

A prosody task (based on 12) assessed the participants' production of Dutch word stress. 30 trisyllabic words appeared in two sentence positions (*X heb ik gezegd, Ik heb X gezegd*). We gathered data on the participants' musical skills through a singing task and determined their musical profile using questionnaires. The participants' proficiency level in Dutch was evaluated using LexTALE [13] and two DIALANG subtests [14].

Two naive native speakers of Dutch and two French-speaking experts in Dutch linguistics evaluated the accuracy of stress placement in the prosody production task. Apart from the analysis in function of the musical profile of the participants, we also look at linguistic factors that could influence the production of word stress, such as formal similarity of the stimuli to French words.

The first results indicate that musicians outperform non-musicians in Dutch word stress production and show that formal similarity is negatively correlated with accuracy in stress placement. We will discuss further analyses on linguistic and musical factors, in particular the relationship between musical profile and prosody production, and touch on potential implications for future research on the role of music in language education.

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MT vs. bilingual dictionaries: learners' use and perceptions of two types of digital translation tools in L2 writing contexts

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Over the past decade, there has been a notable surge in the popularity of machine translation (MT) tools among second language (L2) learners, especially to assist them with L2 writing (Jolley & Maimone, 2022). However, little is known about how MT compares to its more traditional counterpart, the online bilingual dictionary. Therefore, the present study aims to investigate the differences in how L2 learners use and perceive these two types of writing tools.

Eighteen L1 Dutch learners of Swedish participated in structured interviews as part of a more comprehensive study on the impact of digital translation tools on L2 writing. The learners' answers to the closed- and open-ended questions were subjected to descriptive statistical analysis and thematic analysis, respectively.

Preliminary findings unveil that, out of all possible writing tools, MT tools (Google Translate and DeepL) are the most frequently used when writing in Swedish, followed by online bilingual dictionaries (Van Dale Online). Relying on more than one MT tool during L2 writing appeared to be a customary practice among the participants, whereas the use of multiple bilingual dictionaries is rare. Likewise, the participants indicated frequently resorting to language pairs other than Dutch-Swedish when using MT tools, but not when using online bilingual dictionaries. However, this picture is complicated by the fact that 67% also reported regularly using 'multitools', which offer both MT and dictionary services (e.g., Reverso, bab.la).

When asked about how they perceive the impact of the two types of tools on the quality of their writing product, participants consider tool type to affect dimensions such as text length, complexity, and accuracy. Additionally, the tool used is believed to affect various components of the writing process (Leijten et al., 2014). However, opinions diverge among participants regarding the way in which these different dimensions and processes are affected by the type of tool used.

Further analysis of the data will shed light on the degree to which participants' perceptions of the impact of the type of tool used on the writing product and process match with their actual writing performance and behaviour. We will discuss these results in relation to previous research on online translation tool use during L2 writing and address their pedagogical implications for L2 writing instruction.

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Beyond discourse markers: A holistic approach to the analysis of discursive construction mechanisms in S/FL oral narratives

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The general aim of this paper is to present a proposal for an integral analysis of the mechanisms of discourse construction (MDC) applicable to oral narratives of learners of Spanish. Specifically, we start from a functional approach based on Halliday and Hassan's (1976) proposal of language functions (ideational, textual and interactional) adapted by Cuenca (2006, 2011, 2013) for discourse and modal markers.

This analysis will be applied to a corpus of oral narratives in Spanish L2 consisting of a set of unplanned monologic oral narrative texts of native speakers, on the one hand, and learners of Spanish, on the other. The aim is to answer the following questions: (i) how does oral discourse marking develop at different levels of proficiency and (ii) in comparison with native speakers. The ultimate aim will be to develop didactic material for L2/FL teaching based on the results.

The ability to use discourse and modal markers is fundamental but occurs relatively late in first and second language acquisition (Aparici 2010, Ortega, 2015). Moreover, the effective use of discourse markers (DMs) is regarded as a reliable indicator of text quality (Rosado et al., 2021) and a necessary condition for non-native speakers to sound native-like (Hlavac, 2006). However, the study of L2 learners' use of DMs is relatively scarce (cf. Borreguero & Thörle 2016). Some studies tend to focus on particular DMs (e.g. the use of *you know* by learners of English), other studies include the set of expressions that can be considered DMs; in both cases leaving out other items used by learners with similar meanings/functions.

In order to address these limitations, this paper adopts, on the one hand, a functional approach to second language acquisition (Zyzik 2014); instead of departing from a repertoire of marks considered in L1, we identify three macro-functions (propositional, structural and modal) and then identify the marks used to express them. On the other hand, we start from the concept of MDC. Thus, we include not only the generally accepted as DM (invariable units, not integrated into the sentence and with procedural meaning), but also other elements which do not fit this definition but which perform a relevant role in discourse construction:

A) Sentential mechanisms: these are (i) most coordinating and subordinating conjunctions (*because, when*) and (ii) temporal expressions with a clausal but also discursive function (*later, after a while*).

B) Discursive mechanisms: (i) lexical formulae or routines which have compositional meaning (*how to say*) and (ii) general extenders (*and nothing*).

This dual functional approach seems to be more appropriate as it allows us to include both specific interlanguage mechanisms and those of oral texts in which the boundary between sentences in continuous speech is very difficult to establish.

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Shared physiology but differing perceptual enhancements: Exploring Intrinsic Vowel Pitch (IF0) in hearing-impaired children

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In adult speech, the high vowels /i/ and /u/ exhibit a higher f_0 than the low vowel /a/ (among others: Ladefoged, 1968; Traunmüller, 1981; Whalen, & Levitt, 1995; Van Hoof, & Verhoeven, 2011). This phenomenon is commonly referred to as Intrinsic Vowel Pitch (henceforth: IF0). The exact cause of IF0 is not known for certain but has been speculated about since IF0 was first discovered. IF0 has been attributed to (i) the physiology of vowel production or (ii) perceptual enhancement. However, the current evidence for either hypothesis is weak and inconclusive. On the one hand, the exact nature of the physiological mechanisms involved is still a subject of debate. On the other hand, the studies investigating the perceptual relevance of IF0 have yielded contradictory results.

Both hypotheses make different predictions about IF0 in hearing-impaired children's speech. The physiological account predicts that IF0 should consistently be present in typically-hearing and hearing-impaired speech, as both groups of children share the same phonatory apparatus. On the contrary, the perceptual hypothesis suggests that IF0 could be affected by hearing impairment, since hearing-impaired children's acquisition of phonological contrasts relies on degraded auditory input. The present study aims to assess the effect of hearing impairment on IF0 in children by studying IF0 in children with and without hearing impairment.

For this purpose, IF0 was analyzed in two groups of 6-year-old children differing in hearing status. One group consisted of children with hearing impairment (N=10), while the other group consisted of age-matched children with typical hearing (N=47). Children participated in a (non-)word imitation task in Belgian Standard Dutch. This corpus contained 5,400 high and low vowels which were analyzed for f_0 . To evaluate IF0, all possible unique pairwise comparisons between high and low vowels per child were computed, and this yielded 72,669 IF0 measurements.

The results showed that the hearing-impaired children exhibit IF0, just like their typically-hearing peers, suggesting the biomechanical origin of IF0. However, the size of IF0 was smaller in hearing-impaired children. The most likely explanation is that the delayed and reduced quality of the input provided to those children makes it more difficult for them to finely control f_0 to enhance the contrast between high and low vowels or that this contrast might not (yet) be firmly acquired as a phonological contrast encoded in terms of f_0 .

In conclusion, the findings indicate that IF0 cannot be entirely attributed to the physiology of the speech organs and that perception is likely to play a significant role. This provides evidence for a mixed account of IF0, giving due weight to both physiology and perceptual enhancement in the production of IF0.

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Investigating the investigators: an analysis of procedural differences in Flemish municipal investigative practices into possible sham marriages

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In Belgium, when marriage applications are filed involving a non-European partner, they are typically subjected to a municipal investigation and, should it prove necessary, a police investigation. A couple can be suspected of a sham marriage when one partner resides in the country illegally and could gain a permanent residential permit through the marriage. As at least one party is not native to the country, they will generally require the assistance of an interpreter during the investigations. However, Belgian-Flemish law does not provide a set of rules and regulations on how municipalities should best conduct the sham marriage investigations. They are free to organise them as they deem most suitable and thus are at liberty to choose what kind of interpreter they recruit (professional (sworn or social) or ad hoc) (Vandenbroucke & Defrancq, 2021), and who is responsible for the cost of the interpreter (the municipality itself or the couple).

Additionally, the civil servants must draft a written report of the interview whilst it is taking place. This written report is the sole document which underlies the decision regarding the future of the couple (Vandenbroucke, 2020; 2022). The document is thus of utmost importance. Nonetheless, the municipalities can also choose who has access to the report, either as it is being drafted or when it is finished.

During police investigations, however, a professional (sworn) interpreter must be summoned and is paid by the judiciary. The police inspector is the only party with access to the written report during the drafting process, but both the interpreter and the couple get the time to read the written report to make changes and both need to sign it before it is finalised and submitted as evidence to the public prosecutor's office.

This PhD project examines the influence of the interpreter on entextualisation – the process of turning spoken discourse into a written text so it can be extracted from its original context (Bauman & Briggs, 1990) - during the interviews, at both a municipal and police level. The data is currently being collected in three different municipalities and police zones (A, B & C). Currently we have obtained 25 audio and 15 video recordings of 15 couples (A: 1, B: 7, C: 7), of which four recordings were made at the police station of zone B. We have been able to observe three different types of interpreters: two ad hoc, eight sworn and six social interpreters, of which only the latter ones took notes during the interpretation process. We have thus far also obtained seven written records of C's municipality.

In this paper, we will present an overview of the diversified practices by municipalities across Flanders regarding how they conduct investigations into possible sham marriages. This covers not only the choice of interpreter (professional (sworn/social) or non-professional) and interview practices, but also the specific practice of committing the spoken interpreter-mediated encounter to words on paper in the report. In doing so, particular attention will be paid to the possible procedural consequences of the municipalities' choices in investigative practice.

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A multifactorial analysis of Chinese analytic passive constructions

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Analytic passive constructions marked by *bei/rang/gei* (1-3) are the most predominant strategy to indicate passive voice in Mandarin Chinese.

- (1) zhTenTen17 (Simplified) chinadevelopment.com.cn marker=*bei*
- | | | | | | | | | |
|------|------|-----------|-------------------|------|----------------------|------|-----|-----|
| [这 | 名 | 弃 | 婴] _{NP1} | 被 | [福利院] _{NP2} | 接 | 走 | 了。 |
| zhè | míng | qì | yīng | bei | fúliyuàn | jiē | zōu | le |
| this | CLF | abandoned | baby | PASS | welfare | pick | up | PST |
- “This abandoned baby was picked up by the welfare home.”
- (2) zhTenTen17 (Simplified) cye.com.cn marker=*rang*
- | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|-----|------|---------------------|-------|-----|-----|
| [钱] _{NP1} | 都 | 让 | [老板] _{NP2} | 赚 | 去 | 了。 |
| qián | dōu | ràng | lǎobǎn | zhuàn | qù | le |
| money | all | PASS | boss | earn | RES | PST |
- “All the money was earned by the boss.”
- (3) zhTenTen17 (Traditional) slime.com.tw marker=*gei*
- | | | | | | |
|----------------------|------|--------------------|---------|-----|-----|
| [狐狸精] _{NP1} | 给 | [鬼] _{NP2} | 捉 | 去 | 了。 |
| húlǐjīng | gěi | guǐ | zhūo | qù | le |
| fox | PASS | ghost | capture | RES | PST |
- “The fox was captured by the ghost.”

These analytic passive variants are in principle well-studied (e.g., Li & Thompson 1981; Zhu 1982; Guo & Chow 2014; Ding 2020), but the alternation has not yet to be fully explored using variationist techniques. Considering Probabilistic Grammar research (Bresnan 2007; Bresnan & Ford 2010; Szmrecsanyi 2013) and variationist sociolinguistics (e.g., Tagliamonte 2012), Chinese analytic passive variants as “alternate ways of saying ‘the same’ thing” (Labov 1972:188) are presumably subject to both internal syntactic and semantic constraints, as well as external constraints such as register, genre and diachronic period.

To explore the variation in synchrony, we investigate both Mainland Chinese and Taiwan Chinese corpus materials. We specifically tap into the *Chinese Web Corpus* ([zhTenTen17 Simplified](#) and [zhTenTen17 Traditional](#)). The objective is to determine what the language-internal factors are that predict the choice between Chinese *bei/rang/gei* long passives, and to establish if variant choice differs as a function of language variety (Mainland versus Taiwan). To this end, we extracted 760 observations of each passive marker (*bei/rang/gei*) respectively from both the Mainland Chinese and Taiwan Chinese materials, totaling 4,172 observations of Chinese analytic long passive constructions. Drawing inspiration from the literature on passive constructions in Chinese, we manually annotated all tokens for some 14 syntactic and semantic language-internal factors: explicitness, definiteness, and animacy of NP1; definiteness, animacy and thematic role of NP2; semantics and syntactic form of predicate; verb lemma; clause type; thematic role of object; syntactic parallelism; polarity; semantic prosody; and length of the right periphery of the passive construction.

