

Contents

Do language varieties or language systems really exist? Insights into sociolinguistic coherence	3
Is there something more going on than ongoingness? Unconventional uses of Dutch, French and English progressives.....	4
The weakening of strong verbs in Norwegian, Swedish, and Icelandic: A comparative study	6
Who takes action in a (post)colonial relationship? Discursive representations of former colonial powers and former colonies in royal speeches and social media discourse	8
The Hidden Risks of Just “Getting By” in Medical English as a Lingua Franca	10
On the variation in the conceptualization of perceptual experience across languages: The case of auditory perception in English and Japanese	12
Joint attention and epistemic positioning in museum interactions: a mixed-methods eye-tracking study	14
Coherence marking and uniform information density: the construction of concessive-adversative relations in Mandarin discourse	16
AM markers with applicative uses: a typological perspective.....	20
Waarnaartoe gaat het Surinaams-Nederlands? Een multivariate verkenning van voornaamwoordelijke adpositieconstituenten in het Surinaams-Nederlands.....	23
Muziek in de oren, accent op de tong? Onderzoek naar de zinsaccentproductie van Franstalige leerders van het Nederlands zonder en met een muzikale opleiding	27
Projectability in gesture-speech cooperation: A corpus-based study of hand pointing gestures in natural Mandarin interaction.....	34
Discursive Strategies and Meaning Effects in Sports Headlines	39
Old Rules, New Symbols: Sociolinguistic Patterns of Emoji Use in Later Life	40
Minority Language Policy and Its Manifestation: A Linguistic Landscape Study of Yanji, China	42
Constraints on the placement of Compound Directional Complements (CDCs) in Mandarin Chinese	44
Mapping the development of phraseological complexity in L2 Dutch writing: a longitudinal corpus analysis	46
Looking for linguistic superspreaders using large-scale network analysis and elastic net regression	48
De <i>be</i> -werkwoorden in kaart gebracht: een corpusstudie naar het gebruik, de productiviteit en de betekenis van het prefix <i>be</i> -	50
“Wh <i>the fuck</i> ” en “Wh <i>zum Fick</i> ” in het Duits	52
Drie keer de Nederlandse <i>weg</i> -constructie	53
Logiques syntaxiques de la grammaire française belge	55
Suppletion in Ukrainian deadjectival verbs	56
Kan je (aan) de drang weerstaan (aan) mij te gehoorzamen? The object of two-place <i>aan</i> -verbs	59
The consistency of voice quality acoustics as a new diagnostic parameter for organic and functional Foreign Accent Syndrome.....	61

Experiencing MOOCs in English: A proficiency-based perspective	63
Human vs GenAI feedback: Changing patterns in students' text-revision behaviour	65
The Management of Face of Organizations in Service Encounters: Previous Work and Current Challenges	66
Exploring the Construct of Phraseological Competence: Perspectives from Human Raters Through Comparative Judgment.....	68
La relation partie/tout et la structure russe « Y X есть Y » Les relations intrinsèques et extrinsèques	70
Évaluer les connaissances et compétences traductives autrement.....	73
La phrase interrogative dans le Foreigner Talk en français.....	75
The Effectiveness of Everyday Linguistic Agency: Reconceptualizing Self-Advocacy Among People with Physical Disabilities	77
Think before you speak. How 're-entrance' might be keeping us from falling into communicative chaos	79
Evolving motivations in Chinese heritage language learning: A semi-longitudinal qualitative study ..	81
Splitting the Haspelmath indefiniteness functions	83
'eu ha llee hoe heet dat' The use of the pragmatic marker <i>allee</i> in contemporary spoken Dutch by university students	85
The development of attitudes towards Dutch accents in monolingual and bilingual 4-to 8- year-old children	87
On the semantics of two 'turn out verbs': French <i>s'avérer</i> and Spanish <i>resultar</i> . An interesting subclass of achievements	89
How to Make a Semantic Dictionary of Spanish Causative Verbs: Design, Progress, and Roadmap of an Ongoing Lexicographical Project.....	91
Split intransitivity in Pamir languages: A lexical approach.	93

Do language varieties or language systems really exist?

Insights into sociolinguistic coherence

Anne-Sophie Ghyselen

A central question in linguistics is how much systematicity exists in everyday linguistic heterogeneity. This issue not only shaped the emergence of sociolinguistics as a discipline in the 1960s and 1970s, but assumptions about it permeate several key concepts in the field of linguistics, such as ‘language’, ‘language variety’, ‘multilingualism’, ‘language system’, ‘code switching’, ‘style shifting’ and ‘translanguaging’ (cf. Ghyselen & De Vogelaer, 2018).

In this talk, I address the importance of this question of systematicity and how it can be investigated. Approaching linguistic coherence – “the extent to which multiple co-existing linguistic variables have similar distributions, both internally and in the speech community at large” (Guy & Hinskens, 2016, p. 1) – from a usage-based perspective, I argue that coherence or systematicity is not a given or a binary but an empirical matter of degree that can, at least in principle, be measured. I then discuss several methodological challenges in studying coherence, including selection bias, the level of granularity at which coherence is examined, the diversity of available coherence measures, and the status of perceptual data. Drawing on my own research on Dutch as well as on other studies, I show how these challenges complicate a straightforward answer to the question whether the degree of coherence differs across languages, varieties, and cultures. I conclude by outlining what I consider the key directions for future research.

The ultimate goal of this talk is to demonstrate that explicit reflection on coherence is crucial for our field, as it invites us to scrutinize assumptions that are often taken for granted.

References:

- Ghyselen, A.-S., & De Vogelaer, G. (2018). Seeking Systematicity in Variation: Theoretical and Methodological Considerations on the ‘Variety’ Concept. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 9 (art 385), 1-19.
- Guy, G. R., & Hinskens, F. (2016). Linguistic coherence: Systems, repertoires and speech communities. *Lingua*, 172-173, 1-9.

Is there something more going on than ongoingness?

Unconventional uses of Dutch, French and English progressives

Margot Vancauwenbergh - Astrid De Wit - Peter Petré

In grammars of Dutch, French and English, the progressive construction is usually described in terms of its aspectual function, i.e. to mark ongoingness or duration (e.g. Bertinetto 2000). Non-aspectual uses of the construction type are then treated as exceptions to this general aspectual rule, or as pragmatic extensions of this core aspectual meaning. We argue instead for a more unified semantic analysis for the progressive, which encompasses both its aspectual and non-aspectual functions.

A non-aspectual use of one of the two constructions commonly regarded as progressive in Dutch is illustrated in (1), taken from the Europarl corpus (Koehn 2005):

- 1) *Nog te veel is er sprake van een verkokering, waarbij*
still too often be.PRS.3SG there talk of a compartmentalization where.by
zowel op ambtelijk niveau als op Raadsniveau men volstrekt separaat van
as.well on official level as on Council.level 3SG entirely separately of
mekaar zitten praten.
one.another PROG speak
'There is still too much evidence of compartmentalization in which people **are talking** in complete isolation from one another at both staff and Council levels.'
(EP 98-05-27_102)

What this construction seems to be expressing here, more than ongoingness, is that the situation is somehow non-canonical, which generates subjective senses of surprise or irritation in the speaker, and which we will refer to as *presented unconventionality*. Moreover, these uses of the progressive are often formally unconventional as well; the occurrence of these constructions in the given linguistic context tends to be marked compared to the simple alternative, and it is often accompanied by other striking linguistic procedures like marked sentence structure (e.g. adverbial fronting of *nog te veel* in (1)). We refer to this linguistic non-canonicity as *produced unconventionality*, and propose to examine (often overlapping) uses of presented and produced unconventionality not as pragmatic extensions of a prototypical aspectual function, but rather as direct results of the semantics of the progressive.

Our dataset comprises, for all three languages, a sample of +/- 200 target constructions, each of them paired with a minimally different simple counterpart (e.g. (1) is paired with a corpus attestation of *men praat*). Data were collected from the Dutch, French and English subsections of the Europarl corpus, resulting in 1,186 data points in total. Each data point was further annotated for a list of contextual indices of unconventionality, including e.g. references towards deictic now/here, exclamation, intensifiers and focus constructions. This allows us to (i) verify whether the unconventionality potential of the progressive is indeed higher than that of its simple counterpart, and (ii) check which types of contextual indices of unconventionality tend to co-occur most often with each language-specific construction. Wilcoxon signed rank tests indeed confirm that (i) is the case, while conditional inference trees and random forests show some interesting similarities and differences regarding (ii). These findings will further be linked to existing semantic analyses of the progressive (e.g. Goldsmith & Woisetschlaeger 1982; Langacker 2008), which will help

us to develop the idea that the progressive shares a notion of unconventionality inherent to its semantics in more detail.

References:

- Bertinetto, Pier Marco. 2000. The progressive in Romance, as compared with English, in Ö. Dahl (ed.), *Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 559–604.
- Goldsmith, John & Erich Woisetschlaeger. 1982. The Logic of the English Progressive. *Linguistic Inquiry* 13(1). 79-89.
- Koehn, Philipp. 2005. *Europarl: A Parallel Corpus for Statistical Machine Translation*. MT Summit.
- Langacker, Ronald W. 2008. *Cognitive Grammar: A basic introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

The weakening of strong verbs in Norwegian, Swedish, and Icelandic: A comparative study

Arnout Devriesere

This study presents new empirical findings on the weakening of strong verbs in the North Germanic languages Norwegian, Swedish, and Icelandic. Weakening refers to the process whereby strong verbs, originally forming their preterite through ablaut, adopt a suffix characteristic of weak verbs. The impact of various factors on weakening is examined, including class, ablaut pattern, token frequency, and type frequency. In addition to tracing the development of strong verbs in these three languages, the results are compared to findings from previous research on weakening in West Germanic languages. This enables a detailed comparison of the evolution of strong verbs across two Germanic branches, revealing both shared and contrasting tendencies.

A dataset of originally strong verbs in Old Swedish and Old West Norse was compiled based on the grammars *Altschwedische Grammatik* and *Altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik* by Noreen (1904, 1923). For each verb, the inflection of its counterpart in modern Norwegian, Swedish, and Icelandic was tracked using reference grammars and dictionaries. The inflection of preterites and participles was annotated separately as *strong*, *weak* or *varying between strong and weak inflection*. Each verb was further annotated for class, ablaut pattern, token frequency, and type frequency. Token frequency data were drawn from corpora, including *Leksikografisk bokmålskorpus (LBK)* for Norwegian, *PAROLE* for Swedish, and *Icelandic Frequency Dictionary (IFD)* for Icelandic. To assess the statistical impact of each variable, the data were analyzed using binary logistic regression.

The results reveal clear differences across the languages: whereas 87% of verbs remain fully strong in Icelandic, only 56% of verbs do so in Swedish and 30% in Norwegian. The difference between Swedish and Norwegian lies predominantly in the development of their participles: 25% of Norwegian verbs have a weakened participle but retain a strong preterite, compared to 5% of verbs in Swedish. In contrast to West Germanic languages, where preterites are generally more susceptible to weakening, North Germanic languages tend to show more weakening in participles.

Among the investigated factors, token frequency has a strong impact on weakening, with high-frequency verbs generally exhibiting less weakening than low-frequency verbs. As for class membership, verbs from historically more coherent classes (I–IV) tend to be less prone to weakening than those in more idiosyncratic classes (V–VII). Originally, the former typically exhibited ABC ablaut patterns (e.g., Old West Norse *drekkja* ‘to drink’ – *drakk* – *drukkin*, with different stem vowels in the infinitive, preterite, and participle), whereas the latter had ABA patterns (i.e., identical vowels in the infinitive and participle). While this tendency is largely shared across North and West Germanic languages, the development of the ablaut patterns differs: in Norwegian and Swedish, originally ABC verbs increasingly shift toward ABA patterns, whereas in German and Dutch, there is a marked tendency for these verbs to adopt ABB patterns (i.e., identical vowels in the preterite and participle).

These findings underscore that weakening is a widespread process across the Germanic languages, governed by multiple linguistic factors. Nevertheless, its specific trajectory differs between and even within the Germanic branches.

References:

- Noreen, A. (1904). *Altschwedische Grammatik mit Einschluss des Altgutnischen* (3rd ed.). Max Niemeyer Verlag. <https://archive.org/details/altschwedischegr00noreuoft>
- Noreen, A. (1923). *Altnordische Grammatik I: Altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik unter Berücksichtigung des Urnordischen* (4th ed.). Max Niemeyer Verlag. <https://archive.org/details/altisländischeu00noreuoft>

Who takes action in a (post)colonial relationship?

Discursive representations of former colonial powers and former colonies in royal speeches and social media discourse

Lucie Niclaes

The history of European colonization cannot be separated from that of colonial discourse, that is, from a discourse which conceptualized the coloniser and the colonised as fundamentally different, in such a way that the former would be naturally superior to the latter (Elaref 2023, Botero Camacho 2011). While this discourse justified the atrocities committed during the colonial period, it nowadays still interacts with current representations of former colonial powers – FCPs – and former colonies – FCs – (e.g. Riverda Pichardo, Jost & Benet-Martínez 2022, Khakee 2022, etc.). This study precisely investigates the discursive construction of these representations for three postcolonial pairs (Belgium/Democratic Republic of Congo, United Kingdom/Kenya and Spain/Puerto Rico) in a corpus of discourses produced on the occasion of recent official visits by the monarchs of these three FCPs to these FCs (i.e. official speeches pronounced by these monarchs and reactions on the social media by people in the three FCs). Methodologically, it is based on the linguistic concept of agentivity, which refers to the relation between the groups described in a discourse (here: FCPs and FCs) and the actions mentioned (which they can initiate or undergo) (De Cock & Michaud Maturana 2014). Through an analysis of three parameters related to agentivity (i.e. semantic roles, syntactic functions and syntactic position), it aims to compare: i) the representations of the FCs and FCPs (i.e. are they represented with a similar degree of agentivity and for what kind of actions or situations?), ii) the representations in the official speeches vs. in the social media discourse, iii) the representations when discussing the colonial past vs. later periods of time, and iv) the representations to be found in the three postcolonial pairs.

According to our findings, the three monarchs construct a discourse where the FCs are represented with a much lower degree of agentivity compared to the FCPs, despite some efforts by the Belgian and the British kings to display the DRC and Kenya as agentive countries. By contrast, the FCPS' agentivity is silenced when the monarchs refer to negative actions committed during the colonial periods. In the social media discourse, by contrast, the FCPs and the FCs are represented with a more equal degree of agentivity, although this agentivity concerns to a large extent specific groups within the countries whose actions are denounced (political leaders in the case of the DRC and Kenya, demonstrators against the Spanish king's venue in the case of Puerto Rico). The colonial history is displayed in an ambiguous way, with some commentators acknowledging negative actions occurred during the colonial times and others transmitting a discourse with traces of colonialism. These results suggest both a general willingness to address issues related to the (post)colonial history and a difficulty in clearly attributing responsibility for the actions associated with it.

References:

- Botero Camacho, M.J. (2011). Retórica colonial: el otro Lingüístico. *Anales de literatura hispanoamericana*, 40, 315-332.
http://dx.doi.org/10.5209/rev_ALHI.2011.v40.37415
- De Cock, B. & Michaud Maturana, D. (2014). La expresión de la agentividad en el Informe Rettig (Chile, 1991). *Revista Internacional De Lingüística Iberoamericana*, 12(23). 123–140. <https://doi.org/10.31819/rili-2014-122310>
- Elaref, A. I. A. (2023). Colonial Discourse Studies: Uncovering the Unfair Otherness. *AWEJ for Translation and Literary Studies*, 7(2), 83-92.
<https://dx.doi.org/10.24093/awejtls/vol7no2.6>
- Khakee, A. (2022). European Colonial Pasts and the EU's Democracy-promoting Present: Silences and Continuities. *The International Spectator*, 57(3), 103-120.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03932729.2022.2053352>
- Rivera Pichardo, E. J., Jost, J. T., & Benet-Martínez, V. (2022). Internalization of inferiority and colonial system justification: The case of Puerto Rico. 78(1), 79-106.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12437>

The Hidden Risks of Just “Getting By” in Medical English as a Lingua Franca

Antoon Cox - Melina De Dijn - Ashira Edelheit-Rice - Nicolas Dauby - Julie Deconinck - Stefania Marzo

As linguistic diversity increases in urban centers worldwide, driven by large-scale migration, language-discordant interactions in healthcare settings are becoming more frequent (Chu et al., 2024). Emergency departments (EDs), with their fast pace and high stakes, are particularly vulnerable to communication breakdowns when providers and patients do not share a common language (Cox et al., 2025). While working with a professional medical interpreter is the current best practice in such circumstances, they are often underutilized or deprioritized due to their inaccessibility or time constraints (Brenner et al., 2018). As a result, many clinicians and patients “get by” using English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), even when it is neither party’s first language. In such cases, English becomes a Medical English as a Lingua Franca (MELF), employed pragmatically to bridge communication gaps (Tweedie & Johnson, 2022).

This qualitative study investigates the communicative strategies used during MELF interactions in an ED setting, with a focus on understanding the limits of “getting by” and informing medical education. We analyzed four audio-recorded ED consultations collected in a Brussels public hospital, each involving at least one interlocutor speaking English. Transcripts were examined through the lens of Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), analyzing the interlocutors’ interactional adjustments and interpretability strategies.

Findings revealed considerable variation in communication success, strongly influenced by interlocutors’ fluency in English and their pragmatic adaptability. Clinicians and patients employ a wide range of linguistic strategies: code-switching, simplification, repetition, use of gestures, and reliance on ad hoc interpreters (e.g. patients’ companions). We found that when participants actively use accommodative strategies, such as lexical alignment, clarification requests, and syntactic simplification, they tend to support mutual understanding. However, in consultations in which passive or non-accommodative strategies prevail—such as overlooking confusion or ignoring clarification cues—miscommunication becomes common and sometimes severe. Moreover, pragmatic strategies appear to have a limit and can, in fact, contribute to linguistic ambiguity and uncertainty -- such as when speakers oversimplify their speech at the expense of clarity and informational richness. This underscores the fragility of MELF in high-stakes medical contexts, where precision and shared understanding are essential (Tweedie & Johnson, 2022). Our study also highlights the emotional and cognitive burdens experienced by clinicians navigating these interactions, aligning with the concept of “emotional labor” in multilingual clinical care (Hochschild, 1983). The findings suggest that the act of “getting by” is not a neutral workaround, but an interactional compromise that can lead to unnoticed errors with serious clinical consequences (see also Cox et al., 2019).

We argue that medical education must directly address the realities of MELF communication. Students should not only learn about interpreters and basic lingua franca strategies (e.g., unelaborated speech, gesture use, confirmation checks), but also how to recognize when “getting by” is insufficient and when to seek professional support (Seo et al., 2025). Simulation with linguistically diverse patient actors and listening to real-world case recordings can help students practice navigating language-discordant interactions

(Cox & Li, 2020). Ultimately, enhancing MELF awareness will promote safer, more equitable care in linguistically diverse healthcare systems.

References:

- Brenner, J. M., Baker, E. F., Iserson, K. V., Kluesner, N. H., Marshall, K. D., & Vearrier, L. (2018). Use of Interpreter Services in the Emergency Department. *Annals of Emergency Medicine*, 72(4), 432–437. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annemergmed.2018.05.009>
- Chu, J. N., Wong, J., Bardach, N. S., Allen, I. E., Barr-Walker, J., Sierra, M., Sarkar, U., & Khoong, E. C. (2024). Association between language discordance and unplanned hospital readmissions or emergency department revisits: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *BMJ Quality & Safety*, 33(7), 456–469. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjqs-2023-016295>
- Cox, A., Larocque, M. C., Dauby, N., & Leanza, Y. (2025). On equal footing? The impact of patient companions on Lifeworld integration and patient-centeredness in linguistically diverse emergency consultations. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 24(1), 126. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12939-025-02425-2>
- Cox, A., & Li, S. (2020). The medical consultation through the lenses of language and social interaction theory. *Advances in Health Sciences Education*, 25(1), 241–257. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10459-018-09873-2>
- Cox, A., Rosenberg, E., Thommeret-Carrière, A.-S., Huyghens, L., Humblé, P., & Leanza, Y. (2019). Using patient companions as interpreters in the Emergency Department: An interdisciplinary quantitative and qualitative assessment. *Patient Education and Counseling*, 102(8), 1439–1445. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pec.2019.03.004>
- Hochschild, A. R. (1983). *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. University of California Press. <https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520951853>
- Seo, H. S., Tsao, A. J., Kim, M. I., & Luan-Erfe, B. M. (2025). Providers' Perspectives on Communication Barriers with Language-Discordant Patients in the Critical Care Setting: A Systematic Review. *Anesthesia Research*, 2(1), 7-. <https://doi.org/10.3390/anesthres2010007>
- Tweedie, M. G., & Johnson, R. C. (2022). *Medical English as a Lingua Franca*. Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG.

On the variation in the conceptualization of perceptual experience across languages: The case of auditory perception in English and Japanese

Yuichiro Ogami

The language used to describe perceptual experiences provides valuable insight into how we humans construct our worldview (Winter 2019). Recently, cross-linguistic studies on the hierarchy of perception have provided important insights (Caballero & Paradis 2015, Majid et al. 2018, etc.). One question that arises here is whether perception is conceptualized as the same mental experience across different languages. From this perspective, this paper focuses on English and Japanese expressions that describe auditory perception and explores how each language conceptualizes auditory experience drawing on the general view of Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 2008). The analysis targets basic auditory expressions in the two languages, as briefly illustrated in (1-4).

(1) I hear a strange noise from the next room.

(2) This instrument sounds good.

(3) a. *Tonari-no heya kara hen-na oto ga kikoeru.*
next-GEN room from strange sound NOM be.heard
Lit. 'I hear a strange noise from the next room.'
A strange sound can be heard from the next room.

b. **Kono gakki wa kirei-na oto ga kikoeru.*
this instrument TOP beautiful sound NOM be.heard

(4) a. *Tonari-no heya de hen-na oto ga suru.*
Next room in strange sound NOM do
Lit. 'A strange sound does in the next room.'
There's a strange sound in the next room.

b. *Kono gakki wa kirei-na oto ga suru.*
this instrument TOP beautiful sound NOM do
Lit. 'This instrument, a beautiful sound does.'
This instrument sounds beautiful.

In English, a situation in which someone perceives a sound is expressed by a sentence using the verb *hear* that takes the experiencer as the subject (1), while a sentence using the perceptual copula (cf. Viberg 2019) *sound* that takes the source of the sound is used to express what kind of sound an object produces (2). In contrast, in Japanese, each of the above situations is expressed by a sentence with the intransitive verb *kikoeru* 'be heard' (3), which takes the sound as its subject, or a sentence using the verb *suru* 'do' (4), which typically expresses the performance of an action. This paper examines the linguistic behavior and semantic characteristics of these expressions to explore the meaning-making systems that underlie the conceptualization of auditory perception in the two languages, with a focus on the relationships between auditory stimuli, the source of those stimuli, and the subject of hearing.

The findings suggest that a situation interpreted as "an experiencer perceiving a sound" in English is subjectively perceived in Japanese as "the arrival of a sound," and that a situation expressed in English as "an object emitting some sound" is subjectively conceptualized in

Japanese as “the discovery of some sound.” These observations highlight the fact that, although perception is a universal biological phenomenon, the way perceptual experience is conceptualized may vary across languages, particularly in terms of whether the focus is on the perceiver or the source of the stimulus, or on the internal apprehension of the stimulus.

References:

- Caballero, Rosario & Carita Paradis (2015) Making sense of sensory perceptions across languages and cultures. *Functions of Language* 22(1), 1–19.
- Langacker, Ronald W. (2008) *Cognitive Grammar: A Basic Introduction*. Oxford University Press.
- Majid, Asifa et al. (2018) Differential coding of perception in the world’s languages. *Psychological and Cognitive Sciences* 45(115), 11369–11376.
- Viberg, Å. (2019) ‘Phenomenon-based perception verbs in Swedish from a typological and contrastive perspective’. *Syntaxe et sémantique*, 20(1), 17–48.
- Winter, Bodo. (2019) *Sensory Linguistics: Language, perception and metaphor*. John Benjamins.

Joint attention and epistemic positioning in museum interactions: a mixed-methods eye-tracking study

Eva Willems – Julie Janssens – Geert Brône - Bert Oben

In recent decades, our perspective on the museum experience has shifted: museums are no longer seen as passive spaces for displaying cultural artifacts but as social environments that shape how visitors perceive, interpret and discuss art (du Toit & Dye 2008; Tröndle et al. 2012). Reflecting this shift, museum studies have increasingly focused on visitor behavior. One method of measuring visitor behavior that has proven useful is eye-tracking technology, offering detailed insights into visual attention and cognitive engagement in natural settings. While previous eye-tracking studies have primarily examined visual attention to artworks and texts (e.g. Smith & Smith 2001; Blunden 2020; Garbutt et al. 2020; Reitstätter et al. 2022; Castellotti et al. 2023), little is known about the influence of textual elements on visitors' visual behavior, meaning making processes and social interactions.

This study investigates how textual information in museum spaces not only structures visitors' gaze behavior, but also shapes joint attention, shared interpretation, and epistemic positioning in dyadic interactions. The study adopts a mixed-methods approach combining quantitative eye-tracking analysis with qualitative multimodal discourse analysis. Data were collected at the "Turning Heads" exhibition in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Antwerp (KMSKA), where visitors were recorded using Tobii Pro Glasses 3. For the quantitative analysis, data from 8 dyads were used, each of whom viewed five different artworks and their accompanying text spread across the exhibition. Key gaze metrics included total fixation count, total fixation duration and average fixation duration. The qualitative component involved a multimodal discourse analysis of five selected video fragments, combining verbal interaction with gaze direction and gestures.

Quantitative findings revealed that while artworks received slightly more visual attention than texts, a positive correlation existed between time spent on text and time spent on artwork. Regardless of demographic variables, most participants followed a shared viewing pattern: visitors looked at the artwork, then at the text, then returned to the artwork. Evidence of museum fatigue (Falk et al. 1985; Davey 2005) was found, with fixation counts declining over time. Gaze synchrony within visitor pairs was high for artworks but more individualized for texts, suggesting that reading is a more personal activity.

The qualitative analysis showed that texts triggered joint attention, shared interpretation and epistemic positioning. Visitors referenced texts aloud, used pointing gestures and deictic expressions to coordinate visual attention and drew on textual information to support interpretations and collaborative meaning-making. Moreover, texts contributed to epistemic positioning (Heritage 2012, Stevanovic & Svennevig 2015): the information provided in texts allowed visitors, regardless of their prior art knowledge (which was mapped in a pre-recording questionnaire), to make confident interpretive claims. Texts thus acted as "epistemic equalizers", lowering the threshold for participation in art-related discourse.

This study emphasizes that museum texts not only serve as informational aids but as attentional, interpretive and social resources. By integrating visual, textual and interpersonal dimensions, it contributes to the fields of interactional linguistics, multimodal meaning analysis (Feyaerts et al. 2017) and visitor studies.