To determine the combined effect of multiple linguistic factors, multivariate analysis methods are used, following best practice in variationist sociolinguistics (e.g., Tagliamonte 2012). Analysis shows that when the predicate indicates cause-motion, communication, emotion, or social-interaction, *bei* is most favored with a bare verb, complex stative construction, coordinating verb and serial verb construction or verb + preposition predicate and a non-animate NP2, while for a resultative verb construction or verb + aspect marker predicate with the short right periphery, *gei* is most favored. However, when the predicate indicates cognition or perception, *rang* is most favored with an animate NP2 and also the short right periphery.

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How to Talk About Abortion? A Diachronic Critical Discourse Analysis of the Language in Debates on Abortion in the German Bundestag

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Abortion has been and is a highly controversial topic in German society and politics before and after the reunification. Having been a criminal offence since 1871, it continues to be a topic of heated debate in Germany's federal parliament (e.g. Brunsbach 2011, Kamenitsa 2001, Meidert & Nebel 2013). Whilst there have been changes in the respective parties' approach to the topic over time, the basic ideological division between those advocating the foetus's right to live, and those arguing for the woman's right to choose has remained the same. The present study aims to examine how these ideologies are reflected in the language of the political discourse on the topic of abortion in the German Bundestag within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis as proposed by Jeffries (2010) with a focus on the indexicality of the terminology (e.g. "unborn life" vs "future life" or the labelling of abortion as "child murder" vs "procedure") and the assignment of semantic roles to the parties involved in the procedure of an abortion.

The diachronic design of the study should allow to observe potential evolutions regarding these issues. For this purpose, three debates from the German Bundestag, one from the 1970s, 1990s and 2010s respectively, have been analysed using the analysis software MAXQDA. In total, 104 speeches were analysed and annotated using a set of codes, including the semantic roles, usage of terminology related to the domains of family, medicine, or law, terms referring to the procedure, to the person having an abortion, to what is aborted, the person performing the abortion, and the (potential) father. Further codes include labels for terms/phrases reflecting the speaker's pro-life or pro-choice ideology, as well as labels for implicitness vs explicitness, the use of derogative personal terms, the use of terms signalling compassion, and lastly the usage of negatively connotated terms vs the use of neutral terminology.

Preliminary results show e.g. that contrary to what might be expected, politicians advocating pro-life ideas are not by default more likely to use terms from the family domain in their argumentation, but rather that this was the general tendency in the earlier decades across all parties. Furthermore, the analysis showed that women are mainly assigned the role of patient in the context of the procedure of an abortion.

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The relationship between L1 and L2 stance use: An investigation of noviceness, nonnativeness and individual variation in academic writing

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Over the last few decades, learner corpus-based studies have repeatedly identified stance features such as over-assertiveness as typical of English as a foreign Language (EFL) learner writing (e.g. Paquot 2010). The tendency to portray these features as 'learner-typical' has however also been subject to criticism. First, as L1 and L2 English novice writing have been found to share linguistic characteristics, some have argued that expertise plays a more significant role than nativeness (Römer 2009). Most EFL learners are also novice writers in their L1, but almost no research so far has compared systematically their writing in the L1 and the L2. Second, learners have often been considered as a homogeneous group in L2 stance studies, which goes against recent developments insisting on the importance of individual differences (e.g. Wulff & Gries 2020). This is all the more important for stance research, as different writers have been shown to adopt different degrees of assertiveness and attitude in their L1 (e.g. Vold 2008).

In order to disentangle the effects of EFL learners' novice vs. non-native status, while also accounting for individual variation, this study investigates stance in L1 and L2 writing by the same individuals. The analyses are based on the *Corpus of Academic French and English (CARE)* corpus, which contains L1 French and L2 English term papers written by university students. A mixed-method approach is adopted, involving a corpus study and three case studies. Noviceness vs. non-nativeness is studied via a general comparison between the L1 French texts and the L2 English texts. Individual variation is examined through a more qualitative analysis of three specific writers' L1 and L2 productions. The focus is placed on epistemic and attitudinal adverbials and complement clauses. A corpus-driven approach is adopted to identify the markers (e.g. *hypothesis*, *intéressant*), which are then extracted and disambiguated in context.

The results obtained by means of the two methodologies are complementary. The corpus study highlights a relationship between L1 and L2 stance marker frequencies, lexical preferences and lexical diversity, thus pointing to the importance of noviceness. The analysis of the texts of three specific writers reveals that, in addition to this L1-L2 relationship, there exists individual variation, both in terms of L1 stance usage, and in terms of the extent to which L1 stance use is mirrored in L2 stance use.

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On binary tense systems

Tom Koss (UAntwerpen)

As is well known, (absolute) tense as a grammatical category serves to temporally locate situations with respect to the time of speaking. Given that situations can either precede, follow or coincide with the time of speaking, tense systems could be expected to make a straightforward distinction between past, present and future. Spanish (Romance) is an example of such a language:

- (1) Yo *cant-é* / *cant-o* / *cant-aré*.
1SG sing-PST.1SG sing-PRS.1SG sing-FUT.1SG
'I sang/am singing/will sing.'

While many languages do indeed make use of such a three-way division, there is also a significant number of tensed languages which divide the timeline in only two zones. In these languages, the present is grouped together with either the future or the past, resulting in a past/non-past or a future/non-future tense system, respectively. Warao (isolate, Venezuela) is an example of a binary tense system making a distinction between past and non-past (Romero-Figeroa 1997: 96 and 94, resp.):

- (2) *Warao isaka wiri-n-a-te*.
Warao one navigate-SG-PUNC-NPST
'A Warao is navigating.' or 'A Warao will navigate.'
- (3) *Tira isaka wab-a-e*.
woman one die-PUNC-PST
'A woman died.'

While the existence of binary and tertiary tense systems is taken for granted in most cross-linguistic works on tense, the distribution of these systems across languages and the factors governing this distribution have not been studied in much detail. The present paper investigates the phenomenon of binary tense systems from a typological perspective, using a genetically and geographically stratified sample of 180 languages (Miestamo 2005).

The first important observation is that tertiary tense systems are more frequent than binary ones (54% vs. 36% of the sample), as has already been observed by Velupillai (2016). Within binary systems, future/non-future systems are more frequent than past/non-past systems (28% vs. 8% of the sample). Possible reasons for these distributions, such as the closer connection between the past and the present as opposed to the future, will be discussed.

The second observation concerns the connection between tense system type and related semantic properties. Given that binary systems allow a given marker to refer to two different zones on the timeline, these systems might be expected to make more use of additional devices to avoid temporal ambiguity, such as grammatical aspect marking or actionality. This, however, does not seem to be the case: obligatory aspect marking is even more frequent in tertiary tense systems compared to binary ones, and a systematic interaction between actionality and time reference can be found equally frequently in tertiary and binary systems. These results underscore the importance of non-grammatical cues such as non-linguistic context and adverbial specification for temporal reference.

Finally, within the context of binary systems, the current study also looks into the existence of non-present systems, in which tense markers would display past/future ambiguity. While my sample does not feature such non-present tenses in the strict sense, it is worth noting that there are many unrelated languages using adverbs and particles with non-present semantics. Interestingly, these are mostly languages with tertiary tense systems.

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Étude de la construction prédicative en re formulation orale et écrite chez le même locuteurscripteur en première année d'enseignement supérieur

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Cette étude s'inscrit dans le projet international intitulé *La construction prédicative à l'oral et à l'écrit : maîtriser la posture de locuteur et de scripteur*, coordonné par Claire Martinot depuis 2022, qui vise à rendre compte de la construction prédicative à l'oral et à l'écrit chez des élèves scolarisés en dernière année d'école primaire et au début de l'enseignement supérieur, afin d'élaborer des outils d'aide aux productions langagières orales et écrites (Doquet, 2013). En effet, si les enfants de 10 ans semblent peu différencier la construction prédicative selon qu'il s'agit d'énoncés oraux ou écrits (Martinot & al, 2018), il apparaît que celle-ci est systématiquement différente à l'oral et à l'écrit chez les adultes (Martinot & Lambert, 2022). Cette communication a ainsi pour objectif d'approfondir les recherches concernant la comparaison de la langue parlée et écrite (Koch & Oesterreicher, 2001) chez le même locuteur-scripteur en analysant les constructions prédicatives chez 15 étudiants en première année d'informatique dans un établissement situé au nord de Paris. Pour pouvoir comparer les différents modes de construction à l'oral et à l'écrit, nous nous appuyons sur un protocole mi-écologique, mi expérimental fondé sur la restitution d'un récit d'environ 500 mots lu auparavant qu'on appelle texte source (TS). La lecture 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. Les prédications reformulées, associées à celles du TS, sont analysées dans un premier temps selon un critère quantitatif. Puis, d'un point de vue macrostructural, nous observons le degré de complexité de l'organisation prédicative restituée selon une perspective transformationnelle (Harris, 1988) : L'ordre des prédications est-il modifié, simplifié ? Enfin, d'un point de vue microstructural, nous identifions la complexité de la procédure de reformulation mise en œuvre dans chaque prédication restituée : s'agit-il d'une procédure analytique, qui tend à décomposer un énoncé complexe au moyen de constructions élémentaires, ou d'une procédure synthétique ? Ces analyses donnent à voir de quelle façon chaque énoncé est reconstruit et partant quelles connaissances du système-langue sont révélées (Boré, 2002). Les premiers résultats mettent en avant un nombre plus important de prédications reformulées en modalité écrite (60,9% contre 55,8%) ainsi qu'un nombre de prédications complexes plus élevé (48 prédications complexes en RE contre 38 en RO pour les trois premières séquences narratives). Consistant à réduire syntaxiquement plusieurs prédications élémentaires pour créer une nouvelle prédication complexe, les procédures synthétiques (PS) sont spécifiques de l'écrit (20 en RE contre 4 en RO), tandis que les ajouts de prédications et les procédures analytiques (PA) relèvent davantage des RO (47 en RO contre 25 en RE). Une meilleure connaissance des modes de construction prédicative devrait permettre aux enseignants d'envisager des activités pédagogiques vers une plus grande maîtrise des deux media (Béguelin, 1998). L'entraînement des élèves à la reformulation, sous toutes ses formes paraphrastiques, est une piste à exploiter.

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Trekt meertalig onderwijs studenten met hetzelfde taalprofiel aan als ééntalig onderwijs?

Laetitia Louis, Pauline Degrave, Philippe Hilligsmann (UCLouvain)

De laatste decennia neemt de internationalisering van het hoger onderwijs een hoge vlucht. Steeds meer universiteiten organiseren (delen van) opleidingen in een andere taal dan de voertaal van de universiteit. Meestal is die taal het Engels (zie Macaro e.a. 2018 voor een overzicht van English Medium Instruction), maar er bestaan ook programma's in andere talen, zoals in Franstalig België waar bepaalde opleidingen in het Nederlands aangeboden worden. In de wetenschappelijke literatuur ontbreekt het bij ons weten aan een diepgaande analyse van het profiel van de studenten die voor een ééntalige dan wel meertalige opleiding kiezen. Bachelorstudenten rechten, economische wetenschappen en politieke wetenschappen aan de Universiteit Saint-Louis-Brussel hebben de keuze tussen een ééntalig studieprogramma (in het Frans), een tweetalig studieprogramma (in het Frans en Nederlands/Engels) of een drietalig programma (in het Frans, Nederlands en Engels). Om het profiel van die studenten in kaart te brengen, is bij meer dan 700 studenten een online vragenlijst afgenomen. Naast de moedertaal en vooropleiding in het secundair onderwijs is er onder andere gepeild naar de eventuele talige voorbereiding op de universitaire opleiding, zelfevaluatie qua taalvaardigheid in het Engels en Nederlands en mate van contact met moedertaalsprekers van het Engels en Nederlands voor en na het begin van de universitaire opleiding. Verder is hen ook gevraagd om welke redenen ze voor de één- dan wel meertalige opleiding hebben gekozen.

De resultaten van dit onderzoek tonen enerzijds aan dat er geen significante relatie is tussen de talige opvoeding (één- of meertalig) van de studenten en hun keuze voor het al dan niet meertalig studieprogramma. Anderzijds werd uit de analyses duidelijk dat er een significante samenhang is tussen de keuze voor het één- of meertalige universiteitsprogramma en de voertaal van de middelbare school, het aantal uren Engels en Nederlands per week, het volgen van immersie- of submersieonderwijs in het secundair onderwijs en een talige voorbereiding op de universitaire opleiding. Tijdens de presentatie komen verdere analyses uitgebreid aan bod, alsook potentiële implicaties voor het invoeren van meertalig onderwijs in het hoger onderwijs.