References:

- Blunden, J. (2020). Adding 'something more' to looking: The interaction of artefact, verbiage and visitor in museum exhibitions. *Visual Communication*, 19(1), 45-71. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1470357217741938>
- Castellotti, S., D'Agostino, O., Mencarini, A., Fabozzi, M., Varano, R., Mastandrea, S., Baldriga, I., & Viva, M. M. D. (2023). Psychophysiological and behavioral responses to descriptive labels in modern art museums. *PLOS ONE*, 18(5), e0284149. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0284149>
- Davey, G. (2005). What is Museum Fatigue? *Visitor Studies Today*, 8(3), 17-21. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/292110022_What_is_museum_fatigue
- du Toit, H., & Dye, B. (2008). Empathic Dramatic Engagement as a Metaphor for Learning in the Art Museum. *Visitor Studies*, 11(1), 73-89. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10645570801938483>
- Falk, J. H., Koran Jr, J. J., Dierking, L. D., & Dreblow, L. (1985). Predicting visitor behavior. *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 28(4), 249-258. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2151-6952.1985.tb01753.x>
- Feyaerts, K., Brône, G. & Oben, B. (2017) Multimodality in Interaction. In: B. Dancygier (Ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of cognitive linguistics* (pp. 135-156). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://kuleuven.limo.libis.be/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma9994232254201488&context=L&vid=32KUL_KUL:KULeuven&search_scope=All_Content&tab=all_content_tab&lang=en
- Garbutt, M., East, S., Spehar, B., Estrada-Gonzalez, V., Carson-Ewart, B., & Touma, J. (2020). The Embodied Gaze: Exploring Applications for Mobile Eye Tracking in the Art Museum. *Visitor Studies*, 23(1), 82-100. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10645578.2020.1750271>
- Heritage, J. (2012). The Epistemic Engine: Sequence Organization and Territories of Knowledge. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 45(1), 30-52. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2012.646685>
- Reitstätter, L., Galter, K., & Bakondi, F. (2022). Looking to Read: How Visitors Use Exhibit Labels in the Art Museum. *Visitor Studies*, 25(2), 127-150. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10645578.2021.2018251>
- Smith, J. K., & Smith, L. F. (2001). Spending Time on Art. *Empirical Studies of the Arts*, 19(2), 229- 236. <https://doi.org/10.2190/5MQM-59JH-X21R-JN5J>
- Stevanovic, M., & Svennevig, J. (2015). Introduction: Epistemics and deontics in conversational directives. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 78, 1-6. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2015.01.008>
- Tröndle, M., Wintzerith, S., Wäspe, R., & Tschacher, W. (2012). A museum for the twenty-first century: The influence of 'sociality' on art reception in museum space. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 27(5), 461-486. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09647775.2012.737615>

Coherence marking and uniform information density: the construction of concessive-adversative relations in Mandarin discourse

Hongling Xiao - Liesbeth Degand

This study investigates how different coherence marking strategies, focusing on Mandarin concessive-adversative relations (*concessions* for short), reflect speakers' efforts to manage information flow.

Mandarin permits a typologically notable pattern of **double-conjunction** marked (DM) coherence constructions, e.g., the combined use of *suiran* 'although' and *danshi* 'but' expressing a concession relation, in addition to more familiar single-marked (SM) variants using either *suiran* or *danshi* alone. Drawing on the Uniform Information Density (UID) hypothesis (Levy and Jaeger 2006), which argues that speakers tend to distribute information evenly to optimize processing and comprehension, we examine how different marking strategies (SM vs DM) influence the use of other coherence cues and whether the influence is modulated by modality of the communication (written vs spoken).

Our hypotheses are:

- 1) When the concessive relation is marked overtly through **double conjunctions** (DM), other coherence signals will be less necessary, aligning with UID predictions.
- 2) Conversely, when only **one conjunction** is used (SM), speakers are expected to compensate by enriching the discourse with additional cues.

Using a 300-instance corpus evenly balanced between written (novels) and spoken (TV interviews/talk shows) discourse and across three marking types (SM: *suiran* P, Q, SM: P, *danshi* Q, and DM: *suiran* P, *danshi* Q), we analyzed four types of non-conjunction coherence signals which play a role in eliciting concession readings (Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Liu, 1986; Knott and Dale, 1994; Xing, 2001; Taboada 2006):

- 1) adverbs in segment Q (*advQ*, eg, *que* 'however', *haishi* 'still')
- 2) *adverbial* phrases (*adverbial*, eg, *qishi* 'actually', *bijing* 'after all')
- 3) syntactic parallelism (*cue_str*)
- 4) lexical semantic contrast pairs (*sem_pairs*)

Three statistical models were applied to elicit our findings: logistic regression, conditional inference trees, and random forest analysis. Logistic regression confirmed that *advQ* was significantly less likely to occur in DM contexts compared to SM-*suiran* ($p < .001$), while *cue_str* showed reduced presence in DM compared to both SM variants ($p = .042$). *sem_pairs* revealed an interaction with modality: in written discourse, DM structures suppressed semantic contrast cues, whereas in speech, they were significantly more frequent ($p = .003$). This suggests that spoken DM constructions may afford additional prosodic or pragmatic flexibility compared to their written counterparts. A marginally significant influence from *modality* was found regarding the *adverbial*, which occurred relatively more often in spoken languages ($p = .086$). This suggests the necessity to enlarge the sample size for a better view of the role that written/spoken distinction plays in discourse production.

The conditional inference tree identified *advQ* as the primary branching feature, confirming its indicative value in distinguishing marking strategies. Random forest analysis further

reinforced this finding, ranking *advQ* as the most influential predictor, followed by *sem_pairs*, *cue_str*, and *adverbial*. These converging results support our hypotheses that “additional” coherence signals are not distributed randomly but are rather sensitive to the information load already carried by the conjunctions.

References:

- Halliday, M. A. K., & Hasan, R. (1976). *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.
- Jaeger, T. F., & Levy, R. (2006). Speakers optimize information density through syntactic reduction. In *Advances in neural information processing systems* (pp. 849–856).
- Knott, A., & Dale, R. (1994). Using linguistic phenomena to motivate a set of coherence relations. *Discourse processes*, 18 (1), 35-62.
- Liu, Z. (1986). *Xiandai hanyu fuju [Complex sentences of modern Chinese]*. Tianjin: Tianjin People’s Publishing House.
- Taboada, M. (2006). Discourse markers as signals (or not) of rhetorical relations. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 38(4), 567–592. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2005.09.010>
- Xing, F. (2001). *Hanyu fuju yanjiu [A study of Chinese complex sentences]*. Beijing: The Commercial Press.

On new pathways to nominal number marking - The case of South American languages

Olga Krasnoukhova - An Van linden

This paper presents an account of language change through which number marking can spread from the verbal to the nominal domain, based on data from South American (SA) indigenous languages.

The category of number is usually associated with nominals. For instance, in English examples like *I see clouds in the sky*, the noun *cloud* obligatorily carries number marking if the referent of the noun is plural. In the Peruvian language Harakmbut, by contrast, nouns go unmarked for number. That is, plurality of a nominal referent is encoded on the verb by the verbal plural prefix *mba-~ma-~mã-*, marking plurality of the object (on transitives) or subject (on intransitive verbs) (Van linden 2023: 468). Verbal number marking, in which plurality of participants is not marked on nouns but on verbs, is found throughout the globe (Corbett 2000: 245; Mattioli 2009: 17), but seems particularly prominent in SA languages (Krasnoukhova 2022: 631). Our dataset of ±50 SA languages shows that some SA languages use formally identical plural markers on their nouns and verbs. Number marking on nouns is optional in most such cases. Chibchan languages are a case in point. For example, in Buglere, the plural marker

-*dre* on the verb signals plurality of the subject participant (1a), and the same marker can mark plural on nouns (1b). Proto-Chibchan did not have number marking on nouns at all; inflectional morphology reconstructed for this family is all verbal (Constenla Umaña 2012: 404).

(1) Buglere (Chibchan)

(a) *muire* *isi* *ngaribega-ble-dre*
woman snake kill-REM.PST-PL

‘The **women** killed a snake.’ (Quesada 2012: 86)

(b) *muire-dre*
woman-PL

‘women’ (Quesada 2012: 74)

We hence suggest that number marking can ‘spread’ from the verbal to the nominal domain, and propose at least two scenarios for this process. The first one involves the use of verbal plural marking on deverbal nouns and nominalizations as an intermediary stage. For example in Nivacle (Matacoan), the marker =*sha7ne* is used on verbs to indicate plurality of the subject (on intransitive verbs) or the object participant (on transitives), as in (2). This plural marker also occurs on adjectives (which are nouny in Nivacle) and some nouns. Importantly, all nouns that take this plural marker are either deverbal nouns or nominalizations (Campbell et al. 2020: 101).

(2) Nivacle (Matacoan)

ja7-p’ôw-ja-yan=sham=sha7ne

1ACT-notch-LIG-VBLZ=THROUGH/INSIDE =PL

‘I make **notches**.’ (Campbell et al. 2020: 260, p.c.)

A second, overall rarer scenario can be observed in Teribe (Chibchan), where the plural marker for nominal subjects presumably originates in a positional verb. In present-day

Teribe, the element *lok* ‘plural’ predominantly encodes plurality of subject participants (Quesada 2000: 66), shown in (3). Diachronically, however, *lok* is likely to be a positional verb ‘be plural’) (*ibidem*). Syntactically, its behavior matches its typical occurrence as part of serial verb constructions (Quesada 2000:65, 131).

(3) Teribe (Chibchan)

dbong *ī-na* ***lok***

tiger see-PERF.3 PL

‘**They** saw a tiger.’ (Quesada 2000:66)

In short, this study contributes to our knowledge of pathways to nominal number marking, advancing our understanding of evolutionary processes of language change

Abbreviation:

1= 1st person; 3 = 3rd person; ACT = actor; LIG = ligature; PERF = perfective; PL = plural; REM.PST = remote past; VBLZ = verbalizer; VPL = verbal plural marker.

References:

- Campbell, Lyle, Luis Díaz & Fernando Ángel. 2020. *Nivacle grammar*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- Corbett, Greville. 2000. *Number*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Krasnoukhova, Olga. 2022. Number in the languages of South America. In Paolo Aquaviva & Michael Daniel (eds.) *Number in the World's Languages: A Comparative Handbook*. Comparative Handbooks of Linguistics nr. 5: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Mattiola, Simone. 2019. *Typology of Pluractional Constructions in the Languages of the World*. (Typological studies in language 125). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Quesada, Juan Diego. 2012. *Gramática del buglere*. Quito, Ecuador: Abya-Yala.
- Van linden, An. 2023. Harakmbut. In Patience Epps & Lev Michael (eds.), *Amazonian Languages, An International Handbook. Language Isolates, Volume 1: Aikanã to Kandozi-Shapra*, 441-482. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter

AM markers with applicative uses: a typological perspective

Timofey Mukhin

This paper investigates the valency-increasing potential of Associated Motion (AM) markers from a cross-linguistic perspective. Applicative use of AM markers was first observed by Pakendorf & Stojnova (2021) in Tungusic languages. Our previous findings show that this functional extension of AM markers is attested in languages across different linguistic areas (AUTHOR et al. 2024). However, the main types of variation remain unknown. This paper investigates this issue in a convenience sample of 30 languages with markers showing both applicative and AM uses.

First, we investigate the **functional range** of a marker: whether it is cumulative, serving both functions in the same context (1), or polysemous, with either applicative or AM use depending on the verb, as in (2a-b) respectively.

- (1) Murui (Witotoan; Colombia, Peru; Wojtylak 2020: 344)
[Alexis jo-fo-mona] Fransiska=di-no-moloc gui-**zaibi**-t-epred
[Alexis house-CLF-ABL] Francisca=at-CLF-LOC eat-**VENT**-LK-3
'From the house of Alexis (she) came to eat at Francisca's.'
- (2) Nivacle (Matacoan; Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay; Fabre 2013: 11-13)
- a. a-pitej-[yɪ]-**c'oya**
2S-be.tall-[1]-**AM.ANT.VENT**
'You are taller than me.'
- b. j-ovalh-**c'oya**
1A(>3P)-watch-**AM.ANT.VENT**
'I watch(ed), waiting for him/her/they to come.'

Second, we consider parameters relevant to applicatives. In terms of the **semantic role of the applied phrase**, AM markers are found to introduce both spatial and non-spatial participants. In (1), the AM suffix *-zaibi* adds the spatial participant 'house' as a source to the non-motion verb 'eat'. By contrast, in (2a), the AM suffix *-c'oya* introduces the non-spatial participant 'me' taking up the role of standard of comparison – without adding AM. As for the **syntactic status of the applied phrase**, AM markers are not only found in prototypical "P-applicative constructions", where the applied phrase gets core argument coding, as in (3b) or (2a) above, but also in so-called "X-applicatives", where it is syntactically treated as a non-core argument, as in

- (1) (cf. Zúñiga & Creissels, 2024: 19). The third parameter is the **status of a non-applicative equivalent**, viz. whether applicatives are *obligatory*, lacking an equivalent with the same participant expressed by other means (1), (2a), or *optional*, cf. (3a-b).

- (3) Paunaka (Arawakan; Bolivia; Terhart 2024: 394-395)
- a. pero pi-yunu pi-sane-yae
but 2SG-go 2SG-field-LOC
'But did you go to your field?'

- b. *kuina Jose ti-yunu-pu [uneku]*
 NEG José 3-go-DLOC [town]
 ‘José isn’t here, he went to town.’

Third, we investigate whether the availability of an applicative function for AM markers correlates with any parameters of AM, such as the **argument role of the moving figure**, the **temporal relation between the motion and verb event**, and the **direction of the motion** (Guillaume & Koch, 2021: 9). For example, in (4), the marker *-pa* (irrealis variant of *-pu* (3b)) denotes motion of the subject and involves prior motion and itive direction, while in (2b), the AM marker indicates motion of the object and involves subsequent motion and ventive direction. In our data, the applicative extension most commonly appears with prior-motion subject-related ventive (1) or itive (4) AM.

- (4) Paunaka (Terhart 2024: 399)
 kuina puero-ina-bu ti-isu-pa-bu
 NEG can-IRR.NV-DSC 3-weed-DLOC.IRR-DSC
 ‘He cannot go to weed anymore.’

Harmonized abbreviations:

A	agent of bivalent verb	LK	linker
ABL	ablative	LOC	locative
AM.ANT.VE	anticipated ventive	NEG	negation
NT			
CLF	classifier	P	patient of bivalent verb
DLOC	dislocative	S	subject of monovalent verb
DSC	discontinuous	SG	singular
IRR	irrealis	VENT	ventive
IRR.NV	non-verbal irrealis	1, 3	first, third person

References:

- Fabre, Alain. 2013. *Applicatives and associated motion suffixes in the expression of spatial relations: A view from Nivacle (Mataguayo family, Paraguayan Chaco)*. Unpublished manuscript. <https://www.academia.edu/12443688/> (accessed 5 May 2025).
- Guillaume, Antoine & Harold Koch (eds.) (2021), *Associated Motion*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Pakendorf, Brigitte & Natalia Stojnova (2021), *Associated motion in Tungusic languages: a case of mixed argument structure*, in A. Guillaume & H. Koch (eds.), (2021), *Associated Motion*, 855–898, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Terhart, Lena (2024), *A grammar of Paunaka*, Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Zúñiga, Fernando & Denis Creissels (2024), *Applicative Constructions in the World’s Languages*, Berlin, Boston: Mouton de Gruyter.