Referentielijst

Macaro, E., Curle, S., Pun, J., An, J., & Dearden, J. (2018). A Systematic Review of English Medium Instruction in Higher Education. *Language Teaching*, 51(1), 36-76.

A model for analysing clausal epistemic modal markers in English

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This presentation focuses on clausal epistemic modal markers (henceforth CLEMs) like I think, I'm sure. Our aim is to develop an analytical model that can capture the main semantic dimensions coded by the great variety of CLEMs that English has evolved, e.g. (1)-(2).

(1) There's no doubt he left yesterday.

(2) It's doubtful he left yesterday.

Understanding the functional layering of modality and polarity is essential as the analysis also has to account for CLEMs containing a negative element, which, functionally, may involve either intensification of the modal value, e.g. (1), 'it is very certain he left yesterday', or NEG-raising, e.g. (2) 'it's likely he didn't leave yesterday'.

With Nuyts (2001) we hold that epistemic modality, as the assessment of degree of likelihood, is inherently positive: "there is no such thing as a negative probability" (Halliday 1970: 333). We show that CLEMs, just like modal auxiliaries and adverbials, express values ranging from high over median to low, with CLEMs and adverbials allowing intensification, as visualized below.

Modal value	Modal marker		
	Auxiliary	Adverbial	CLEM
High	must	very certainly	there's no doubt
		surely	I'm sure
		very probably	it is very likely
Median	will	probably	I think
		quite possibly	there's a great chance
Low	may	perhaps	there's a chance

We further argue that epistemic modality scopes over a proposition of which a polarity value is an intrinsic component. Positive polarity, e.g. (1) he left yesterday, conveys that there was an occurrence of the designated action at the indicated time. Negative polarity, e.g. (2), codes non-occurrence of the action at that time in an evoked 'possible' world (Holvoet 2020). This scoping relation entails that epistemic modality and polarity are two distinct systems. Epistemic modality always subtracts some degree of certainty from the straight positive or negative proposition. As Halliday (1985: 340) put it: 'You only say you're sure when you're not'. We thus reject the view that the extremes of the epistemic scale are formed by positive and negative polarity, as in Halliday & Matthiessen (2004, 2014) and McGregor (1997). Rather, probabilities may be anything in-between 1% and 99% so to speak, but not 100%. The scalable adverbials and CLEMs fill out the epistemic scale with finer degrees of likelihood.

Negative propositions, e.g. (3), (5), may structurally 'raise' the negation in the CLEM, e.g. (4), (6).

(3) I think there isn't going to be a war.

(4) I don't think there's going to be a war.

(5) There's a chance the volume won't be there.

(6) I'm not sure the volume will be there.

We will outline a semantic map of the non-raised and raised variants, further developing Halliday's (1970) principle that there is semantic equivalence with median value CLEMs, e.g. (3)-(4), but that a non-raised variant with low value CLEM (5) is equivalent to a raised one with high value (6).

While the emphasis is on grammatical-semantic argumentation, the model will be illustrated with corpus examples of various CLEMs.

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Phonetic and phonological documentation of the languages of the Mai-Ndombe (Democratic Republic of Congo)

Lorenzo Maselli (UGent)

The Mai-Ndombe Province of the Democratic Republic of Congo, along with most of south-western Congo all the way down to the border with Angola, is among the least well-surveyed linguistic areas of the planet. Located in a transition zone between rainforest and savannah, and displaying ecological characteristics typical of both ecotones, the Mai-Ndombe is marked by considerable linguistic and anthropological diversity. Historically, the region was home to hunter-gatherer communities supposed to predate the so-called “Bantu expansion” (the main event hypothesised to have shaped the contemporary linguistic landscape of central Africa) by tens of thousands of years; furthermore, the Mai-Ndombe is situated near the alleged West-Coastal Bantu homeland (i.e., the area of highest diversity within the languages of the region). Numerous Bantu languages are still spoken within the Mai-Ndombe’s boundaries and most of them remain largely undocumented to this day; some, especially those spoken by autochthonous hunter-gatherer groups, are already on the brink of extinction. Their disappearance would represent an incredible loss for both the local communities (language death is often reported to be accompanied by population displacement and habitat loss) and linguistics as a whole. In an attempt to contribute to the preservation and description of the Mai-Ndombe’s linguistic heritage, I have been awarded a FWO PhD fellowship to conduct phonetic and phonological fieldwork in the region in close collaboration with colleagues from some of the leading universities of the Democratic Republic of Congo; as a result, over the past three years, I have been working on the documentation and description of the sounds of the Mai-Ndombe’s remaining Bantu languages, collecting acoustic, articulatory and aerodynamic data *in situ* and in Belgium. The present contribution is intended as a summary of my main findings up to July 2023, bearing primarily on: the Sakata language cluster, and its unusually wide array of labial-velar consonants; the North Boma / Nunu continuum, and its display of retroflex nasal sounds which are nowhere else to be found in the region; the Twa varieties spoken by local hunter-gatherers, and their “phonetic hallmarks”. This brief overview will show the great degree of linguistic diversity among the languages of the regions, as well as illustrate the key role played by language documentation in the reconstruction of the region’s linguistic prehistory. It will also serve the purpose of substantiating the claim that documentational and descriptive efforts should not be spared in the future to avert further language loss in the region. I will also offer a few ethical and methodological remarks on the specific challenges posed by phonetic and phonological fieldwork in central Africa.

SABeD: Het Spoken Academic Belgian Dutch-corpus

Jolien Mathysen, Vincent Vandeghinste, Elke Peters (KULeuven)

[Context] SABeD is een interdisciplinair onderzoeksproject met als doel de ontwikkeling van een corpus gesproken academisch Belgisch-Nederlands. Een dergelijk corpus was voor het Nederlands tot nog toe niet voorhanden. Desalniettemin maakt zo'n corpus niet enkel de studie van een specifiek register mogelijk, maar ook de ontwikkeling van corpusgebaseerd leermateriaal en validatie van bestaand materiaal. Volgens recent onderzoek vormt (gesproken) academisch Nederlands, en meer bepaald academische woordenschat, een struikelblok voor instromende studenten in het hoger onderwijs. Dit geldt zowel voor moedertaalsprekers als niet-moedertaalleerders van het Nederlands (Deygers, 2017; Deygers, Van den Branden, & Peters, 2017). De voornaamste vorm van instructie voor deze instromende studenten bestaat echter uit hoorcolleges, waarin zij vaak geconfronteerd worden met het academisch taalregister en de bijhorende woordenschat. Zij moeten met andere woorden nieuwe lesinhouden verwerken in een taalregister waarmee ze weinig vertrouwd zijn.

[Doelstellingen en Voorlopige Resultaten] Concreet zullen we in deze lezing dieper ingaan op (1) de compilatie van het multimodaal (tekst, audio en video) corpus gesproken academisch Belgisch-Nederlands en (2) hoe dit de effectiviteit van spraaktechnologie voor automatische transcriptie van gesproken teksten kan optimaliseren.

[Methode en Dataset] Het basiscorpus zal een 200-tal 1^{ste} bachelor hoorcolleges van de KU Leuven en UGent behelzen, en de domeinen van de biomedische, exacte, sociale en geesteswetenschappen omvatten. De compilatie van het corpus steunt in grote mate op automatische spraakherkenning (ASR). De output van het ASR-systeem bestaat uit *ctm*-bestanden die tijdsaanduidingen bevatten voor elk herkend woord. Van de automatisch gegenereerde transcripties worden telkens de eerste 25 en laatste 5 minuten manueel verwerkt in het programma ELAN (Wittenburg et al., 2006). Deze werkwijze heeft als voordeel dat lengteverschillen tussen de hoorcolleges van verscheidene instellingen en disciplines teniet gedaan worden en we een uitgebalanceerd corpus bekomen.

Een eerste stap van de manuele verwerking is het segmenteren van de spraakbestanden in *chunks* van 2-3 seconden op een aparte *tier*. Dit is om te vermijden dat de manuele correctie van de ASR-transcripties op woordniveau zou moeten gebeuren. Fouten in deze transcripties kunnen namelijk woordgrenzen overschrijden. Om de fout te kunnen corrigeren zouden dan ook de tijdstempels aangepast moeten worden. Eens de *tier* met de manueel aangemaakte segmenten en de *tier* met de ASR-transcriptie zijn samengevoegd, wordt de ASR-output manueel gecorrigeerd. Dit gebeurt aan de hand van een protocol dat gebaseerd is op dat van het *Corpus Gesproken Nederlands* (CGN) (Oostdijk et al. 2002). De manueel gecontroleerde transcripties worden dan gebruikt voor het verder trainen en verbeteren van de automatische spraakherkenning.

De spraakherkenning gebeurt aan de hand van een Kaldi ASR-systeem (Povey et al., 2011) dat gebruikt maakt van diepe neurale netwerken en afgestemd is op Belgisch-Nederlands (Van Dyck et al., 2021). Het akoestisch taalmodel werd getraind op data van het CGN. Verwacht wordt dat de verdere afstemming van het ASR-systeem op de academische en domeinspecifieke woordenschat in het SABeD-corpus de accuraatheid van het systeem beduidend zal verbeteren. Hierdoor kan het transcriberen in een later stadium vrijwel volledig automatisch gebeuren en het corpus nog efficiënt uitgebreid worden.

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Suggestibility to presupposed contents

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The suggestibility of memories and beliefs to linguistic information is well attested. It has also been claimed that some ways of conveying information (i.e. informative presuppositions) lead to more suggestibility than others (i.e. assertion). Notably, in a direct comparison, Fiedler et al. (1996) showed that participants who encountered false information in an assertion were less often misled than those who encountered false information in a presupposition. This makes sense, because presuppositions are not part of the speaker's main point. Presuppositions are therefore often said to be *uncontroversial*, rather than *previously agreed upon* (e.g. Soames, 1982). Accordingly, conveying false information through presupposition may appear sneakier than asserting it, and more likely to induce false representations. On the other hand, dominant linguistic theory frames presupposition interpretation as a rational process of accommodation, which is not necessarily predicted to lead to durable representations (Stalnaker, 2002).

Our overarching research question was whether presuppositions induce more suggestibility and if so, via which mechanisms. Experiments 1 and 2 tested for a difference in simple recognition memory between assertion, presupposition, conventional implicature and conversational implicature. Participants read a short story containing 12 target items conveyed with an assertion ("The driver was texting"), a weak presupposition ("The driver stopped texting when he met her eyes"), a strong presupposition ("She noticed the driver was texting"), a conventional implicature ("The driver, who was texting, met her eyes") or an implicature ("He met her eyes. Who still texts and drives, she wondered."). Participants then answered recognition questions. We find no difference in *gist recognition*, nor in *verbatim recognition*. This indicates that presuppositions are regularly accommodated much like the other forms.

Experiment 3 presented participants with targets labelled as true or false and then again measured recognition memory. Participants read the same short story as in Experiments 1 and 2, but here, they were told that the narrator sometimes lies, and that true targets are marked in green and false targets in red. Thus, a participant who answered true to a false labelled target accommodated the information despite it being irrational to do so. We again find broadly similar rates of true and false attribution across forms, indicating that participants remember contents but forget in what form it was encountered.

Finally, Experiment 4 followed the same design, but rather than answer recognition question, we had participants answer explicit true/false/not mentioned questions. We found that these again do not differ across forms. We further found very high rates of false judgments, indicating that when participants are told the narrator sometimes lies, they reject the information across the board, even if it is labelled as true. We conclude that different ways of conveying information have comparable suggestibility potential, even in the presence of a strong and highly salient warning. In fact, for all forms, our results indicate that the form in which information is presented has only a short-lived effect on how it is parsed, but does not impact final representations, as the form is forgotten.

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Figures

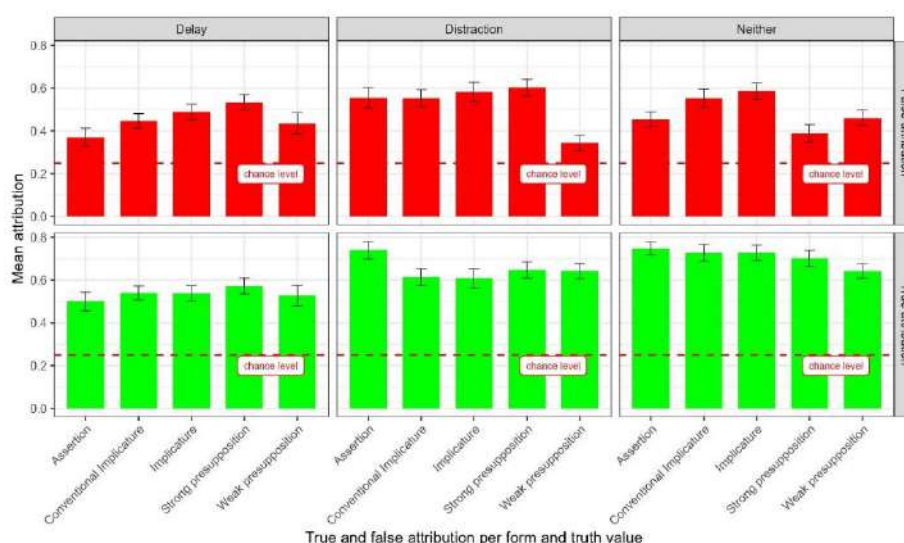


Figure 1 Mean attribution per Form, Condition and Truth Value with error bars representing 95% confidence intervals (Experiment 3)

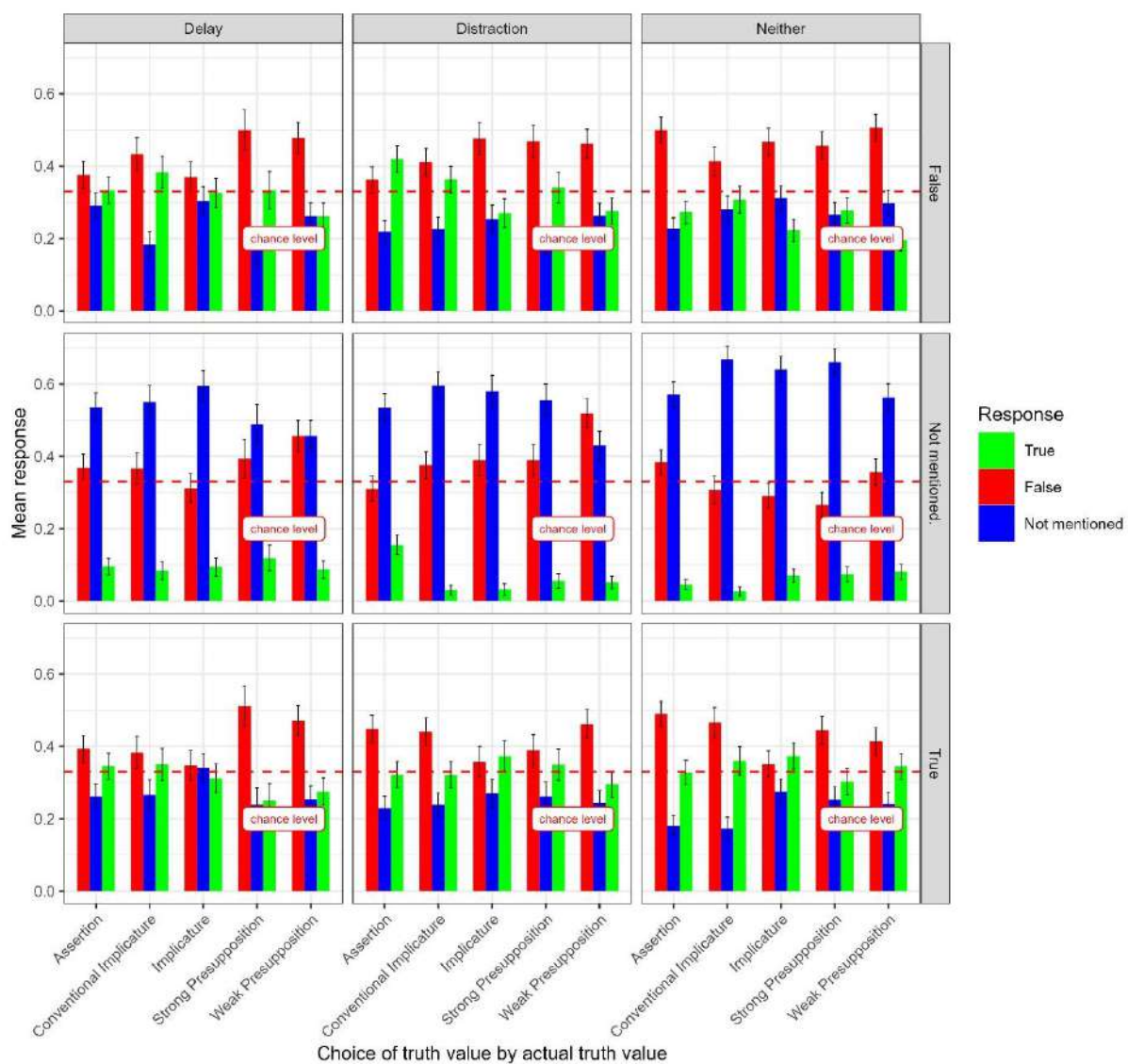


Figure 2 Choice of truth value by condition and actual truth value, with errors bars representing 95% confidence intervals (Experiment 4)

Wie/was soll NP (V)? (De)grammaticalization, (inter)subjectification and pragmaticalisation in interrogative soll-sentences in German

Tanja Mortelmans (UAntwerpen)

In this talk, I will investigate the pragmatic and discourse-organising functions performed by [*wie/was soll*] questions and to what extent the development of these functions – which can be regarded in terms of (inter)subjectification – is accompanied by tendencies towards (de)grammaticalisation.

The analysis will be based on written material taken from the [wdd19]-corpus, which contains Wikipedia discussions on articles up to 2019 and is – due to its being structured in units that can be regarded as conversational turns – suitable for an interactional analysis. More in particular, I will look at three different question constructions: *wie soll ich sagen* ‘how shall I say’, *was soll ich sagen* ‘what shall I say’ and *was soll NP (V)*-questions in general. With respect to [*wie soll ich sagen*] and [*was soll ich sagen*], it can be maintained that both micro-constructions can be categorised as discourse markers (cf. Imo 2007: 105ff. on *wie soll ich sagen*), but show up different degrees of grammaticalisation (insofar as one assumes that discourse markers can be regarded as grammatical elements, cf. for example Heine 2013; Heine/Kaltenböck 2021; for a more critical stance, see Auer & Günthner 2005; Blühorn, Foolen & Loureda 2017). A different degree of grammaticalisation can be seen, among other things, in the fact that the degree of formal fixation of [*wie soll ich sagen*] is significantly higher than that of [*was soll ich (dazu) sagen*]. From the point of view of desemanticisation, there are also clear differences between the two discourse markers: [*wie soll ich sagen*] hardly functions as a ‘real’ question any more (see example 1), whereas in the case of [*was soll ich (dazu) sagen*] both the illocutionary force (interrogative) and the ‘anaphoric’ meaning of *sollen* and *dazu* are very often retained (see example 2).

- (1) *Denn: Schon der Punkt 1 = "der Hauptgefechtsstand der Luftverteidigung der GSSD in Wünsdorf" ist rein fachlich- wie soll ich sagen - Blödsinn.*
‘For: already point 1 = “the main command post of the air defence of the GSSD in Wünsdorf” is purely technically - **how shall I say** - nonsense.’
- (2) *P.S. "Marco, hast Du einen Vorschlag? Was hältst Du von meinem Gliederungsansatz oben? Sei doch mal mutig!". Was soll ich dazu sagen? Jemand, der von Wissenschaft keine Ahnung hat schreibt einen Artikel über ein Thema, dass sich gerne wissenschaftlich nennen würde, es aber weitem nicht ist.*
‘P.S. “Marco, do you have a suggestion? What do you think of my outline above? Be brave for once!”. **What should I say to that?** Someone who has no idea about science writes an article about a topic that would like to call itself scientific, but is far from it.’

From a construction-grammar perspective, the construction [*was soll ich sagen*] (which often announces a conclusion of the speaker) can be regarded as a micro-construction, i.e. a lexically specified instantiation of the more schematic construction [*was soll NP (V)*]. However, such [*was soll NP (V)*] constructions usually fulfil different pragmatic functions than [*was soll ich sagen*], in that they generally express rejection (of the addressee's opinion, position, action) and thus constitute a threat to the addressee's positive face. Typical (i.e. the most frequent pattern in the corpus, > 40 %) are constructions without a verbal complement (*Was soll das/der Quatsch/der Mist* etc.), for which a degrammaticalisation scenario comes into play (cf. Nuyts et al. 2022).

- (3) [...]. *Also, was soll diese gekünstelte Aufregung? Quellen angeben und tschüss. -- Orientalist 18:34, 13. Jul. 2009 (CEST)*

‘So, **what's all** this artificial excitement **about?** Cite your sources and goodbye.’

As a conclusion, it can be stated that the development of pragmatic functions in (micro)-constructions does not automatically lead to a stronger degree of formal grammaticalisation (cf. *Was soll NP*); at the

same time, we observe that pragmaticalisation can indeed be accompanied by a process of formal grammaticalisation (as seems to be the case in particular with *wie soll ich sagen*).

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Le mode verbal dans l'agrammatisme : perspectives translinguistiques

Mélanie Mottin (UCLouvain)

Des recherches récentes sur la morphologie flexionnelle du verbe ont démontré que des patients agrammatiques natifs de différentes langues éprouvaient systématiquement des difficultés avec le temps verbal, mais pas avec l'accord sujet-verbe (entre autres Diouny & El Ouardi, 2022; Friedmann & Grodzinsky, 1997; Fyndanis et al., 2015; Wenzlaff & Clahsen, 2005). Les conclusions concernant le mode verbal sont, quant à elles, incertaines. Wenzlaff et Clahsen (2005) ont par exemple avancé que la production du mode n'était pas atteint par le trouble, alors que Fyndanis et al. (2015) ont observé le contraire. Force est de constater que les études sur le mode dans l'agrammatisme sont peu nombreuses et limitées à peu de langues.

L'objectif de la présente étude est de pallier ce manque en testant d'une part la dichotomie indicatif-subjonctif dans les propositions conjonctives essentielles en français et d'autre part le parallèle entre le conditionnel en français et *Konjunktiv II* en allemand chez des patients atteints d'agrammatisme. Le but de cette analyse est de déterminer si les patients agrammatiques rencontrent des problèmes avec ces modes et si des récurrences peuvent être observées entre les deux langues afin d'affiner la description du trouble. Pour ce faire, pour chaque langue, quatre patients agrammatiques (moyenne d'âge = 56.3 ans), ainsi que des personnes contrôles correspondant en âge et en éducation aux personnes agrammatiques, ont participé à la même expérience linguistique comprenant une tâche de complétion de phrase, une tâche de réorganisation de mots et une tâche de jugement grammatical.

L'analyse des résultats souligne plusieurs faits intéressants. Les patients agrammatiques ont constamment moins bien performé que le groupe contrôle et ce, dans les deux langues et au niveau de toutes les tâches. Une analyse plus poussée révèle qu'en français, même si les résultats concernant la dichotomie indicatif-subjonctif sont relativement hauts (50-100%), le subjonctif pose plus de problèmes que l'indicatif. Ce constat n'est pas surprenant, puisque le subjonctif est plus marqué que l'indicatif, mais il n'avait néanmoins pas encore été soulevé dans la littérature. Ensuite, à l'exception d'une patiente, le reste du groupe des personnes agrammatiques – toutes tâches et toutes langues confondues - a éprouvé des difficultés avec le conditionnel-*Konjunktiv II* en comparaison avec l'indicatif. Les données vont ainsi à l'encontre de Wenzlaff et Clahsen (2005) mais convergent avec Fyndanis et al. (2015).

Ces observations sont enrichissantes pour la recherche linguistique sur l'agrammatisme car elles apportent de nouveaux éléments sur le trouble, notamment concernant le mode verbal, et elles démontrent que les études translinguistiques sur l'agrammatisme sont cruciales, réalité déjà mentionnée dans la littérature (Bates et al., 1991; Beveridge & Bak, 2011) mais encore souvent négligée.

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A diachronic perspective on L2- speaker difficulty as a cause for changes in morphological complexity

Julie Nijs, Freek Vandevelde, Hubert Cuyckens (KULeuven)

Lupyan & Dale (2010) have demonstrated that larger languages in high-contact communities, such as French, English, or Mandarin, are morphologically less complex and rely more on lexical strategies and word order compared to smaller languages in close-knit communities. Follow-up studies (Dale & Lupyan 2012; Bentz & Winter 2013) have highlighted the crucial role of the proportion of L2-speakers in linguistic complexity. The difficulty for adults to acquire new morphology and the increasing presence of adult learners lead languages to adapt, favoring the needs of the immigrant population. These correlations have been observed in large-scale studies as well as in detailed case studies (Trudgill 2002). While previous research focuses on synchronic data, differences in morphological complexity are the result of diachronic processes.

Our dataset is the C-CLAMP corpus, a collection of excerpts from Dutch cultural and literary magazines written in Belgium and The Netherlands, spanning a period from 1837 to 1999 (Piersoul et al. 2021). Our choice for C-CLAMP rests on the fact that the corpus contains metadata indicating the authors' birthplace.