Wojtylak, Katarzyna Izabela (2020), *A Grammar of Murui (Bue): A Witotoan language of Northwest Amazonia*. Leiden: Brill.

Waarnaartoe gaat het Surinaams-Nederlands? Een multivariate verkenning van voornaamwoordelijke adpositieconstituenten in het Surinaams-Nederlands

Kobe De Neve - Anne-Sophie Ghyselen - Timothy Coleman

Het Surinaams-Nederlands kan op steeds meer erkenning rekenen: Surinamers aanvaarden het SN in toenemende mate als eigen standaardtaal (Ghyselen et al. 2022) en de Nederlandse Taalunie erkent het SN als aparte nationale variëteit van het Nederlands (Adviescommissie Taalvariatie 2019:9). Toch blijft de beschrijving van het SN beperkt. Hoewel er al grammaticale kenmerken van het SN gesignaleerd werden, is niet duidelijk hoe frequent die kenmerken zijn en of ze aanvaard worden als standaardtalig.

In deze bijdrage zoomen we in op één zo'n kenmerk: het gebruik van voornaamwoordelijke adpositieconsistuenten (Vnw AC's), splitsbare combinaties van *er*, *hier*, *daar* of *waar* en een voorzetsel. In het SN zou het eerste deel soms wegvallen (1), soms verdubbeld worden (2) en minder vaak gesplitst worden van het voorzetsel dan in het Europees-Nederlands (EN) (3). De voorkeur voor niet-splitsing levert soms constructies op die ongewoon zouden zijn in het EN.

- (1) Ze weten niks van. (de Kleine 2007:115)
- (2) Dus ik hoop dat er wel iets eraan gedaan kunt worden. (de Kleine 2007:115)
- (3) Mijn vraag was of zij geen probleem ervan maakten. (Ventura 2013:52)

We analyseerden die fenomenen op basis van gesproken data uit het Gesproken Corpus Surinaams-Nederlands (Ghyselen 2023) en geschreven data uit het Corpus Hedendaags Nederlands. Met logistische regressies gingen we na in welke mate taalinterne factoren als de functie en de afstand tussen de twee delen, en taalexterne factoren als de gesprekssituatie/het register en het sprekerprofiel een invloed hebben.

Voorlopige resultaten leren dat deletie en verdubbeling weinig voorkomen, met een frequentie van respectievelijk 3,7% en 2,3% in de gesproken data. Sommige sprekers realiseren veel deletie in een formele taaltest, wat mogelijk wijst op talige onzekerheid. Verdubbeling is sprekergebonden en is beperkt tot presentatieve constructies.

Niet-splitsing daarentegen staat sterker met een frequentie van 59% in de gesproken data en 49% in de geschreven data. Bovendien komen ongesplitste vormen vaak voor op posities die ongewoon zijn in het EN. In de gesproken data wijst een hoger percentage ongesplitste vormen op endonormatieve standaardisering. Zowel in de gesproken als de geschreven data wordt splitsing grotendeels geconditioneerd door dezelfde factoren als in het EN. Mogelijk heeft de sociolinguïstische situatie in Suriname, gekenmerkt door tweedetaalverwerving, geleid tot een grotere voorkeur voor ongesplitste vormen.

Referenties:

- Adviescommissie Taalvariatie (2019). *Visie op taalvariatie en taalvariatiebeleid. Visietekst van de Adviescommissie Taalvariatie in opdracht van het Algemeen Secretariaat van de Taalunie* [rapport]. Den Haag: Nederlandse Taalunie.
- De Kleine, C. (2007). *A Morphosyntactic Analysis of Surinamese Dutch*. München: Lincom Europa.

- Ghyselen, A-S, S. Grondelaers, S. Misier-Patadien & U. Balesar (2022). 'Standard language dynamics in postcolonial Suriname: Measuring language attitudes and ideologies in Paramaribo'. *Lingua* 273, 1-27.
- Ghyselen, A. S. (2023) "'Of" versus "als" ter inleiding van afhankelijke ja/nee-vragen in het Surinaams-Nederlands: een kwantitatieve verkenning'. *Taal en Tongval* 75 (2), 135-168.
- Ventura, W. (2013). "'Wat gebeurt?": Interferenties en de syntaxis van het Surinaams-Nederlands'. *Conferentie Neerlandistiek in het Caribisch Gebied 2013*, 46-60.

Latinisering in de syntaxis van het (pre)klassieke Spaans: een vergelijkende studie van vertalingen uit het Latijn en originele werken

Marie Molenaers

In de historische taalkunde is er discussie over de mate waarin de Latijnse brontekst fungeert als taalkundig model voor (pre)klassiek Spaanse vertalers. Volgens bepaalde onderzoekers zijn syntactische Latinismen nauw verbonden met het vertaalproces (Blatt 1957, Azofra 2006). Anderen zijn van mening dat vertalingen niet de meest latiniserende teksten zijn (Del Rey Quesada 2019). De uitkomst van dit debat vraagt om een meer genuanceerde oplossing dan een eenvoudige binaire keuze. Een diachrone analyse van de taalkundige interferentie tussen bron- en doeltteksten, aangevuld met een vergelijkende studie van onvertaalde werken van dezelfde auteurs, kan belangrijke taalinterne en externe ontwikkelingen onthullen die de resultaten van de vertalers beïnvloeden.

Dit onderzoek evalueert de graad van formele en functionele convergentie of divergentie van een kenmerkend syntactisch latinisme, de Spaanse Absolute Constructie (AC), in vergelijking met de oorspronkelijke constructie, de Latijnse “Losse Ablatief”, binnen een verzameling van vertaalde en onvertaalde teksten uit de 15^e en 17^e eeuw. Twee soorten ACs worden onderscheiden: “vertaalde ACs” (1b: *todas declaradas*) zijn Spaanse ACs die voortkomen uit een Latijnse AC in de brontekst (1a: *omnibus explicatis*), terwijl “ex-novo ACs” (2: *extendiéndose la lengua española*) “nieuwe” Spaanse absoluten zijn die door de vertaler zijn gecreëerd en zowel in vertaalde als onvertaalde teksten te vinden zijn.

- (1) a. *et **omnibus explicatis** peroratum sit hoc modo* (Cicero, *De Inventione* 1.33, 86 AC)
‘en, nadat alles uiteengezet is, wordt [de toespraak] op deze manier beëindigd.’
b. e, ***todas declaradas**, se acabe la fabla* (Cartagena, *La Retórica de Tulio*, 1421/1433)
‘en, nadat alles verklaard is, wordt de toespraak beëindigd.’
- (2) ***extendiéndose la lengua española**, se extendería el amor a la monarquía* (Navarrete, *Conservación de Monarquías*, 1626)
‘naarmate de Spaanse taal zich verspreidde, zou de liefde voor de monarchie zich verspreiden.’

In de 15^e eeuw toont de wijdverspreide aanwezigheid van vertaalde ACs met latiniserende kenmerken de aanzienlijke invloed van de Latijnse werken (1a-b: voltooid deelwoord als predicaat, interne woordvolgorde is onderwerp-predicaat). Desondanks is er diachroon een duidelijke divergentie waarneembaar ten opzichte van de oorspronkelijke teksten, aangezien het percentage van de vertaalde ACs in de loop der jaren aanzienlijk afneemt (van 50% naar 10%), terwijl de ex-novo ACs met vernieuwende elementen toenemen (17^e eeuw: 90%) (2: gerundium als predicaat, interne woordvolgorde is predicaat-onderwerp). Bovendien bestaan er opmerkelijke parallellen tussen de vertalingen en de originele werken van dezelfde auteur. Naast een overeenkomst in het totale aantal ACs (15^e eeuw: 123-117; 17^e eeuw: 330-323), zijn de percentages van ex-novo ACs met een gerundium, die syntactische elaboratie vertonen (15^e eeuw: 87%-84%; 17^e eeuw: 99%-98%), vergelijkbaar. De toenemende divergentie ten opzichte van de brontekst, naast de voortdurende congruentie tussen vertaalde en onvertaalde werken, is niet verwonderlijk. De auteur wordt namelijk beïnvloed door dezelfde historische, culturele en taalkundige factoren die kenmerkend zijn voor zijn tijd (Molenaers 2024: priming mechanismen, heersende conceptualisatiestijlen, de aanwezigheid van V2).

Referenties:

- Azofra, Elena (2006), Problemas de sintaxis y traducción. El caso del participio de presente en español, *Epos* 22, 67–80.
- Blatt, Franz (1957), Latin Influence on European Syntax, *Classica et mediaevalia* 18, 133–178.
- Del Rey Quesada, Santiago (2019), Participial and gerundial clauses in sixteenth-century Spanish prose, *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 33, 43–81.
- Molenaers, Marie (2024), *The absolute construction in 15th- to 18th- century Spanish and Dutch translations from Latin. On Latin influence and natural language change*, KU Leuven & Universidad de Salamanca dissertation.

Muziek in de oren, accent op de tong? Onderzoek naar de zinsaccentproductie van Franstalige leerders van het Nederlands zonder en met een muzikale opleiding

Thomas De Wispelaere - Pauline Degraeve

Franstalige leerders ondervinden aanzienlijke moeilijkheden bij het verwerven van de Nederlandse prosodie, als gevolg van fundamentele prosodische verschillen tussen beide talen. Het Nederlands kent een lexicale klemtoon, die de betekenis van een identiek woord door de klemtoonpositie kan veranderen, en een zinsaccent, die een contrastieve of focusfunctie vervult om nieuwe of contrasterende informatie te benadrukken [1]. Het Frans daarentegen hanteert een vast *accent primaire* aan het einde van woorden en woordgroepen [2] dat een demarcatieve functie vervult. Door dit verschil nemen Franstalige leerders van het Nederlands vaak de zinsaccentpatronen van hun moedertaal over, wat leidt tot de productie van ofwel een eindaccent ofwel het zogenaamde brugaccent waarbij meerdere elementen in een zin geaccentueerd worden, ongeacht de informatiewaardecontext. In [3] benadrukten de onderzoekers deze moeilijkheden en toonden aan dat leerders andere zinsaccentpatronen produceren dan wat er verwacht wordt in diverse informatiewaardecontexten. Muzikale opleiding blijkt daarnaast de taalvaardigheid te bevorderen, met name op prosodisch niveau en studies suggereren dat muzikanten prosodische kenmerken beter percipiëren ([4-5]). De invloed van een muzikale opleiding op de prosodieproductie is echter nog weinig onderzocht, vooral in andere talen dan het Engels of het Frans.

De huidige studie onderzoekt dus of Franstalige muzikanten beter scoren dan niet-muzikanten in een zinsaccentproductietaak in het Nederlands. 18 niet-muzikanten (NM) en 18 muzikanten

(M) werden opgenomen. Tijdens de productietaak, gebaseerd op [3], werden nominale constituenten ('onbepaald lidwoord + bijvoeglijk naamwoord + zelfstandig naamwoord') geëliciteerd binnen vier informatiewaardecontexten in een beschrijvingstaak met geometrische vormen die van kleur veranderden. Deze taak moest tot de accentuering van nieuwe (N) of contrasterende (C) informatie leiden, en niet op eerder gegeven (G) informatie [6]. Onder informatie wordt hier de geometrische vorm en/of de kleur bedoeld. Opnames werden daarna beoordeeld door drie groepen beoordelaars: (1) vier moedertaalsprekers van het Belgisch- Nederlands; (2) twee Nederlandstalige taalkundigen; en (3) twee Franstalige taalkundigen met een specialisatie in de Nederlandse fonetiek.

De analyse met een *Generalized Linear Mixed Model* toont aan dat de scores van muzikanten en niet-muzikanten niet significant van elkaar verschillen. Dit wijst erop dat de invloed van muzikale opleiding op prosodieproductie genuanceerder is dan verwacht. Daarnaast blijkt dat beide groepen gelijkaardige moeilijkheden ondervinden, en dat die overeenkomen met wat eerder werd beschreven in de literatuur met andere groepen leerders [3]. De resultaten laten verder zien dat de groepen beoordelaars een significante invloed uitoefent op de beoordeling van het zinsaccent.

References:

- Rietveld, T., & Van Heuven, V. (2016). *Algemene fonetiek*. Coutinho.
- Di Cristo, A. (2000). Vers une modélisation de l'accentuation du français [2de deel]. *Journal of French Language Studies*, 10(1), 27-44. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0959269500000120>.
- Rasier, L., & Hiligsmann, P. (2007). Prosodic transfer from L1 to L2. Theoretical and methodological issues. *Nouveaux Cahiers de Linguistique Française*, 28, 41-66.
- Degrave, P. (2022). Music training and the use of songs or rhythm: Do they help for lexical stress processing? *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*, 60(3), 799-824. <https://doi.org/10.1515/iral-2019-0081>.
- Jansen, N., Harding, E. E., Loerts, H., Baškent, D., & Lowie, W. (2023). The relation between musical abilities and speech prosody perception: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Phonetics*, 101, 101278. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wocn.2023.101278>.
- Rasier, L. (2004). De zinsaccentuering in het Nederlands: Een verkenning over grenzen tussen (toegepaste) taalkunde en didactiek heen. In A. Gelderblom, C. ter Haar, G. Janssens, M. Kristel, & J. Pekelder, *Neerlandistiek de grenzen voorbij. Handelingen van het Vijftiende Colloquium Neerlandicum* (pp. 303-322). IVN.

A Computational Forensic Linguistic Analysis of Narrative and Dialogic of Police Interview Transcripts

Romane Werner - Thomas François - Sonja Bitzer

Forensic transcriptions, namely the process of converting spoken language into a written form for use in legal contexts (Lindsay and O'Connell, 1994), constitute a vital source of linguistic evidence in legal proceedings, playing a key role in the interpretation and evaluation of spoken testimony. The linguistic features embedded in these texts directly influence how utterances are understood and assessed in courtroom settings, with significant implications for evidentiary reliability (Eerland and van Charldorp, 2022). A detailed understanding of the linguistic features that characterize these forensic texts is therefore essential. Prior research by Venturi (2012) analysed Italian legal texts, identifying syntactic complexity and lexical density differences amongst various subgenres. Similarly, Dell'Orletta et al. (2013) and Montemagni (2013) focused on linguistic profiling to capture genre-specific characteristics across bureaucratic, literary, journalistic, educational and scientific texts. However, little attention has heretofore been given to the computational analysis of linguistic features in forensic transcriptions of police interviews.

This study addresses this gap by conducting a computational and statistical analysis of two structurally distinct transcription types, namely narrative monologues and dialogic question-answer (Q-A) interviews, drawn from the *Commissione Parlamentare Antimafia* archives. These texts are also compared with a reference corpus composed of five distinct genre-based sub-corpora: parliamentary discourse, literary fiction, newspaper articles, legal texts, and oral discourse from semi-structured interviews. We applied automatic multi-level linguistic annotation to extract 143 lexical, morpho- syntactic, and syntactic features. Systematic comparisons between our two main genres and the five reference genres were carried out using either parametric or non-parametric statistical testing, supplemented by effect size analysis. A Random Forest classifier, trained via 10-fold stratified cross-validation, was used to assess the discriminative power of linguistic features across transcription types, and feature importance scores were leveraged to identify the most salient linguistic indicators, ensuring model robustness and interpretability in a forensic linguistic context. Model performance was measured using accuracy, precision, recall, and F1 scores to ensure reliable classification and generalizability.

Our findings show that both transcription types share various stylistic features typical of oral and narrative discourses, such as long sentences, frequent subordination and many verbal heads per sentence. However, further analysis reveals substantial divergences. Narrative monologues exhibit frequent first-person singular verbs, consistent past-tense usage, dense syntactic embedding and a strong preference for canonical subject-verb order, indicating a form of structured, narrativized discourse closer to written legal-lay genres. In contrast, Q-A interviews exhibit features of spontaneous interaction, such as frequent pronouns, object fronting, syntactic dispersion, and longer distances between verbal elements and modifiers. They also contain more modal verbs and first-person plural forms, reflecting a cooperative and dialogic interaction style.

From a forensic perspective, the findings have direct implications for transcription practices and evidentiary evaluation. The high syntactic complexity and structural variability of Q-A formats may compromise transcription clarity and increase the risk of interpretative bias or misrepresentation in judicial contexts (Filipović, 2022). By contrast, narrative monologues, while linguistically dense, exhibit greater discursive cohesion and facilitate a clearer understanding of the overall story. However, they obscure the interactive dynamics inherent in the original police interviews, contributing to the perception of an autonomous and decontextualized discourse (Byrman and Byrman, 2018). These distinctions highlight the need for tailored transcription protocols and underscore the benefits of interdisciplinary approaches combining computational linguistics and forensic linguistics to better account for the variability of oral and legal discourse in judicial settings, ultimately aiming to support both investigation and trial processes.

References:

- Byrman, G., and Byrman, Y. (2018). In evidence: Linguistic Transformations of Events in Police Interview Reports. *Nor. In. Ling.*, 41 (2), pp.155-181.
- Dell'Orletta, F., Montemagni, S., and Venturi, G. (2013). Linguistic Profiling of Texts Across Textual Genres and Readability Levels. An Exploratory Study on Italian Fictional Prose. In *Proceedings of Recent Advances in Natural Language Processing*, Hissar, Bulgaria, 7-13 September 2013.
- Eerland, A., and Van Charldorp, T. (2022). The Influence of Police Reporting Styles on the Processing of Crime Related Information. *Frontiers in Communication*, 7.
- Filipović, L. (2022). The Good, the Bad and the Ugly: Miscommunication in UK Police Interviews and US Police Interrogations. *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology* 37, pp. 297-311.
- Montemagni, S. (2013). Tecnologie linguistico-computazionali e monitoraggio della lingua italiana. *Studi Italiani di Linguistica Teorica e Applicata* 1, pp. 145- 172.
- Venturi, G. (2012). Investigating legal language peculiarities across different types of Italian legal texts: an NLP-based approach. In *IAFL Porto 2012 Proceedings*, Porto, Portugal.

A linear, incremental take on Construction Grammar: introducing the FACETS annotation framework for keylogging data

Quentin Feltgen - Gaëtanelle Gilquin

Annotating sentences with Construction Grammar has proven a challenging theoretical issue for this framework (Torrent et al. 2014, Muralidaran C Misra Sharma 2016). Any typical sentence indeed involves constructions of various levels of schematicity, corresponding to the multiplicity of levels of a vertically organized hierarchic network that relates the most abstract constructions to the most specified constructions (Langacker 2001, Boas C Ziem 2018, Herbst C Hoffmann 2018). These annotations issues become all the more stringent when it comes to unconventional data, such as oral data (Fried C Östman 2005, Gilquin 2022) or real-time writing data as offered by keylogging software (Gilquin 2020). In the latter, the whole of the writing process is recorded as writers type their texts, including pauses, revisions, and non-linearities (Conijn et al. 2019, Conijn et al. 2024). To annotate these data meaningfully, one therefore needs to rely on an incremental, linear approach (Frank et al. 2012), in line with other usage-based perspectives on language such as the Linear Unit Grammar (Sinclair C Mauranen 2006). The goal shifts from inventorying all possible structures writers draw from to produce specific utterances, to pinpointing the iterative operations the writer is performing to transition from the production of a token to another, highlighting the choices made on argument structure and on the lexical units that fill them (Christiansen C Chater 2016).

Here we exploit keylogging data from L2 learners of English, writing argumentative essays (Anonym). In an L2 context, writers tend to revise more, making explicit a wider array of cognitive operations insofar as revisions highlight a decision point in which communicative choices need to be made. The keylogging data records all time stamps of all keystrokes underlying the textual production of the essays, including deletion (pressing of the “BACK” key). Our annotation framework, called FACETS, defines the following six operations (the first letters of each forming the acronym). In the examples below, the deleted part is displayed in parenthesis.

- Treading

The writer starts a new utterance, possibly triggered by a discourse structuring marker or a subordinating conjunction, therefore answering a specific discourse need that has been set prior.

(We all remember all the) > We learn from experience

- Structuring

The writer fleshes out a schema of the utterance (i.e. it moves down the vertical hierarchy of constructions), either at the argument structure level or at the phrasal level.

child's parent would obviously want (to) > the criminal to go in prison

- Filling

The writer performs a lexical choice over a fully specified syntactic schema.

raising a crucial (distinction) > element

- Commenting

The writer adds optional elements to a schema.

this means that (punis) > hard punishment

- Appending

The writer uses a coordinating conjunction to duplicate a schema's structure while staying in the same utterance.

chances at finding a job and getting some stability(.) > and balance in life.

- Ending

The writer decides that the utterance is now complete.

Money was almost designed to be stolen by those who cannot control their greed(.) > .

Our contribution will flesh out these operations by extracting a large number of revision events from the corpus, evidencing both the structures that are holistically handled to produce and revise utterances, and the key decisions that writers make in their use of the language.

References:

- Boas, H. C., C Ziem, A. (2018). Constructing a construction for German: Empirical, theoretical, and methodological issues. In Lyngfelt, B., Boren, L., Ohara, K., Torrent, T. T. (eds.), *Constructicography* (pp. 183-228). John Benjamins.
- Christiansen, M. H., C Chater, N. (2016). The now-or-never bottleneck: A fundamental constraint on language. *Behavioral and brain sciences*, 3S, e62.
- Conijn, R., Dux Speltz, E., C Chukharev-Hudilainen, E. (2024). Automated extraction of revision events from keystroke data. *Reading and Writing*, 37(2), 483-508.
- Conijn, R., Roeser, J., C Van Zaanen, M. (2019). Understanding the keystroke log: The effect of writing task on keystroke features. *Reading and Writing*, 32(9), 2353-2374.
- Frank, S. L., Bod, R., C Christiansen, M. H. (2012). How hierarchical is language use?. *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, 27S(1747), 4522-4531.
- Fried, M., C Östman, J. O. (2005). Construction Grammar and spoken language: The case of pragmatic particles. *Journal of pragmatics*, 37(11), 1752-1778.
- Gilquin, G. (2020). In search of constructions in writing process data. *Belgian Journal of Linguistics*, 34(1), 99-109.
- Gilquin, G. (2022). Constructing learner speech: On the use of spoken data in Applied Construction Grammar. In H. Boas (ed.) *Directions for Pedagogical Construction Grammar: Learning and Teaching (with) Constructions* (pp. 73-96). Berlin: de Gruyter
- Herbst, T., C Hoffmann, T. (2018). Construction grammar for students: A constructionist approach to syntactic analysis (CASA). *Yearbook of the German Cognitive*

- Linguistics Association*, c(1), 197-218.
- Langacker, R. (2001). Discourse in Cognitive Grammar. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 12(2), 143-188. <https://doi.org/10.1515/cogl.12.2.143>
- Muralidaran, V., C Misra Sharma, D. (2016, April). Construction grammar based annotation framework for parsing Tamil. In *International Conference on Intelligent Text Processing and Computational Linguistics* (pp. 378-396). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Sinclair, J. M., C Mauranen, A. (2006). Linear unit grammar.
- Torrent, T. T., Lage, L. M., Sampaio, T. F., da Silva Tavares, T., C da Silva Matos, E. E. (2014). Revisiting border conflicts between framenet and construction grammar: Annotation policies for the brazilian portuguese constructicon. *Constructions and Frames*, c(1), 34-51.

Projectability in gesture-speech cooperation: A corpus-based study of hand pointing gestures in natural Mandarin interaction

Junfei Hu - Liesbeth Degand

Introduction:

Prediction is widely recognized as a key mechanism in human communication (Huettig, 2025; Huettig & Janse, 2016). In conversation, gestures often precede their lexical affiliates (LAs, Schegloff, 1984)—the semantically linked words they accompany—allowing interlocutors to anticipate upcoming speech, infer speaker intentions, and prepare responses (Streeck, 2009; ter Bekke et al., 2024, 2025). This capacity to signal what is to come is what we refer to as the projectability of gestures.

Most prior research has focused on iconic gestures or conventional gesture-speech gestalts, with limited attention to hand pointing gestures—especially in Mandarin Chinese (Chen et al., 2023; Chui, 2005). Addressing this gap, the present study examines:

- (1) To what extent do hand pointing gestures precede their LAs?
- (2) Does this gesture-speech timing vary with the LA's syntactic function and its position in the turn?

We argue that gesture timing variation reflects information uptake, and thus, its projectability power in interaction.

Data and Method:

This study uses data from ten natural triadic Mandarin conversations among acquaintances. One speaker per conversation was annotated for pointing gestures (10.8 hours, 10 participants, 7 women, $M_{\text{age}} = 27.4$). Gestures and LAs were annotated in ELAN 6.9 following Rasenbergh (2023) and Kendon (2004). Speech was transcribed and segmented into intonation units using Praat 6.2.14 (Authors, Year). Interrater reliability is pending; current results are based on two groups.

Results

Pointing-LA temporal relations in general

Of the 187 pointing gestures, 99 had identifiable LAs and were included in the analysis. To assess timing between gestures and speech, gesture and stroke onset were compared to LA onset (gesture time minus LA time), with negative values indicating that gesture preceded the LA. Linear mixed-effects models (REML, SPSS) show gestures significantly preceded LAs ($M = -328.99$ ms, $p < .001$), but strokes did not ($M = -27.63$ ms, $p = .264$, see Fig. 1).

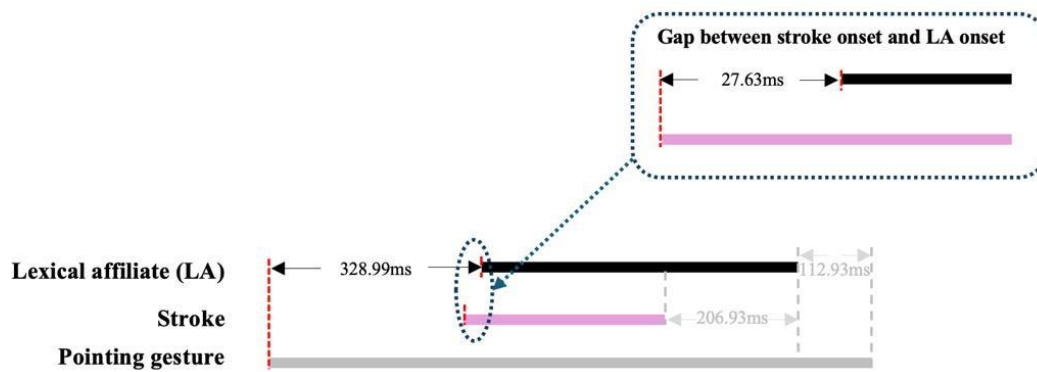


Fig. 1. Temporal relation between pointing components and their lexical affiliates.

2.2 Pointing-LA temporal relations across turn positions and syntactic functions

Of the 99 pointing gestures, 82 with LAs functioning as subject, predicate, or object were analyzed. The remaining 17 (attributive/adverbial) were excluded due to low frequency. Using the same method, we examined how gesture–speech timing varies with turn position and syntactic function. One model analyzed stroke–LA onset difference; the other, full gesture onset. Turn position (initial, medial, final) and syntactic function (subject, predicate, object) were fixed effects (with interaction); participant was a random intercept. The dependent variable was onset difference (gesture minus LA).

The stroke-based model showed a significant effect of syntactic function, $F(2, 76) = 5.48$, $p = .006$: subject-related strokes occurred significantly later than their LAs (≈ 186 ms delay, $p = .009$). Turn position showed a marginal effect ($p = .081$), and its interaction with syntactic function trended toward significance ($p = .086$; see Fig 2).

The gesture-onset model revealed a significant effect of turn position, $F(2, 76) = 3.22$, $p = .045$: gestures in turn-initial positions began significantly earlier than in turn-medial ones ($M_{diff} = 212$ ms, $p = .015$). The effect of syntactic function approached significance, $F(2, 76) = 2.73$, $p = .071$, with post-hoc tests showing subject gestures preceded object gestures ($p = .043$; see Fig. 3).