Since we have no direct information about the number of L2-learners in Dutch in the 19th and 20th centuries, we use the population size of the cities (Bairoch et al. 1988) in the corpus as a proxy. The idea is that a city's growth cannot be explained through an increase in the natural population alone. Rather, migration is an important factor in the increase of a city's population and more migration means more L2-learners (Van de Velde 2019).

Following Juola (2008) and Ehret (2017), we assess morphological complexity by randomly eliminating 10% of the orthographic characters in a text and subsequently compressing the file. This random deletion introduces morphological distortion, leading to an increase in the number of unique tokens and a decline in compressibility. Texts with a greater surface token diversity, resulting from affixal complexity, root-internal alternation, or other morphological operations, will be less impacted by distortion due to their pre-existing abundance of unique tokens. The morphological complexity ratio is calculated as
$$\frac{\text{compressed file size after morphological distortion}}{\text{compressed file size}}$$
.

The data is analyzed using Granger causality (Rosemeyer & Van de Velde 2021), a technique that assesses the causal precedence between two time series. This involves forecasting time series A using time series B, and vice versa, to evaluate their predictive capability. By comparing these forecasts with autoregression alone, we can determine if the inclusion of A in B, and vice versa, improves predictions, indicating added value. The underlying assumption is that if time series A causes time series B, the dynamics of A can help reduce residuals in B.

We apply Granger causality on a time series comprised of the mean morphological complexity ratio per decade and a time series comprised of the mean population size per decade, based on the birthplaces of the authors. It can be observed that the population size is predictive of the morphological complexity ratio (figure 1). This leads us to conclude that changes in the proportion of L2-speakers indeed have an effect on the morphological complexity of Dutch.

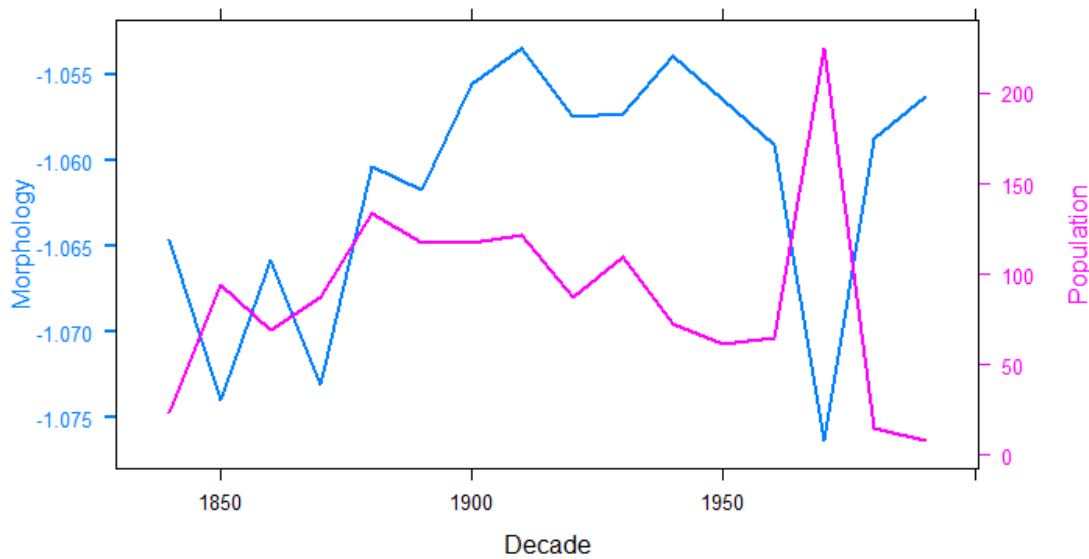


Figure 1: Evolution of the mean morphological complexity and mean city population

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What are alternations? Definitions and methodological implications

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In an alternation study, a researcher contrasts two or more linguistic variants and aims to uncover the motivating factors that determine which one is preferred in a given context. Well-established examples include the Dutch, English and German dative alternations, as in (1) (Colleman 2009, Röthlisberger et al. 2017, De Vaere et al. 2021), and the conative alternation as in (2) (Broccias 2001, Perek 2015). This research set-up has developed into a major methodological paradigm, especially in usage-based linguistics, building on corpus data, experiments and computer simulations (e.g. respectively Szmrecsanyi et al. 2016, Klavan and Divjak 2016, Pijpops 2022).

- (1) a. De man heeft zijn vrouw een boeket gegeven/aangeboden/beloofd. (Geleyn 2017: 66)
'The man has given/offered/promised his wife a bouquet.'
- b. De man heeft een boeket aan zijn vrouw gegeven/aangeboden/beloofd.
'The man has given/offered/promised a bouquet to his wife.'
- (2) a. Paula hit the fence. (Broccias 2001: 67)
b. Paula hit at the fence.

Still, there are several ways of defining the concept of 'alternation' in use throughout the literature. Each of these definitions comes with its own methodological consequences, and how you conduct an alternation study is hence crucially dependent on how you define 'alternation'. In this talk, I will therefore discuss six possible definitions and lay out their theoretical merits and their methodological implications. These definitions are the following (Pijpops 2020):

An alternation consists of two or more language forms or language structures...

- 1. that have no meaning difference, and where one is not inherently more difficult to cognitively process than another, but which vary according to lectal factors. [e.g. Tagliamonte (2012)]*
- 2. that have no meaning difference, and the choice between which is not determined by lectal factors, but which exhibit differences in language processing. [e.g. Ferreira and Dell (2000)]*
- 3. that vary systematically across some specific set of lexical items, and typically exhibit a systematic difference in meaning. [e.g. Levin (1993)]*
- 4. that present a choice point for an individual language user. [e.g. Wallis (2012)]*
- 5. that a linguist deems interesting to contrast with one another. [e.g. Pijpops (2021)]*
- 6. that have some special theoretical relation to one another. [e.g. Cappelle (2006)]*

The first three definitions each focus on one type of motivating factor, respectively motivating factors pertaining to lectal differences, to language processing and to meaning distinctions. The first definition corresponds to Labov's "alternate ways of saying the same thing" (Labov 1972: 188), and is employed throughout sociolinguistics. The second definition is similar, but stems from a separate research tradition, namely psycholinguistics. The third definition traces back to early generative syntax, but is also in use in cognitive linguistics (Arppe et al. 2010: 12–13, see e.g. Broekhuis et al. 2013: 401–594). Finally, the final three definition each present ways of integrating the study of lectal differences, language processing effects and meaning distinctions, as pursued by usage-based linguistics (Geeraerts 2010).

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Ambiguity in critical contexts: The lexical split of the German modal *dürfte*

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The present-day German modal verb *dürfen* ('to be allowed to do sth') is currently undergoing a lexical split in its grammaticalisation. In the subjunctive II, *dürfte*, it develops into an epistemic marker of phoric non-factuality used to express a speaker-based judgment of the probability of a given proposition (Politt 2022). Epistemic *dürfte* thus grammaticalises into the grammatical category MOOD, whereas its non-epistemic form remains part of a lexical class of modals. A typical sentence containing the epistemic reading is given in (1), the non-epistemic reading in (2).

(1) »Der Bus *dürfte* in fünf Minuten hier eintreffen.« (DWDS; Lebert 1999: 113)

'The bus will probably be here in five minutes.'

(2) Ein kleines Mädchen fragte, ob es die Kaninchen *füttern dürfte*,[...]. (DWDS; Kopetzky 2002: 525)

'A little girl asked whether she would be allowed to feed the bunnies, [...].'

While *dürfte* is known to have progressed quite far on its grammaticalisation path, somewhere between stage 3 and 4, it still shows remnants of grammaticalisation stage 2 (Lehmann 2002; Diewald 2009). The present paper analyses 92 ambiguous sentences of *dürfte* taken from the DWDS core corpus of the 20th century (Geyken 2007). In these sentences, both the epistemic and the non-epistemic readings are possible, as shown in (2):

(3) *Erwerbstätige dürften künftig öfter als bisher ihren Status wechseln.* (DWDS; Die ZEIT 2000/6)

'Employed persons are probably going to change their status more often than before.' (epistemic)

'Employed persons would be allowed to change their status more often than before.' (non-epistemic)

These sentences are assumed to exhibit critical contexts, which are remnants of grammaticalisation stage 2 (cf. Diewald 2009). Since the epistemic reading of *dürfte* is assumed to have become the default interpretation for the subjunctive II (Mortelmans 2019; Politt 2022), the ambiguous sentences are analysed in regard to their similarity to typical contexts and co-texts (Catford 1965) for epistemic *dürfte* in three classes of features: (i) features of the subject, (ii) the verbal complement, and (iii) the wider context. On the one hand, variation can still be found in all three feature classes, indicating that the grammaticalisation has not yet fully progressed out of stage 2. On the other hand, a tendency for favouring an epistemic interpretation of the ambiguous sentence can be shown, too, illustrating the developing functional independence of epistemic *dürfte*.

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English as a lingua franca in the multilingual repertoires of students of English in Flanders: implications for taking an English as a multilingual franca approach to teaching English

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English as a lingua franca (ELF) has been conceptualised as a utilitarian language used for communication largely between non-native speakers of English rather than as a “language for identification” (House, 2003). Nevertheless, English is often perceived as a threat to other, local languages and identities, even when used as a lingua franca. Rather than vilify it though, we should make critical and informed decisions about English in language policy and education (House, 2014). To this end, this paper examines the position that English takes in the multilingual linguistic repertoires of Flemish students of literature and linguistics, with English as a major. The position of English relative to Dutch, the L1 of the students, is of particular interest. We investigate how they reflexively conceptualise English and Dutch as part of their linguistic repertoire. More specifically, we examine the attitudes towards these languages, particularly the relative importance of each, the domains within which they are dominant, and how they relate them to their identity (or not).

A corpus-based approach is used to analyse the language portraits (Peters & Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2020) of 64 students of English at the University of Antwerp. A combination of qualitative and quantitative methods are used to analyse the participants’ placement of the languages on the portrait, the colour assigned to each language, and their explanations for placement and colour. Language portraits provide rich insights into the complex attitudes they have towards these languages (Peters & Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2020). Additionally, by asking participants to map the whole gamut of languages in their repertoires onto a human silhouette, it allows us to situate and explore ELF as English-within-multilingualism (Jenkins, 2018).

A preliminary analysis of the data indicates that Dutch is generally viewed as an important language and specifically as the language of identity. Its use appears to be pervasive in everyday communication, especially with friends and family. With surprising frequency, Dutch seems to be construed as a language that is not particularly appealing or exciting. In contrast, English is viewed as both appealing and important, and is often associated with a specific native-speaker culture (e.g. the US or UK). It is not the language of identity, but does to some degree seem to be viewed as a language through which they identify *with* a native English-speaking community.

Given that the participants are students of English, their attitudes towards English are unsurprising. Despite their somewhat ambivalent attitudes towards Dutch, it remains the language of identity; English does not seem to encroach on Dutch as the language of identity. Although these students are aiming to attain native-like proficiency, they will use English predominantly with other non-native speakers of English and it would be useful to move away from a mindset that associates English predominantly with the UK or US. We propose taking an English as a multilingua franca approach (Jenkins, 2015) to English language teaching to help orient them to and develop an ELF skillset and mindset.

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La traduction vers une langue étrangère, un exercice de langue ? Erreurs et difficultés des étudiants lors de la traduction du français vers l'allemand L2

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Bien que la traduction vers une L2 soit une pratique professionnelle à échelle mondiale, la traductologie la relègue souvent au domaine de la linguistique appliquée et de la didactique des langues étrangères. Et pourtant, la compétence linguistique ne constitue qu'une sous-compétence de traduction parmi d'autres [1-2]. De même, la plupart des études réalisées au sujet de la traduction vers une L2 ont constaté un nombre élevé d'erreurs grammaticales et lexicales [p.ex. 3-7], sans toutefois faire le lien avec d'autres sous-compétences de traduction (par exemple la compétence de recherche, qui comprend notamment l'emploi d'outils d'aide).

La présente étude s'intéresse, d'un côté, aux erreurs repérées dans des traductions du français vers l'allemand L2 réalisées par des étudiants en traduction à l'ULB. D'un autre côté, elle cherche à mettre en lumière l'autoperception des étudiants : quelles difficultés ressentent-ils en traduisant, et quels procédés de traduction et stratégies mettent-ils en œuvre pour surmonter ces difficultés ? Le projet vise ainsi à identifier des lacunes dans la compétence de traduction des étudiants, dont des sous-compétences qui dépassent les « simples » aspects linguistiques. Pour ce faire, il utilise une méthodologie mixte combinant des analyses sur un corpus de 58 traductions avec des questionnaires et des entretiens rétrospectifs. Les traductions ont été rédigées par 29 étudiants (2 traductions par participant) du français vers l'allemand L2. Les erreurs trouvées dans le corpus ont fait l'objet d'un balisage manuel selon une double classification : la première est descriptive et comprend des catégories que l'on retrouve traditionnellement dans le domaine de l'analyse d'erreurs (par exemple déclinaison, conjugaison) ainsi que des erreurs qui concernent plus spécifiquement la traduction (par exemple contresens, omission). La deuxième classification, explicative, fait la lumière sur les causes des erreurs (par exemple interférence de la langue source).

Quelques analyses préliminaires indiquent que plus d'un tiers des erreurs peuvent être expliquées par des lacunes dans des sous-compétences spécifiques à la traduction (par exemple compétence de recherche, compétence stratégique et de transfert) et ne relèvent donc pas nécessairement de questions de linguistique. C'est dans les calques syntaxiques (dont 48,6 % sont probablement dus à un problème de transfert) et surtout les erreurs lexicales (75 %) que cela se manifeste le plus fort.

Des questionnaires et entretiens rétrospectifs ont montré que les étudiants se préoccupent majoritairement (plus de 80 % d'entre eux) des aspects linguistiques lorsqu'ils traduisent vers l'allemand L2. En revanche, des difficultés liées au transfert – par exemple le choix du dictionnaire, les aspects culturels et pragmatiques ou encore la compréhension du texte source – restent marginales dans l'auto-perception des étudiants (20,7 %).

Il semble donc que les étudiants soient effectivement conscients des difficultés que présente le système linguistique allemand, mais qu'ils ont également beaucoup de difficultés avec des questions qui concernent davantage la traduction que la langue et dont ils ne sont pas conscients. L'identification de telles lacunes contribuera à une meilleure compréhension du phénomène de la traduction vers une L2 et renforcera en même temps la recherche sur les sous-compétences de traduction.

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Taalkritiek in lezersbrieven aan Oostenrijkse dagbladen

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Lezersbrieven behoren tot de zogenoemde meningsteksten: Auteurs van lezersbrieven geven hun mening over bepaalde gebeurtenissen uit de actualiteit. Anders dan wat Fandrych & Thurmair (2011:114) aannemen, reageren lezersbrieven niet per se op de inhoud van de recente berichtgeving: Ze kunnen ook andere fenomenen onder de aandacht brengen en aan de kaak stellen (Bucher 1986:142). Een mooi voorbeeld daarvan zijn taalkritische lezersbrieven: die kunnen inderdaad betrekking hebben op de actuele berichtgeving, bijvoorbeeld wanneer genderinclusief taalgebruik tot een politicum gemaakt wordt in verkiezingspropaganda, maar evenzeer (volgens de auteur) laakbaar taalgebruik aan de kaak stellen dat buiten de berichtgeving werd waargenomen, bijvoorbeeld wanneer in de media (opnieuw volgens de auteur) te veel anglicismen gebruikt worden.

In deze bijdrage worden de taalkritische lezersbrieven in Oostenrijkse dagbladen nader bekeken. De focus ligt op taalkritiek in de strikte zin (Dieckmann 2012:3-5) in lezersbrieven aan de *Kronen Zeitung* (KR), een typevoorbeeld van een populaire krant – en ook de krant in Oostenrijk waarin de meeste taalkritische lezersbrieven verschijnen (225 in de geanalyseerde periode van juli 2020 tot juni 2023). Ter vergelijking worden ook de taalkritische lezersbrieven uit het eerste halfjaar van 2022 uit de *Kleine Zeitung Kärnten* (KL, regionale kwaliteitskrant) en uit *Die Presse* (DP, nationale kwaliteitskrant) in de analyse opgenomen (telkens 12 lezersbrieven).

Zoals gebruikelijk in lezerbriefonderzoek wordt er alleen gekeken naar de gepubliceerde lezersbrieven in de vorm waarin ze (na redactionele bewerking) verschenen zijn (vgl. o.a. Mlitz 2008:106). Ook al blijft al wat niet gepubliceerd is daardoor buiten beschouwing, toch blijken lezersbrieven een goede spiegel van de maatschappij te zijn (Mlitz 2008:233,246) – of althans van dat deel van de maatschappij dat de bewuste kranten leest. Taalkritische lezersbrieven kunnen met andere woorden een beeld schetsen van de instellingen en ideologieën over taal die bij de bevolking leven.

Voor die achtergrond wordt de vraag gesteld welke taalkwesties gethematiseerd worden en welke topoi in de argumentatie gebruikt worden. Ook wordt er gekeken naar of de topoi verschillen tussen de thema's en of er verschillen zijn (qua thema en/of topoi) tussen de drie kranten of tussen lezersbrieven m.b.t. actuele berichtgeving en lezersbrieven naar aanleiding van zelf waargenomen taalgebruik.

Globaal genomen zijn er twee thema's die telkens opnieuw terugkomen: "anglicismenmanie" en de (on)zin van politiek correct taalgebruik (in het bijzonder "genderitis"); andere thema's die op andere fora soms even heftig bediscussieerd worden, zoals casusverschuivingen bij voorzetsels, komen nauwelijks aan bod. Wel blijkt dat er in KL en DP vooral op genderkwesties gereageerd wordt, terwijl de thema's bij KR duidelijk gevarieerder zijn. De toposanalyse is gebaseerd op eerder werk van Friedemann (2017) en Meuleneers (2022), die niet specifiek naar lezersbrieven hebben gekeken. Bij de topoi zijn er geen noemenswaardige verschillen tussen de dagbladen, maar eerder tussen de thema's. Topoi die telkens weer voorkomen, zijn bijvoorbeeld '(in)efficiëntie' en '(on)verstaanbaarheid', terwijl bijvoorbeeld 'meerderheid/minderheid' typisch is voor de genderkwestie en 'taalverandering=taalverarming' voor de anglicismenkwestie. De verschillende aanleidingen (berichtgeving of eigen waarneming) blijken op vlak van topoi geen rol van betekenis te spelen.

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The conceptualizations of “verbatimness” in 18th and 19th century Flemish courtroom records: the study of speech reporting strategies

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Represented speech and speech representation is generally considered to play a pivotal role in the delivery of evidence in courtroom discourse, especially in trial proceedings (cf. Collins 2001, Grund & Walker 2021). While current judiciary practice seems to prioritize and strive for accuracy and literal representation of the witnesses' statements as evidence allowed for the court, historical studies of courtroom records have shown that these sources often have limited credibility as accurate, literal renderings of spoken discourse (cf. Culpeper & Kytö 2000). Therefore, the current study aims to examine the different strategies involved in historical speech reporting practices and to determine to which extent “verbatimness” was applicable for speech representation in early modern courtroom records.

The study investigates a corpus of 18th and 19th century witness depositions delivered in trial cases held at Flemish courts and transcribed in situ on paper by legal scribes. The corpus currently entails 3,191 documents (1,122,785 words) from the Belgian National Archives in Bruges (Rijksarchief Brugge), which have since 2019 been digitized as part of the *Witnesses* project (www.getuigenissen.org). These witness depositions are examples of speech-based texts, i.e. they are based on actual, real-life speech events: oral testimonies delivered by the witnesses and suspects were committed to paper by legal scribes. Therefore, speech representation in historical witness statements is two-fold in nature and studying represented speech entails both investigating the choices made by speakers (the witnesses who are the original speech reporters on the words of others as part of their testimony), as well as the choices potentially made by the courtroom scribes.

As it has previously been observed that modern-day systems of marking represented speech do not in fact mirror the historical strategies of speech representation (Grund & Walker 2021), the following methodological steps were applied. First an inductive analysis of the corpus was carried out: witness depositions and suspect interrogations were individually scanned in search for speech representation devices. Once they had been found and tagged, a quantitative statistical analysis was carried out in order to count their frequency and distribution across texts, allowing us to trace (sociolinguistic) variation as well as diachronic developments. Finally, the quantitative approach was complemented by a qualitative analysis of the various pragmatic and discursive functions carried out by different speech reporting strategies.

The preliminary results of the study reveal notable differences between texts from different time periods and suggest a clear shift towards more literal types of speech reporting from the 18th to the 19th century. At the same time, the institutional context of the criminal case's proceedings (such as the type of crime committed) seems to influence the choice of speech representation devices. Cases where no material evidence is available, such as sexual assaults, seem to favor more verbatim renderings of speech and prioritize the use of quotation. Finally, a wide variety of different pragmatic and discursive functions of speech reporting has been identified: from purely procedural, formulaic uses to introduction of new evidence, progressing narrative or introducing moral assessment and personal viewpoints.

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“I Forgot to Remember”: Individual and Generation level Variation of Memory Verb Complementation

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Traditionally studies of language variation have focused on generational and population level analysis, with the influence of individuals considered “reduced below the level of linguistic significance” (Labov 2012: 265). This form of research, though fruitful, narrows the questions we can ask about language change. Without a detailed study of individual behaviour we cannot consider how individual (cognitive) processing may impact the spread of a variant among the community, or how individuals accommodate change in their understanding/use of language within their lifespan. This talk combines the power of generational level analyses with the detail of individual level analyses in order to expand the traditional research on language variation to include previously neglected aspects of the phenomenon.

This talk provides a study of twenty-nine writers across two generations born around the 1660s and the 1710s respectively. It investigates the changes in their use of the emerging nonfinite and established finite complement clause (CC) variants with the matrix verbs *remember* and *forget*. Examples of this variation are given in (1).

- (1) a. “I **remember** I was very well pleased with the Device [...]” (Addison 1705)
- b. “They had **forgotten** that they had the same length to walk back again.” (Richardson 1753)
- c. “I **remember** being present when he shewed himself to be so corrupted [...]”
(Boswell 1791)
- d. “eying her Handkerchief, which he doubted not she laid on purpose to **forget** taking up [...]”
(Richardson 1741)

Existing theory suggests 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 changeability due to the lowered influence of social variables. In the type of variation shown, the non-finites, first attested in the late fourteenth century, coexist with the finite variants. With this analysis of an unstudied type of syntactic change from a new cognitively informed 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 >500,000 words per individual, annotated for CCs complementing *remember* and *forget*. Each instance is coded on eight functional variables (semantic, structural and discourse). Multifactorial classification models are 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 and generations. The results for the analyses for *remember* and *forget* are then compared to determine to what extent constraints are shared between these highly semantically related memory verbs.

Preliminary results from >2,000 instances show that individuals organise their behaviour more along the lines of smaller, partly idiosyncratic systems than larger semantic groupings, creating substantial degrees of inter-individual variation; we argue this correlates with continued long-term variation. Results show an increasing importance of functional constraints, as well as a drop in the degree of idiosyncrasy between the earlier and later generation showing potential standardisation. Finally, tentative evidence is found that a minority of individuals predict the next generation’s usage patterns, perhaps marking themselves as ‘way-pavers’. These results already allow for a strong discussion of the impact of interindividual differences in cognitive representations on long-term population-level language change,

as we find that long term variation on the generation level is both facilitated and shaped by heterogeneous idiosyncrasies on the individual level.

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Genoeg is Genoeg ('Enough is Enough'): Rich Tautologies as Figures of Speech in Dutch

Martina Temmerman (Vrije Universiteit Brussel)

(To be presented in Dutch) This paper discusses the use of a specific kind of repetition in Dutch which I have called the identical or (in analogy with 'rich rhyme') rich tautology. In everyday conversation, we often encounter a rhetorical repetition of the same word(s) in a specific pattern, in order to convince the hearer of a certain viewpoint concerning a certain state of affairs (e.g. 'genoeg is genoeg' ('enough is enough'), 'als het niet mag, dan mag het niet' ('if it's not allowed, it's not allowed')).

The examples show that the patterns are twofold: one is of the form 'x is x', the other takes the form 'if p then p'. In the 1980ies, Fraser (1988) and Wierzbicka (1987;1988) already paid some attention to the 'x is x' form in English. Very recently, Sommerer (2023) published an article on the second form (with mostly English examples), which she calls the pleonastic conditional.

Based on a corpus of examples in Dutch, I will discuss the linguistic-pragmatic meanings Dutch-language speakers might want to convey when applying this rhetorical figure and compare them to the findings for English. The findings show that the pragmatic meanings of emphasizing, of rendering a state of affairs as irreversible and of summoning the hearer to accept a certain situation occur in both English and Dutch (and also in other languages), but that the expression of gradation (e.g. 'op is op'), implying a specific communicative meaning, seems to be typical of Dutch.