Although the interaction effect was not statistically significant in either model, the non-parallel lines plotted in Figures 1 and 2 reveal meaningful differences, highlighting how gesture–speech coordination may vary as a function of both syntactic role and turn position.

For stroke–LA timing: Subject-related strokes, particularly in turn-initial positions, occurred close to or even after speech onset, reflecting limited projectability. In contrast, predicate-related strokes in turn-medial positions appeared notably earlier, suggesting stronger projectability power.

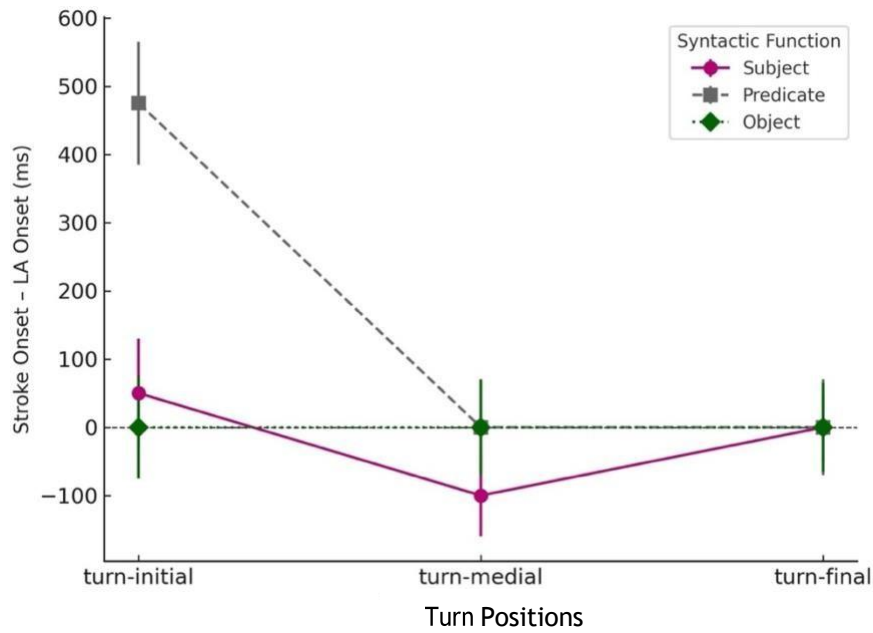


Fig. 2. Stroke-LA temporal relations by syntactic function across turn positions

For whole gesture-LA timing: Gestures generally preceded speech across conditions. Given the short stroke and extended preparation of pointing gestures, they may have some projectability. However, variation in lead times suggests differences in projectability power.

Turn-initial subject-related gestures showed the smallest lead, object-related gestures were most anticipatory in turn-medial positions, and predicate gestures peaked in turn-final positions.

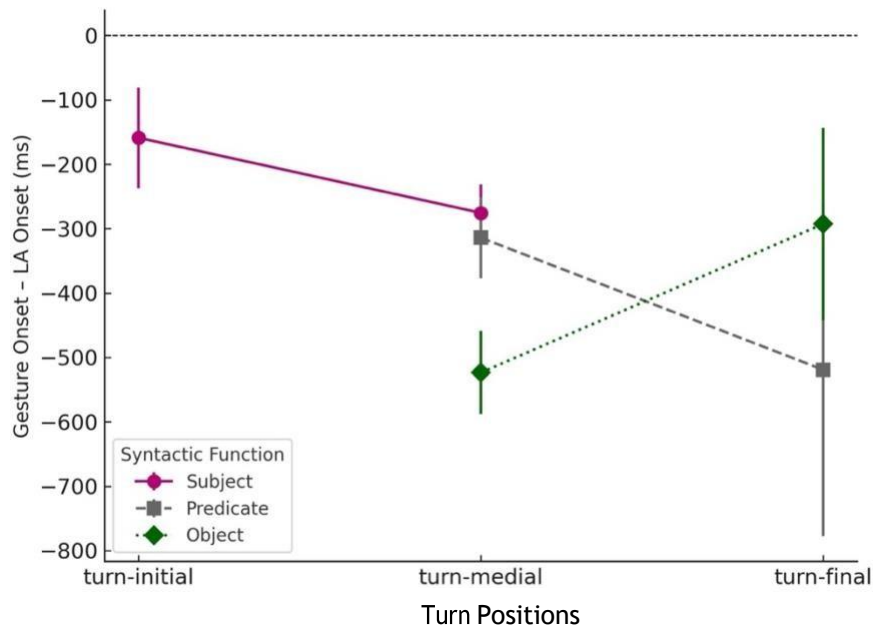


Fig. 3. Whole-gesture-LA temporal relations by syntactic function across turn positions

Conclusion:

Although pointing gestures generally precede their lexical affiliates, the stroke does not consistently do so, suggesting limited projectability in some cases. Our analysis indicates that a gesture's projectability is influenced by both the turn position and the syntactic function of its lexical affiliate.

It is important to note that only pointing gestures with clear LAs are included; gestures without such clear lexical links require further investigation. Moreover, projectability may extend beyond LAs to the broader utterance, calling for future analysis of gesture offsets relative to verbal offsets.

References:

- Chen, X., Hu, J., Falk, H., Özyürek, A. (2023, August 31-September 2). The effect of iconic gestures in linguistic prediction in Mandarin Chinese A visual world paradigm study [Poster Abstract]. *2023 Architectures and Mechanisms for Language Processing (AMLaP 2023)*, San Sebastian, Spain.
- Chui, K. (2005). Temporal patterning of speech and iconic gestures in conversational discourse. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 37(6), 871–887. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2004.10.016>
- Huettig, F. (2025). *Looking ahead: The new science of the predictive mind*. Cambridge University Press.
- Huettig, F., & Janse, E. (2016). Individual differences in working memory and processing speed predict anticipatory spoken language processing in the visual world. *Language, Cognition and Neuroscience*, 31(1), 80–93. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23273798.2015.1047459>.
- Kendon, A. (2004). *Gesture: Visible action as utterance*. Cambridge University Press.
- Rasenberg, M. (2023). *Mutual understanding from a multimodal and interactional perspective*. [Doctoral dissertation, Radboud University], Max Planck Society Publication Repository.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1984). On some gestures' relation to talk. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis* (pp. 266–296). Cambridge University Press.
- Streeck, J. (2009). Forward-gesturing. *Discourse Processes*, 46(2-3), 161–179. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01638530902728793>
- Ter Bekke, M., Drijvers, L., & Holler, J. (2024). Hand gestures have predictive potential during conversation: An investigation of the timing of gestures in relation to speech. *Cognitive Science*, 48(1): e13407.
- Ter Bekke, M., Drijvers, L., & Holler, J. (2025). Co-speech hand gestures are used to predict upcoming meaning. *Psychological Science*, 36(4), 237–248. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09567976251331041>

Appendix 1 Tables of analysis results:

Table 1

Summary of Linear Mixed-Effects Model Results for Temporal Relation Analyses

	Fixed effect Estimate	SE	t	df	p	95% CI
Intercept 1	-27.63	24.59	-1.12	98	.264	[-76.43, 21.18]
Intercept 2	-328.99	26.82	-12.27	98	<.001	[-382.21, -275.77]

Note. Both models produced convergence warnings and zero random intercept variance, indicating that participants did not differ meaningfully in their gesture–LA onset timing, or that the model lacked power to detect such differences due to the small sample size.

Table 2

LLM Results for Stroke–LA Onset Timing Differences across Turn Positions and Syntactic Roles

Effect	F	df	p	95% CI (Estimate)	Cohen's d (approx)	R² (Marginal)
Turn Position (TP)	2.59	2, 76	.081	[-48.6, 160.3]	0.35	.241
Syntactic Function (SF)	5.48	2, 76	.006*	[49.3, 322.8]	0.75	.241
TP × SF	3.03	1, 76	.086	[-21.6, 979.3]	0.49	.241

Note. Asterisks (*) indicate $p < .05$. Confidence intervals are based on estimated fixed effects. Cohen's d is approximated as β divided by the square root of the residual variance from the model: $d \approx \beta / \sqrt{(\text{residual variance})}$. Marginal R^2 reflects variance explained by fixed effects only. This estimate of d is heuristic and does not account for random effects structure.

Table 3

LLM Results for Gesture–LA Onset Timing Differences across Turn Positions and Syntactic Roles

Effect	F	df	p	95% CI (Estimate)	Cohen's d (approx)	R² (Marginal)
Turn Position (TP)	3.22	2, 76	.045	[-43.06, 381.12]	0.51	.163
Syntactic Function (SF)	2.73	2, 76	.071	[5.79, 375.90]	0.48	.163
TP × SF	1.95	1, 76	.167	[-69.21, 1026.95]	0.32	.163

Note. The dependent variable is the timing difference between gesture onset and lexical affiliate (LA) onset, where negative values indicate gestures preceded speech. Cohen's d was approximated by dividing the estimated mean difference by the square root of the residual variance ($\sqrt{66902.52} \approx 258.7$).

Discursive Strategies and Meaning Effects in Sports Headlines

Zerrad El Mehdi

This research explores the discursive construction of headlines in sports print media, based on a comparative corpus of Moroccan (Le Matin du Sahara, L'Opinion) and Belgian (La Dernière Heure, La Libre) newspapers. The study aims to identify both the commonalities and specificities in the way football-related events are covered across two different media contexts. Positioned at the top of the article, the headline plays a key role in structuring information by providing a macro-level overview of the content and orienting the reader's interpretation. Through this analysis, we seek to better understand the linguistic and rhetorical strategies used in sports headlines, their communicative functions, and the underlying discursive, cultural, and media-related stakes that shape them. The study draws on discourse analysis to examine how headlines operate within distinct socio-cultural and journalistic environments.

Old Rules, New Symbols: Sociolinguistic Patterns of Emoji Use in Later Life

Lara Baert – Reinhild Vandekerckhove - Sarah Bernolet - Astrid De Wit

While digital communication is often associated with younger generations, older adults are increasingly active on platforms like WhatsApp (e.g. Craft, 2024). Yet, these “digital immigrants” (Prensky, 2001) remain underrepresented in (socio)linguistic research on social media literacy, including studies on emoji use. This study addresses that gap by exploring how older adults engage with emojis and integrate them into their established writing practices.

Previous research has shown that emoji use declines with age (e.g. Oleszkiewicz et al., 2017). However, the COVID-19 pandemic has increased digital communication among older adults (e.g. Sixsmith et al., 2022). Despite this rise, comprehensive accounts of emoji practices in this age group are still lacking: we do not know to what extent older adults employ emojis or what functions these symbols serve in their informal online writing. Prior studies have identified various emoji functions: emotional expression, pragmatic tone-modification, social bonding, creativity, referential depiction, and evaluation (Pappert, 2017; Spina, 2017; 2019). Emojis can also serve a structural function by marking phrase, sentence and post boundaries. Spina (2019) found that “the presence of one or more emoticons decreases the probability to find a PM [punctuation mark] in the same tweet”, at least among younger users. Older Twitter users, by contrast, were more inclined to combine emojis and punctuation (Spina, 2019: 353). However, while Spina’s participants ranged from 16 to 67 years old, the average age was 31.65, suggesting an overrepresentation of younger generations.

Our project addresses the underrepresentation of senior adults in sociolinguistic research on social media writing. It focuses on a broader range of prototypical markers of informal online communication, including emoji use. We assume that older adults’ emoji usage can offer valuable insights into their linguistic practices and their capacity to adopt and adapt to linguistic novelties. While “cognitive aging and entrenchment” have been posited as constraints on grammatical innovation (Petré & Van de Velde, 2018: 894), other research suggests that linguistic adaptation remains possible throughout life (Anthonissen & Petré, 2019). This raises key questions: To what extent do older adults integrate emojis? Do they exploit their full functional potential? And how does their emoji use interact with punctuation?

Using a corpus of 268 intragenerational WhatsApp conversations among 128 participants aged 65 to 90, this study examines emoji frequency, functional distribution, and punctuation co-occurrence. It also considers variation by gender, age, educational level, and prior social media experience. While the analysis is still ongoing, preliminary findings reveal substantial individual variation in emoji-punctuation patterns. Additionally, senior women tend to use more emojis and exploit their functional potential more fully than older men. These trends will be discussed in greater detail and corroborated by statistical data analyses during the conference.

By shedding light on the emoji practices of older social media users, we aim to enhance our understanding of linguistic flexibility in later life. Moreover, we seek to acknowledge the

agency of older generations in new media, fostering a more inclusive approach to digital literacy.

References:

- Anthonissen, L., & Petré, P. (2019). Grammaticalization and the linguistic individual: new avenues in lifespan research. *Linguistics Vanguard*, 5(2). <https://doi.org/10.1515/lingvan-2018-0037>
- Craft, S. (2024, October 22). *Whatsapp Statistics*. ThinkImpact. <https://www.thinkimpact.com/whatsapp-statistics/>
- Oleszkiewicz, A., Karowski, M., Pisanski, K., Sorokowski, P., Sobrado, B., & Sorokowska, A. (2017). Who uses emoticons? Data from 86 702 Facebook users. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 119, 289-295. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2017.07.034>
- Pappert, S. (2017). Zu kommunikativen Funktionen von Emojis in der WhatsApp-Kommunikation. In M. Beißwenger (Ed.), *Empirische Erforschung internetbasierter Kommunikation* (pp. 175-212). De Gruyter.
- Petré, P., & Van de Velde, F. (2018). The real-time dynamics of the individual and the community in grammaticalization. *Language*, 94(4), 867-901. <https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2018.0056>
- Prensky, M. (2001). Digital natives, digital immigrants Part 1. *On the Horizon*, 9(5), 1-6. <https://doi.org/10.1108/10748120110424816>
- Sixsmith, A., Horst, B. R., Simeonov, D., & Mihailidis, A. (2022). Older people's use of digital technology during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society*, 42(1-2), 19-24. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02704676221094731>
- Spina, S. (2017). Emoticons as multifunctional and pragmatic Resources: a corpus-based Study on Twitter. In E.W. Stemle & C.R. Wigham (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 5th conference on CMC and social media corpora for the humanities* (pp. 25-29). <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01614310>
- Spina, S. (2019). Role of Emoticons as Structural Markers in Twitter Interactions. *Discourse Processes*, 56(4), 345-362. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163853X.2018.1510654>

Minority Language Policy and Its Manifestation: A Linguistic Landscape Study of Yanji, China

Yuqiao Liu

This presentation investigates how China's minority language policy is specified in legislation and manifested in the public space, focusing on the city of Yanji, the administrative centre of Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture (hereafter Yanbian) in Northeast China. Home to a large Korean Chinese (the Chaoxian nationality) population, Yanji is officially designated as a bilingual city where Chinese and Korean are expected to function in parallel.