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Een oudere Nederlandse constructie vanuit diachroon perspectief: betekenisontwikkeling, expansie en krimp van 'mits + participium presens (pp)' (1450-1700)

Bartie Thijs (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

Mits is wellicht bekend als conditioneel voegwoord, maar in de vaste combinatie die ik zie als constructie, *mits* + participium presens (*pp*), heeft *mits* in de periode 1450-1700 zes kernbetekenissen (oorzakelijk, motiverend, temporeel-momentaan, instrumenteel, comitatief en voorwaardelijk), en is *mits* dus meervoudig-semantic. De onderzochte constructie die ik *mits.pp* noem, is, mede in samenhang daarmee, polyseem, en daarnaast speelt, door formele en semantische gelijkenis van *mits/mit/met*, de interpretatie als meervoudige bronconstructie een rol (Van de Velde e.a. 2013). Wie de constructie *mits.pp* diachroon wil analyseren, kan niet heen om (synchrone) interpretatie van *mits.pp* in de gevonden tekst (Daalder 2009), die o.a. duidelijk wordt in een vertaling. Een voorbeeld:

- (1) [...] waerup hem ter antwort gegeven, he sijn wederpart solde voer recht verdagen laten, wolde men alsdan in der sake doen ende gescheen laten, alst na rechte sall behoeren, daer sijn erb. up ter antwort gegeven, /woe hem sulckes ongelegen [Q], **mits begerende** de sake bes Lichtmisse uuthgestalt muchte worden, wente he de noch in sijn bedencken tho nemen gemeent [*mits.pp* P]. (cit.nr. 97 in Corpus *mits.pp*; *DiarAlting* 140) [1564]
[In de gemeenteraad bracht Bernhardus Stuerman namens gravin van Bentheim het verzoek over om in het bezit gesteld te worden van het huis van Lubbert Clant zaliger, dat wegens wanbetaling of nalatigheid inzake de grondbelastingen onder beheer gekomen is van de Groningse burgemeester] waarop hem [door de burgemeester] ten antwoord gegeven is dat hij zijn tegenpartij voor het gerecht zou moeten laten dagen als hij in deze kwestie wilde laten doen en geschieden wat rechtens juist is; daarop heeft de edelachtbare heer [Stuerman] in zijn antwoord uiteengezet, waarom hem dat niet gelegen komt, **omdat** hij namelijk uitstel van de rechtszaak **wenst** tot Maria Lichtmis, tot welk tijdstip hij beoogt een en ander nog nader te overwegen.'

Uit vb (1) blijkt dat de interpretatie geannoteerd is. In de contextualisering die aan de vertaling voorafgaat volg ik de methode Daalder (2009), waarin de *mits*-frase (P genoemd) altijd in samenhang te zien is met contextuele implicatie Q (in de tekst benaderd door een frase, de Q-frase). De diachrone analyse wordt toegepast op een corpus, dat ik, mede omdat het *Historical Corpus Dutch* (Van de Voorde e.a. 2023) nog niet bestond, zelf aangelegd heb. Variationele criteria zijn variatie naar tekstcategorie (Rissanen 1989), naar bron en temporele spreiding. Het corpus *mits.pp* is 'zwaar' geannoteerd, maar komt ook in de vorm van ruwe data beschikbaar. Twee bevindingen uit het *mits.pp*-onderzoek zal ik er in mijn presentatie uitlichten: de fase van constructievorming rond 1500, en innovaties in de loop van de 17e eeuw.

Wat het eerste betreft: twee begin 16e-eeuwse vonnissen waarin grondaanduidend en comitatief *mits* gecombineerd zijn met een *pp*, roepen de veronderstelling dat in een voorstadium van deze combinatie het voorzetsel *mits* gevolgd werd door een nominalisering of nomen plus adjunct, met optioneel min of meer los daarachter een predicatief verbonden *pp*. Daarop zou reductie van een nominaal element gevolgd zijn, of herschikking van de reeks woorden volgend op *mits*, waarop het taalelement *mits* een hechtere verbinding is aangegaan met het *pp*. Voor het *pp* houdt dit vergroting in van de syntactische afhankelijkheid (Traugott & Trousdale 2016 [2013]: 100-101), nl. van *mits*, en voor nominale argumenten eveneens, nl. van het *pp*. Voor *mits* betekent dit verruiming van het bereik van nominale groep tot *pp*-frase: *mits* gaat als voegwoord fungeren.

Wat het tweede betreft: vanaf het eerste kwart van de zeventiende eeuw, na een fase van uitbreiding van de *mits.pp*-frase (expansie), doen zich, deels naast elkaar, enkele verschuivingen voor in het corpus, kwantitatieve en kwalitatieve. Sommige doen zich slechts in kleine groepen voor. De verschuivingen zijn de volgende.

1* Genre: toename frequentie van conditioneel, comitatief, instrumenteel en ook oorzakelijk en temporeel-momentaan *mits.pp* in brief en vertelling (o.a. poëzie, traktaat, literair historieverhaal).

2* Verbum *pp*: uitbreiding van de categorieën verbum van het *pp* tot ‘andere verba’ (betekenissfeer ‘zelf aanvatten’) en tot koppel- en passieve hulpwerkwoorden. Deze innovatie is samen te vatten als collocatonele expansie.

3* Toename van ‘andere argumenten’, d.i. argumenten en adjuncten bij het *pp* die niet te maken hebben met geld, goed of documenten in verband daarmee; deze toename vindt weliswaar óók plaats bij *pp*’s van verba van overdracht maar bij uitstek bij *pp*’s van ‘andere verba’.

4* Omvang: toename korte *mits.pp*-frasen (krimp), pragmatisch gemotiveerd.

5* Semantiek: tendens toename voorwaardelijke *mits.pp*-frasen, waarin bij het *pp* niet alleen ‘andere’ argumenten staan maar ook die met als betekenissfeer (een document inzake) geld of goed, en waarbij de desbetreffende gevallen niet alleen frequent zijn in de nieuwere genres, ook in genre contract, testament en ordonnantie. Tegelijkertijd is er sprake van een *come-back* van de oude oorzakelijke betekenis en stilistisch hergebruik van de oude temporeel-momentane betekenis, beide in het genre vertelling.

6* Linguïstische context *mogen*: toename bij conditionelen van *mogen* als predicaat in Q; het subject van de *mits.pp*-frase vervult hierin meestal een semantische overgangsrol (begunstigde met recht of voordeel > bezitter ervan)

7* Extensie van de conditionele betekenis: er zijn enkele gevallen van extensie naar een statische betekenis. De grens tussen comitatieven en conditionelen wordt dun.

Kort ga ik tenslotte in op de duiding van de bevindingen.

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Crowdsourced comparative judgement for L2 writing assessment: is high reliability still possible when texts are long, homogeneous in proficiency, topically diverse?

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Comparative Judgement (CJ) is a method of assessment in which judges (who may be experts, peers or even novices) decide which of two pieces of student work is “better”. These comparisons can be used to automatically rank each piece of work, and from these rankings a grade can be derived. Research from numerous fields has demonstrated that CJ generates reliable, valid, and efficient evaluations of learner outputs (Jones et al., 2019; Wheadon et al., 2020).

This presentation reports on findings from a project which explores the potential for a community-driven, crowdsourced form of CJ to contribute to the assessment of L2 texts included in widely used learner corpora that unfortunately often do not include reliable proficiency information. A recently published preliminary study (Author, 2022) provided initial support for this approach. However, in focusing on relatively short writing samples (median = 272 words), using a single essay prompt, and covering the full spectrum of L2 proficiency, that study provided optimal conditions for such results. A next step is to find out whether CJ continues to be valid and reliable in less optimal conditions.

We report on two studies which investigated this question. In each study, participants were crowdsourced from the linguistic community. Each participant completed 5-10 comparative judgements of a set of argumentative essays written by learners of L2 English. All texts were taken from the International Corpus of Learner English and were both longer (median length in words = 548) and represented a narrower proficiency range (roughly B1-C2) than the texts in earlier studies. In the first study, the essays were written in response to a single prompt; in the second study they comprised responses to five different topics.

Initial results from the first study reveal slightly lower reliability levels than in those reported in the preliminary study (SSR around 0.8). This suggests that the increased length and homogeneity of these texts made the task more difficult for judges, in line with previous research on the influence of task complexity in CJ (van Daal et al., 2019). Nevertheless, the reliability levels remain sufficient to “reflect good dependability of scores” (Hoyt, 2018). Study 2 will be completed in late July.

In addition to being assessed using CJ, all of the essays in the two studies were also triple-graded by expert graders using a CEFR writing rubric. These judgements will be used to provide a measure of the concurrent validity of the CJ data (i.e. a measure of the extent to which it corresponds with a better-established grading method), as well as comparison of the reliability and efficiency of the two grading methods. The results contribute both to learner corpus research, where CJ can potentially enrich learner corpora with accurate measures of text proficiency; and to the more general goal of exploring reliable, valid, and efficient alternatives to rubric-based L2 writing assessment.

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The rule to the exception: Systematic unconventionality in Romance progressives and GO-constructions

Margot Vancauwenbergh, Astrid De Wit, Peter Petré (UAntwerpen)

Progressive constructions and periphrases featuring the motion verb GO are usually described in terms of their aspectotemporal functions; whereas the progressive marks ongoingness or duration (e.g. Bertinetto 2000), GO-constructions tend to be used for future-time reference. Non-aspectotemporal uses of these construction types – illustrated here in French in examples (1) and (2) – are then treated as exceptions to a general aspectotemporal rule, or as pragmatic extensions of a core aspectotemporal meaning.

- 1) *Il est en train de lire de travers.*
3SG be.PRS.3SG PROG read upside down
'He's reading (it) upside down!' (Franckel 1989: 78)
- 2) *T' es malade – où t' es allé*
2SG be.PRS.2SG ill where2SG be.PRS.2SG go.PST.PTCP
attraper ça ?
catch that
'You're ill – where did you go catching that?' (Celle & Lansari 2015: 300)

What these constructions seem to be expressing here, rather than ongoingness or futurity, is a certain situational non-canonicity, which generates subjective senses of surprise or irritation in the speaker. This exploitation of the progressive and GO-constructions for what we will call the expression of *perceived unconventionality* is not exclusive to French – it is also attested in other Romance languages, including Italian, Catalan or Spanish (e.g. Stefanowitsch 1999; Bourdin 2014). Moreover, these uses of the progressive and GO-constructions are often formally unconventional as well; the occurrence of these constructions in the given linguistic context tends to be marked compared to the simple tense alternative (e.g. *es allé attraper* versus *as attrapé* in (2)). We refer to this linguistic non-canonicity as *produced unconventionality*, and propose to examine (often overlapping) uses of perceived and produced unconventionality not as pragmatic extensions of prototypical aspectotemporal functions, but rather as direct results of the semantics of the progressive and GO-constructions. At their semantic core, both constructions indicate that the situation they report is not seen as fully and regularly integrated in or somehow distant from what the speaker conceives of as the 'ground' (i.e. the speech event, its participants and its immediate circumstances (Langacker 2008)). In our presentation, we will offer both cross-linguistic and diachronic evidence for this analysis. On the basis of data from parallel corpora (Europarl) and a diachronic corpus (Frantext for French), we will show that, independently of the degree of grammaticalization of the progressive/GO in a given language, language users systematically exploit these constructions to convey unconventionality. In other words, by adopting a (temporally and genetically/geographically) broader perspective, we demonstrate that the synchronic Romance data on the progressive and GO are indicative of a robust semantic predisposition rather than a more peripheral pragmatic phenomenon.

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Making sense of Comparative Allomorphy in Slavic

Guido Vanden Wyngaerd, Anastasiia Vyshnevskva (KULeuven)

The three Slavic languages studied here show a similar allomorphy of comparative suffixes, with one allomorph containing the other: *-š* and *-ějš* in Czech, *-š* and *-iš* in Ukrainian, *-e* and *-eje* in Russian. We analyse the allomorphy in terms of two comparative heads, C1 and C2 (following Caha et al. 2019) and use the framework of Nanosyntax (Starke 2009). The distribution of the comparative allomorphs is explained in terms of root size: smaller roots (blue) can lexicalise the positive degree (AP), and need two suffixes to lexicalise C1 and C2. Larger roots (green) can lexicalise C1P, and take only one suffix. Since the two suffixes trigger different types of palatalizations, we propose that there is PALI in C1 and PALII in C2. We mark the effect of PALI in blue, and that of PALII in red in the IPA columns.

Czech. PALI affects velars, labials, and alveolars, while PALII only affects velars. This is shown by the contrasts between (1bc) vs (1ef), with different effects of PALI and PALII.

(1)

	POS		AP	CMPR		AGR	IPA	gloss
	AP	AGR		C1	C2			
a.	stroh	ý	stroh	PAL _I + ej	PAL _{II} + š	í	[stroʒejʃi:]	‘austere’
b.	hloup	ý	hloup	PAL _I + ej	PAL _{II} + š	í	[ɦloupjɛjʃi:]	‘stupid’
c.	bujar	ý	bujar	PAL _I + ej	PAL _{II} + š	í	[bujarɛjʃi:]	‘merry’
d.	drah	ý	drah		PAL _{II} + š	í	[draʒʃi:]	‘rich’
e.	slab	ý	slab		PAL _{II} + š	í	[slabʃi:]	‘weak’
f.	star	ý	star		PAL _{II} + š	í	[starʃi:]	‘old’

Ukrainian. PALI triggers ‘softening’ of the preceding consonant (marked as *ʲ*). PALII affects velars: *h* → *ʒ* (2d). The surface *-č* in (2d,f) (marked as *tʃ*) is the result of a phonological process of insertion of an epenthetic *t* between two consecutive palatals. The last consonant of the root [*h*] is palatalized into *hʲ* in (2a), while in (2d) it is palatalized into *ʒ*; voicing assimilation and *t*-insertion leads to [dɔrɔʲtʃɪj]. The contrast in palatalizations is in (2b) and (2e) as well: *ʋ* in the former case and *ʋ* in the latter one.

(2)

	POS		AP	CMPR		AGR	IPA	gloss
	AP	AGR		C1	C2			
a.	voloh	yj	voloh	PAL _I + i	PAL _{II} + š	yj	[vɔlɔɦʲiʃɪj]	‘humid’
b.	krasyv	yj	krasyv	PAL _I + i	PAL _{II} + š	yj	[krasɪʋʲiʃɪj]	‘beautiful’
c.	sviž	yj	sviž	PAL _I + i	PAL _{II} + š	yj	[svʲiʒʲiʃɪj]	‘fresh’
d.	doroh	yj	dorož		PAL _{II} + š	yj	[dɔrɔʲtʃɪj]	‘expensive’
e.	dešev	yj	dešev		PAL _{II} + š	yj	[dɛʃɛʋʃɪj]	‘cheap’
f.	duž	yj	duž		PAL _{II} + š	yj	[duʃtʃɪj]	‘strong’

Russian. PALI triggers ‘softening’ of the preceding consonant (marked as *ʲ*). The regular pattern is in (3a), where PALII associated with the second *e* surfaces as a glide between the two vowels of *-ee*: [eje]. PALI associated with the first *e* triggers softening of the final consonant of the root (*ʋ*). Following labials, PALII triggers the insertion of epenthetic [j] (3b). The root in (3a) also ends in labial [*ʋ*], but no epenthetic [j] is triggered, because the root is followed by PALI, supporting our claim that the two vowels of *-e-e* trigger different palatalisations. Similar minimally contrasting pairs are given in (3c,d) (root ending in *t*) and (3e,f) (root ending in *d*). When followed by PALII, [t] becomes [tʲ] (3d), and [d] becomes [ʒ] (3f), which does not happen if followed by PALI (3c,e).

(3)

	POS		AP	CMPR		IPA	gloss
	AP	AGR		C1	C2		
a.	krasiv	yj	krasiv	PAL _I + e	PAL _{II} + e	[kras'iv ^l eje]	'beautiful'
b.	dešev	yj	dešev		PAL _{II} + e	[d ^l ješev ^l e]	'cheap'
c.	syt	yj	syt	PAL _I + e	PAL _{II} + e	[sit ^l eje]	'full'
d.	bogat	yj	bogat		PAL _{II} + e	[bøgat ^l je]	'rich'
e.	chud	oj	chud	PAL _I + e	PAL _{II} + e	[xud ^l eje]	'thin'
f.	molod	oj	molod		PAL _{II} + e	[mølo ^z e]	'young'

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Weet Ton van der Wouden het raadsel van groepsvormend 'weten' op te lossen?

Ton van der Wouden (Meertens Instituut)

Het Nederlandse werkwoord *weten* heeft een gebruik waarin het 'verplicht groepsvormend' (terminologie van de ANS) is: het neemt de lange infinitief als complement, in voltooide tijden krijg je IPP (infinitief in plaats van voltooid deelwoord), en de betekenis is zoiets als 'in staat zijn' of 'kans zien, erin slagen':

- Ik vind dat die hoogleraar zijn medewerkers uitstekend *weet te kiezen*.
- Ze *heeft* zich altijd heel goed *weten te redden*
- Volgens de politie *hebben* vijf gevangenen *weten te ontsnappen*

De constructie is tegenwoordig tamelijk populair: voorbeelden liggen voor het oprapen in de schrijvende pers en daarbuiten. In mijn lezing ga ik nader in op de syntaxis, de semantiek, het gebruik, het collocatoneel gedrag van dit *weten*, en ik maak ook een uitstapje naar de buurtalen.

Multimodale Konversationsanalyse als Methode zur Beschreibung der Gesprächsbeteiligung von Dolmetschenden

Leona Van Vaerenbergh (UAntwerpen)

Der Beitrag umfasst eine theoretische Einführung und eine Fallstudie.

Die theoretische Einführung handelt von der Bedeutung der Konversationsanalyse für die Translationswissenschaft, insbesondere die Dolmetschwissenschaft und gibt einen Überblick über die Literatur zu diesem Thema und über die dolmetschwissenschaftlichen Studien, die die Konversationsanalyse als Methode für die Untersuchung gedolmetschter Gespräche, insbesondere in der psychiatrischen und psychotherapeutischen Kommunikation angewendet haben (siehe u.a. Bot 2015; Hofer-Falk 2023; Van de Geuchte 2021).

Die Fallstudie betrifft ein fast anderthalb Stunden dauerndes (842 Redebeiträge zählendes) Gespräch bei einem Psychologen. Die Patientin ist eine Jugendliche, deren Eltern, beide Deutsche, geschieden sind. Sie lebt mit ihrer und Schwester in Belgien, während ihr Vater weiterhin in Deutschland lebt. Im Gesprächsraum befinden sich: der Psychologe, die Patientin, und eine von der flämischen Dienststelle für Integration und Einbürgerung (*Agentschap Integratie en Inburgering*) zertifizierte Kommunaldolmetscherin. Der Vater und die Stiefmutter beteiligen sich am Gespräch über Skype und sind über den Bildschirm anwesend.

Das Gespräch ist Audio- und Video-aufgezeichnet (IC Recorder Sony ICD-PX470 und digitale Kamera Sony HDR-AS200V) und manuell nach den Konventionen der Konversationsanalyse transkribiert worden. In die Transkription sind auch Annotationen zu nonverbalen und paraverbalen Merkmalen eingefügt worden.

Die Untersuchung setzt sich zum Ziel, den Anteil der Dolmetscherin an dem Gespräch zu beobachten. Es wird u.a. beobachtet, welche Redezüge (Turns) von welchen Sprechern für welche Adressaten gedolmetscht werden, wie der Sprecherwechsel stattfindet, wie sich die Dolmetscherin während der vielen langen Pausen verhält, und wie sie mit der Parasprache (d.h. mit Merkmalen wie Tonhöhe und Lautstärke) der Patientin und des Psychologen umgeht. Letzteres wird anhand der Analysesoftware *Praat* objektiviert.

Die Untersuchung führt u.a. zu den folgenden zwei Ergebnissen: 1) Die Dolmetscherin übersetzt vorwiegend die niederländischen Redezüge (Turns) ins Deutsche, vor allem für den Vater und die Stiefmutter, die kein Niederländisch können (siehe Van Vaerenbergh 2022: 302); 2) Die *Praat*-Spektrogramme zeigen, dass die Dolmetscherin Tonhöhe und Lautstärke der emotionalen und sprachlichen Situation anpasst.

Die Fallstudie macht deutlich, dass linguistische Methoden wie die Konversationsanalyse und eine Analysesoftware wie *Praat* einen Beitrag zu dolmetschwissenschaftlichen Einsichten leisten.

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How do syntax, semantics and prosody interact? An experimental approach to (in)subordinate hypothetical manner clauses in French and Spanish

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As previous studies have suggested, clauses introduced by conjunctions can display different degrees of syntactic-discursive (in)dependence (D’Hertefelt 2018, Sansiñena 2019), they can express a range of non-prototypical meanings (Lastres-López 2021), and these features may correlate with their prosodic behaviour (Elvira-García et al. 2017). Thus, this study integrates these three dimensions and provides a fine-grained constructional account of *subordination* and *insubordination* (i.e. “the conventionalized main clause use of what [...] appear to be formally subordinate clauses”, Evans 2007:367), with a focus on hypothetical manner clauses, i.e. clauses introduced by the conjunction *comme si* in French and *como si* in Spanish (both meaning ‘as if’), as illustrated in (1) and (2).

- (1) French – bound subordinate *comme si*-clause expressing *hypothetical manner*
*Vous me parlez **comme si je connaissais le Wallon.***
‘You talk to me as if I knew [something about] the Walloon language.’
- (2) Spanish – insubordinate *como si*-clause expressing *denial of an assumption*
*¡**Como si yo tuviese una cámara!***
‘As if I had a camera!’

While previous research focused on corpus data (Royo-Viñuales 2023), the study presented here adopts an experimental approach, as it draws on spoken data elicited through a Discourse Completion Task (Vanrell et al. 2018). In this experiment, 8 participants per language were presented with a series of situations to which they had to react by uttering, as naturally as possible, a set of 63 instances of *como si*-clauses for Spanish native speakers and 18 instances of *comme si*-clauses for French native speakers. These samples were established on the basis of the constructional typology identified in a pilot study, which relied on i) **syntactic** pattern; ii) **position** *w.r.t.* the main clause, if present; iii) **functional** behaviour; and iv) lexical **stress**, only applicable in Spanish. In total, a sample of 504 *como si*-clauses and 144 *comme si*-clauses were coded in these terms and **prosodically** analysed following the Autosegmental Metrical (AM) model (Pierrehumbert 1980) and specifically using both Fr_ToBI (Delais-Roussarie et al. 2015) and Sp_ToBI (Prieto & Roseano 2010, Hualde & Prieto 2015) transcription systems.

In addition to the experimental methods used, the results of this constructional characterization were also subjected to a multivariate statistical analysis (Baayen 2014), for it allowed us to explore “the joint and simultaneous relationship of all the selected variables with respect to the studied phenomenon” (Arppe 2008:113).

By adopting an experimental approach, this study adds an interesting layer to our understanding of (in)subordinate hypothetical manner clauses. Beyond exploring how syntax, semantics and prosody interact and shape the linguistic behaviour of these constructions in discourse (Royo-Viñuales & Van linden 2022, Royo-Viñuales 2023, Royo-Viñuales et al. 2023), it also allows us to investigate how consistent such constructions are across speakers of the same language (i.e. interspeaker consistency) and how similar/different these constructions are in the two languages under study (i.e. cross-linguistic correlations).

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Investigating coreference use in L2 German: A corpus study

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The use of coreference influences writing fluency in a second language (L2) (Tian et al., 2021), text comprehension (e.g., Berkemeyer, 1994) and accuracy of a text (e.g., Bui, 2022). Cohesion in general and more specifically coreference use is being impacted by language proficiency (Yang & Sun, 2012) as well as by the native language (L1) of an L2 writer, since students tend to rely on L1 strategies to create cohesive texts, which may differ from the strategy used in the L2 (Roberts et al., 2008). This challenge has been documented in studies into L2 English (e.g., Grüter et al., 2017; He, 2020; Kang, 2009). For example, He (2020) investigated the use of coreference by L1 Chinese writers and found differences compared with L1 English texts, such as an underuse of demonstrative references. In stark contrast to L2 English, research on coreference in L2 German has been scarce to date. The few existing studies focus on specific coreference types, such as possessives (e.g., Fabricius-Hansen et al., 2021) and pronominal adverbs (Belz, 2005; Strobl, 2019), with no study available that gives a quantitative overview of L2 German coreference use, focussing, amongst others, on reference types or coreferential relations.

Our study aims to fill this gap by furthering research into coreference in L2 German writing, focusing on L2 writers with L1 Dutch. The analysis is based on the Belgisches Deutschkorpus (Beldeko) (Strobl & Wedig, 2023). Beldeko consists of 301 summaries written by advanced students of L2 German in an academic writing course. The corpus has been pre-processed and automatically annotated with part-of-speech tags and lemmas. Coreference was manually annotated with the help of a newly developed annotation system that combines categories of different frameworks (e.g., Becher, 2011; Kunz, 2010; Reznicek, 2013), such as antecedent types, coreferential expression, degree of coreference explicitness, and coreferential relations. This exhaustive annotation system also facilitates the calculation of the length of coreference chains.

The analysis of the corpus via the statistical software R revealed pronouns to be the most used type of reference (34%), closely followed by repetitions of proper nouns (31%). Demonstrative pronouns were used less often. Most coreferential relations were anaphoric, with nearly no cataphoric relation found in the corpus. Additionally, most coreferential relations were inter-sentential. The average coreferential chain consisted of 3.2 elements. We will present the results of this first analysis of coreference use in L2 German written by L1 Dutch students, comparing them with coreference patterns in L1 and translated German (e.g., Kunz et al., 2021) and discussing potential influences of the students' L1.

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