China is a multilingual and multi-ethnic setting with over 290 languages spoken by the majority Han and 55 minority groups (Li, 2006). Putonghua (standard Mandarin Chinese, hereafter Mandarin) serves as the national lingua franca, as defined by the first national law on language in China, *the Law of the National Commonly Used Language and Script of the People's Republic of China* (2000). Linguistic equality for ethnic minorities is constitutionally guaranteed, with rights to maintain and develop their languages formally enshrined in the *Constitution of the People's Republic of China* (1954).

The Korean Chinese population in Yanbian, originating from historical migration from the Korean Peninsula, remains concentrated in the region (Lee, 2021). Korean Chinese residents accounted for 305,500 of Yanji's registered population of 568,300, representing 53.7%.¹ However, language policy targeting minorities has shifted the focus from language proficiency, where Mandarin was one of several equal options, to a strategy aimed at fostering a unified national identity centered on Mandarin. While minority languages remain legally protected, their role is increasingly framed as cultural heritage.²

Since 2022, signs in public spaces should display both Mandarin and Korean scripts in equal font size. Horizontal arrangements require Mandarin to appear first or above Korean; vertical and circular arrangements also prioritize Mandarin's positioning (on the right side/outer ring/left ring).³

This presentation provides an ethnographic portrait of how these policy frameworks are manifested in public space through the linguistic landscape. Based on a photographic corpus of 920 images collected from various domains in Yanji during fieldwork (July 2024), including commercial areas, educational institutions, and government buildings, the analysis explores how different agents implement or interpret official language policy. Via a presentation of the national and regional policy background, current sociodemographic trends, and actual and recent photographic data, this presentation thus aims at

¹ The data comes from *The Statistical Bulletin of Yanji National Economic and Social Development in 2024*.
http://www.yanji.gov.cn/sj_2518/tjgb/202506/t20250625_545938.html

² The reference documents sourced from *The Thirteenth Five-Year Development Plan of National Language Works* (2016-2020), and *The Fourteenth Five-Year Development Plan of National Language Works* (2021-2025).

³ The document named *Implementing Rules of the Regulations on Korean Script Work in Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture*, 2022 (《延边朝鲜族自治州朝鲜语言文字工作条例实施细则》)

understanding how multilingual policy is enacted in an ethnic minority region and how such policy frameworks are reflected – or not – in linguistic practice.

References:

Lee, C. J. (2021). *China's Korean minority: The politics of ethnic education*. Routledge.

Li, D. C. (2006). Chinese as a lingua franca in greater China. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 26, 149-176.

Constraints on the placement of Compound Directional Complements (CDCs) in Mandarin Chinese

Xu Zhang

In Mandarin Chinese, Compound Directional Complements (CDCs) are formed by combining simple directional motion verbs (e.g., *chu* ‘out’) with deictic motion verbs (e.g., *lai* ‘come’) (Li & Thompson 1989; Kang 2001). When following verbs, CDCs can express various types of motion, including the movement of an agent (e.g., *zou jinlai yige ren* ‘a man walks in’), the displacement of a patient (e.g., *na chu yiben shu lai* ‘taking out a book’), or a change in location (e.g., *zouchu fangjian lai* ‘walking out of the room’) (Lu 2002). These three types of CDC constructions are typically analyzed separately in the Chinese linguistic literature, with constructions involving patients as direct objects receiving the most scholarly attention (Zhang 1991; Lu 2002; Guo 2003; Cai 2015).

The present study builds on this line of inquiry by further examining CDC constructions that involve transitive verbs with patients as direct objects. Previous research has identified three possible positions for CDC particles relative to the object, as illustrated in sentences (1), (2), and (3), all of which convey the same meaning: ‘taking out a dictionary’, *na* (‘take’) *chulai* (‘exit-come’) meaning ‘taking out’.

(1) *na chulai yiben cidian* – 1st type – CDC particle appearing before the direct object

(2) *na chu yiben cidian lai* – 2nd type – CDC particle being split with direct object in the middle

(3) *na yiben cidian chulai* – 3rd type – CDC particle occurring after the direct object

The present study adopts a corpus-based variationist approach to systematically investigate the potential constraints on structural variation in CDC constructions involving patients as direct objects. This study explores how Mandarin speakers’ choices among these variants are conditioned by a range of factors when multiple syntactic options are available to convey the same idea. The constraints I am looking at include **object NP length**, the **accessibility of the direct object** (i.e., NP **definiteness**, **concreteness**, and **givenness**), **structural priming or persistence**, the **specific variety of Mandarin Chinese**, **time period**, **genre**, **rhythm (the number of syllables)**.

I extracted data from the Centre for Chinese Linguistics Corpus (CCL) at Peking University. A Conditional Inference Tree and Random Forest were used to identify key constraints that may impact probabilistic choice-making (Levshina 2015). Additionally, a multinomial logistic regression analysis is employed to model how these constraints influence the probabilistic decision-making process of Mandarin speakers.

Based on a sample dataset of 687 tokens, including 529 tokens for the 2nd and 158 for the 1st type of CDC constructions, the Random Forest method aggregates the results of multiple decision trees to generate a comprehensive prediction of factor importance. With a C-value of 0.98, the model demonstrates robust predictive performance. It highlights NP length as the most influential factor, followed by genre, time period, formality, and verb syllables. In contrast, factors such as region, NP givenness, mode, structural priming, and NP concreteness exhibit lower importance in the model.

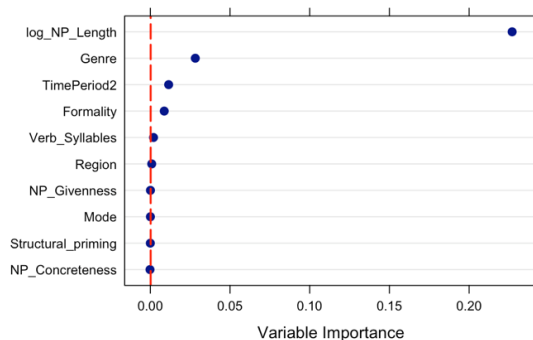


Figure 1: factor importance ranking

References:

- Biber, Douglas. 1988. *Variation across speech and writing*. Cambridge [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Guo, Chungui. 2003. 复合趋向补语与非处所宾语的位置问题补议. *世界汉语教学* (3). 37–45.
- Kang, Jian. 2001. PERFECTIVE ASPECT PARTICLES OR TELIC AKTIONSART MARKERS? - STUDIES OF THE DIRECTIONAL VERB COMPOUNDS. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*. Journal of Chinese Linguistics Publication Office 29(2). 281–339.
- Labov, William. 1969. Contraction, Deletion, and Inherent Variability of the English Copula. *Language* 45(4). 715–762. <https://doi.org/10.2307/412333>.
- Levshina, Natalia. 2015. *How to do linguistics with R: data exploration and statistical analysis*. Amsterdam ; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Li, Charles N & Sandra A Thompson. 1989. *Mandarin Chinese: A functional reference grammar*. Univ of California Press.
- Lu, Jianming. 2002. 动词后趋向补语和宾语的位置问题. *世界汉语教学* (1). 5–17.
- Zhan, W.D., R. Guo, B.B. Chang, Y.R. Chen & L. Chen. 2019. 北京大学 CCL 语料库的研制. 收藏 1.
- Zhang, Bojiang. 1991. 关于动趋式带宾语的几种语序. *中国语文* 3. 183–192.

Mapping the development of phraseological complexity in L2 Dutch writing: a longitudinal corpus analysis

Rachel Rubin

Measures of phraseological complexity, proposed to address the lack of research focusing on complexity at the lexis-grammar interface, have been found to be strong predictors of learner proficiency across several L2s (Paquot, 2018, 2019; Rubin et al., 2021; Vandeweerd et al., 2021). However, the majority of L2 phraseological complexity studies have been cross-sectional, and the few existing longitudinal studies have reported little development over time characterized by substantial individual variation (Paquot et al., 2021; Kyle et al., 2021). For L2 Dutch specifically, an initial cross-sectional study found measures of phraseological complexity to be stronger predictors of L2 Dutch exam performance than more traditional lexical and syntactic complexity measures (Rubin et al., 2021). A subsequent study compared complexity measures for two types of phraseological units (Rubin et al., 2025), namely relational co-occurrence units and verb-argument structure units, as predictors of L2 Dutch exam performance. The findings indicated a potential developmental pattern whereby exam scores at the B1 level were best predicted by sophistication measures for the verb lemma and argument structure independently, while the sophistication of the verb + direct object and verb-argument structure units as a whole emerged as the strongest predictors of exam performance at the B2 and C1 levels. While this could indicate an active period of phraseological development in L2 Dutch, longitudinal studies are necessary to better understand these developmental trends.

The present study therefore aims to complement existing complexity research by investigating various (phraseological) complexity measures in a longitudinal L2 Dutch corpus.

The focus on L2 Dutch as a target language constitutes an additional contribution to the L2 complexity literature, as no longitudinal study of L2 Dutch complexity has been reported to date. The corpus used in this study consists of 217 texts produced by 48 L2 Dutch learners over the course of a three-year bachelor degree program in Belgium. Measures of diversity and sophistication for two types of phraseological units, relational co-occurrences and verb-argument structures, were computed alongside measures of lexical and syntactic complexity. For each measure, linear mixed-effects regression models were fit, allowing for both linear and non-linear development over time. All phraseological complexity measures except for one exhibited significant changes over time, although the gains were small, and in some cases the trajectories were non-linear. In contrast, measures of lexical and syntactic complexity exhibited more clear longitudinal development in our corpus, with larger gains. These findings are in line with the limited body of longitudinal phraseological complexity studies, which have generally demonstrated little development over time and substantial individual variation.

In the present study, the large discrepancy between conditional and marginal R^2 values in the mixed-effects regression models for the phraseological complexity measures similarly indicates substantial variation between individual developmental trajectories.

As phraseological complexity has been proposed to develop only at the very advanced stages of proficiency (Paquot et al., 2021), the initial proficiency level of the learners may partially account for the limited phraseological complexity development observed in this study.

References:

- Kyle, K., Crossley, S. A., C Verspoor (2021). Measuring longitudinal writing development using indices of syntactic complexity and sophistication. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 43, 781-812.
- Paquot, M. (2018). Phraseological competence: A missing component in university entrance language tests? insights from a study of EFL learners' use of statistical collocations. *Language Assessment Quarterly*, 15(1), 29-43.
- Paquot, M. (2019). The phraseological dimension in interlanguage complexity research. *Second Language Research*, 35(1), 121-145.
- Paquot, M., Naets, H., C Gries, S. Th (2021). Using syntactic co-occurrences to trace phraseological complexity development in learner writing: Verb+object structures in LONGDALE. In B. Le Bruyn, C M. Paquot (Eds.), *Learner corpus research meets second language acquisition* (pp. 122-147). Cambridge University Press.
- Rubin, R., Housen, A., C Paquot, M. (2021). Phraseological complexity as an index of L2 Dutch writing proficiency: a partial replication study. In S. Granger (Ed.), *Perspectives on the L2 phrasicon: the view from learner corpora* (pp. 101-125). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Rubin, R., Housen, A., C Paquot, M. (2025). Exploring complexity at the lexis-grammar interface: Diversity and sophistication of verb-argument structures in L2 Dutch writing. *Journal of Second Language Writing*, c7.
- Vandeweerd, N., Housen, A., C Paquot, M. (2021). Applying phraseological complexity measures to L2 French: A partial replication study. *International Journal of Learner Corpus Research*, 7(2), 197-229.

Looking for linguistic superspreaders using large-scale network analysis and elastic net regression

Julie Nijs, Anthe Sevenants, Freek Van de Velde and Dirk Speelman

While cognitive linguistics has long recognized that language structure emerges from cognitive processes within individuals (Petré & Van de Velde 2018), accounting for how these micro-level innovations scale up to produce macro-level change remains a core methodological challenge. Traditional approaches often treat individual speakers as isolated units or rely on aggregate trends that obscure fine-grained variation. To move beyond this limitation, we investigate not only how individuals vary in their adoption of linguistic innovations, but also how their social connectedness influences that behavior. By focusing on the ways individuals are embedded within a larger network of interaction, we explore how social positioning affects linguistic innovation, particularly in the context of morphosyntactic change, where individual variation is subtle and often difficult to detect.

We examine 12 binary morphosyntactic changes in Dutch using the C-CLAMP corpus, which combines linguistic data with a co-authorship and citation network. The network consists of 7,451 nodes (authors) and 156,123 edges (relationships). For each change, we use elastic net regression (Friedman, Hastie & Tibshirani 2010; Sevenants, Van de Velde & Speelman 2024) to assign innovativeness scores to authors based on their preference for newer versus older variants. We then assess the extent to which these scores can be predicted using YEAR OF BIRTH and network-based measures as predictors: IN-DEGREE (frequently being cited), OUT-DEGREE (frequently citing other), CLOSENESS (so-called ‘superspreaders’), and BETWEENNESS (forming a bridge between communities) CENTRALITY (Freeman 1977). Predictor importance is evaluated using random forest models, while linear regressions provide insight into the direction of the effects.

Elastic net regression successfully captures individual variation in many of the changes, though its performance decreases when a variant is just emerging or already dominant. These are points in the diffusion process where variation is naturally constrained. Overall, we find that YEAR OF BIRTH is the most reliable predictor of innovativeness (Figure 1), with younger authors being more likely to adopt new forms. Network position also contributes, especially BETWEENNESS and IN-DEGREE CENTRALITY, though these effects are less consistent and likely nonlinear.

These findings demonstrate that individual variation in morphosyntactic change is both detectable and partially explainable using demographic and network-based predictors. Generational effects are robust, while the role of social embedding appears more complex.

Testing across 12 distinct morphosyntactic changes allowed us to assess the generalizability of our findings beyond any single case. While some changes yielded strong predictive models, others were more resistant to explanation. This shows that not all morphosyntactic changes behave alike in terms of individual variation or social influence. The variability among changes underscores the importance of examining multiple cases: it reduces the risk of drawing conclusions from idiosyncratic patterns and helps identify which predictors consistently matter across different types of linguistic change.

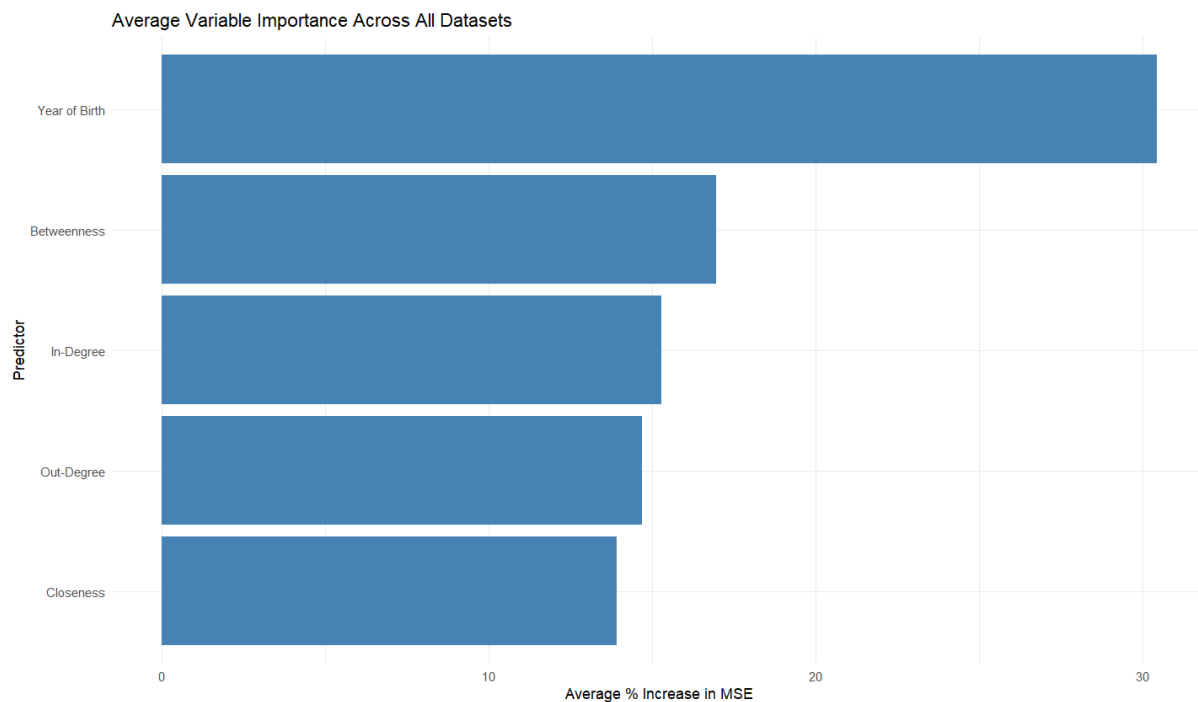


Figure 1: An overview of variable importance across our 12 datasets. YEAR OF BIRTH is most important, followed by BETWEENNESS, IN-DEGREE, OUT-DEGREE and CLOSENESS.

References:

- Freeman, Linton C. 1977. A Set of Measures of Centrality Based on Betweenness. *Sociometry* 40(1). 35. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3033543>.
- Friedman, Jerome, Trevor Hastie & Robert Tibshirani. 2010. Regularization Paths for Generalized Linear Models via Coordinate Descent. *Journal of Statistical Software* 33(1). <https://doi.org/10.18637/jss.v033.i01>.
- Petré, Peter & Freek Van de Velde. 2018. The real-time dynamics of the individual and the community in grammaticalization. *Language* 94(4). 867–901. <https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2018.0056>.
- Sevenants, Anthe, Freek Van de Velde & Dirk Speelman. 2024. Investigating lexical-semantic effects on morphosyntactic variation using elastic net regression. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory*. <https://doi.org/10.1515/cllt-2024-0068>.

De *be*-werkwoorden in kaart gebracht: een corpusstudie naar het gebruik, de productiviteit en de betekenis van het prefix *be*-

Ann-Sophie Vrielynck

Het Nederlandse prefix *be*- wordt traditioneel beschreven als een onbeklemtoond, categoriebepalend prefix dat transitieve werkwoorden vormt op basis van werkwoorden, substantieven en adjectieven (Booij 2022). Volgens referentiegrammatica's zijn *be*-werkwoorden per definitie transitief – en doorgaans ook transitiverend – waarbij deverbale en denominale afleidingen productief zouden zijn, maar deadjektivale afleidingen niet (De Haas & Trommelen 1993; Audring 2015; Booij 2022). Deze aannames zijn echter grotendeels gebaseerd op geïsoleerde voorbeelden en worden zelden empirisch onderbouwd. Bovendien bestaan er tal van tegenvoorbeelden, zoals *bestaan* of *bevallen*.

Verder kunnen sommige *be*-werkwoorden alterneren met een basiswerkwoord, zoals *beklimmen* – *klimmen op*, waarbij beide vormen een zekere semantische overlap vertonen (cf. Pijpops 2020: 286). Dergelijke alternanties worden echter vaak verklaard aan de hand van het begrip *beïnvloeding* (Eng. 'affectedness') (Booij 1992), maar dit is een erg algemene term waaronder weleens erg uiteenlopende betekenisverschillen begrepen worden (vgl. Lenci 2012: 14; Dąbrowska 2017).

Deze studie heeft als doel een grootschalig, corpusgebaseerd overzicht te geven van alle Nederlandse *be*-werkwoorden, met bijzondere aandacht voor hun transitiviteit, productiviteit, semantiek en mogelijke alternantieparen. Hiervoor gebruiken we het SoNaR-corpus (Instituut voor de Nederlandse Taal 2015). Aan de hand van de Alpino-parses (Van Noord 2006) stellen we een lijst op van alle *be*-werkwoorden geattesteerd in het corpus, samen met hun frequentie om de *type-tokenratio* en de *hapax legomenaratio* te berekenen (Baayen 2009), en bepalen we hun transitiviteit. Daarnaast extraheren we al hun instanties waarbij de patiëns, d.i. het direct object in de actieve vorm of het onderwerp in de passieve vorm, automatisch bepaald wordt. Mogelijke alternantieparen worden geïdentificeerd op basis van drie gedeelde patiëns, in lijn met Pijpops (2019). Voor vier van deze paren voeren we een *distinctiefcollexeemanalyse* uit (Gries & Stefanowitsch 2004) met behulp van het *collostructions*-pakket in R (Flach 2021), om semantische voorkeuren in het patiëns-slot in kaart te brengen.

De resultaten bevestigen grotendeels het traditionele beeld: van de 428 geïdentificeerde *be*-werkwoorden vertoont 96,26% minstens één transitief gebruik. Toch vervult *be*- slechts in 23,35% van deze werkwoorden een duidelijk transitiverende functie. In andere gevallen blijft de transitiviteit onveranderd (bv. *bespiegelen*, *bevallen*), of neemt deze zelfs af (bv. *bedragen*). De productiviteitsmaten tonen aan dat deverbale *be*-werkwoorden de hoogste *type-tokenratio* vertonen, terwijl denominale afleidingen de hoogste *hapax legomenaratio* hebben. De *distinctiefcollexeemanalyses* tonen tot slot aan dat *be*- vaak nuances toevoegt zoals eindigheid, evaluatie, succes of langdurigheid. Deze studie biedt zo een systematisch en empirisch onderbouwd inzicht in het gebruik en de betekenis van het prefix *be*- in het Nederlands, en nuanceert het gangbare beeld van *be*- als louter transitiverend element.

Referenties:

- Audring, J. 2015. be-. In *Taalportaal*. Geraadpleegd op 18 april 2025. <<https://taalportaal.org/taalportaal/topic/pid/topic-13998813294262520>>
- Baayen, H. 2009. Corpus linguistics in morphology: Morphological productivity. In A. Lüdeling & M. Kyto (red.), *Corpus Linguistics. An international handbook*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 899–919.
- Booij, G. 1992. Morphology, semantics and argument structure. In I.M. Roca (red.), *Thematic Structure: Its Role in Grammar*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 47–64.
- Booij, G. 2022. 12.3.2.1. Het voorvoegsel be- (versie 3.0.). In *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst*. Geraadpleegd op 18 april 2025. <<https://e-ans.ivdnt.org/topics/pid/topic-11079585622140672>>
- Dąbrowska, E. 2017. *Ten lectures on grammar in the mind*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Flach, S. 2021. *Collostructions: An R implementation for the family of collostructional methods*. Package version v.0.2.0. <<https://sfla.ch/collostructions/>>
- Gries, S. & A. Stefanowitsch. 2004. Extending collostructional analysis: a corpus-based perspective on ‘alternations’. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 9(1), 97–129.
- de Haas, W. & M. Trommelen. 1993. *Morfologisch handboek van het Nederlands: een overzicht van de woordvorming*. 's-Gravenhage: SDU.
- Instituut voor de Nederlandse taal. 2015. *SoNaR-corpus*. <<http://hdl.handle.net/10032/tm-a2-h5>>
- Lenci, A. 2012. Argument alternations in Italian verbs: a computational study. In V. Bambini, I. Ricci & P.M. Bertinetto (red.), *Linguaggio e cervello-Semantica. Atti del XLII Congresso Internazionale di Studi della Società di Linguistica Italiana*. Rome: Bulzoni, 1–26.
- van Noord, G. 2006. At last parsing is now operational. In P. Mertens, C. Fairon, A. Dister & P. Watrin (red.), *TALN 2006. Verbum Ex Machina. Actes de la 13ème conférence sur le traitement automatique des langues naturelles*. LLN: Cental, 20–42.
- Pijpops, D. 2019. *How, why and where does argument structure vary? A usage-based investigation into the Dutch transitive-prepositional alternation*. Doctoraal proefschrift KU Leuven.
- Pijpops, D. 2020. What is an alternation? Six answers. *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 34, 283–294.

“Wh the fuck” en “Wh zum Fick” in het Duits

Steven Schoonjans

Eén van de typische gebruikswijzen van *the fuck* in het Engels is het gebruik als illocutieve versterking in vraagwoordvragen. Dit gebruik vinden we ook in het Duits (1), naast de Duitse leenvertaling *zum Fick* (2):

(1) Was *the fuck* sind "Signalisierungsvorgänge" u. dgl.?? (DeReKo WDD11)

‘Wat *the fuck* zijn signaliseringsprocessen e.d.?’

(2) Wer *zum Fick* sind diese Menschen? (GeRedE)

‘Wie *zum Fick* zijn die mensen?’

Het doel van deze bijdrage is het gebruik van *the fuck* en *zum Fick* in het Duits in vraagwoordvragen nader te bekijken en te vergelijken. De focus ligt daarbij op volledige vraagzinnen (zoals in (1-2)); aposiopetische vragen waarbij de vraag na *the fuck/zum Fick* wordt afgebroken (zoals in (3)) blijven buiten beschouwing.

(3) Habe ich was übersehen? Ansonsten: Was *zum Fick*? (GeRedE)

‘Heb ik iets over het hoofd gezien? Anders: Wat *zum Fick*?’

De analyse is gebaseerd op het gebruik van deze uitdrukkingen in het Duitse referentiecorpus DeReKo, de databank voor gesproken Duits DGD, het e-mailcorpus CodE Alltag 2.0 en het Duitse redditcorpus GeRedE. Aangezien *zum Fick* het patroon [zu NP] instantieert, dat een productief patroon is voor dit type uitdrukking in het Duits (andere, courantere varianten zijn o.a. *zum Teufel* en *zur Hölle*), zal de analyse uit een dubbele vergelijking bestaan: we vergelijken *zum Fick* zowel met zijn Engelse tegenhanger *the fuck* (zoals hij in de Duitse data gebruikt wordt) als met andere uitdrukkingen van het type [zu NP], zoals *zum Teufel*.

De resultaten tonen dat de status van *zum Fick* als een soort tussenvorm (als leenvertaling uit het Engels maar aangepast aan een typisch Duits patroon) zich ook in het gebruik van deze uitdrukking weerspiegelt: in sommige opzichten gedraagt *zum Fick* zich meer zoals *the fuck*, in andere opzichten meer zoals de andere [zu NP]-varianten. Zo staat *zum Fick* altijd vlak na het vraagwoord, net als *the fuck*, terwijl varianten als *zum Teufel* ook in het middenstuk van de zin kunnen staan. Ook kunnen varianten als *zum Teufel* meestal nog eens versterkt worden door partikels zoals *nochmal* ‘nog eens’ (bv. *zum Teufel nochmal*), wat amper mogelijk is met *zum Fick* en nog minder met *the fuck*. Anderzijds wordt *the fuck* (althans in de Duitse data, zonder aposiopetische vragen) vooral gebruikt met het vraagwoord *wer* ‘wie’, terwijl dit type uitdrukkingen doorgaans eerder in vragen met *was* ‘wat’ en *warum* ‘waarom’ voorkomen. In dit opzicht neemt *zum Fick* een tussenpositie in: het wordt vooral met *was* gebruikt (net als pakweg *zum Teufel*), maar *warum* komt eerder zelden voor (net als bij *the fuck*).

Drie keer de Nederlandse weg-constructie

Timothy Coleman - Yoran De Rudder - Lien Langenus - Jarne Moyens

De zgn. “weg-constructie” in (1) is één van de meest uitvoerig bestudeerde Nederlandse argumentstructuurconstructies binnen de constructiegrammatica (zie Verhagen 2003a, b; Poss 2010; Coleman 2020; Mortelmans & Smirnova 2020; Van den Stock et al. 2024). Ze bestaat, naar de vorm, uit een combinatie van een zinswerkwoord met een subject, een reflexief voornaamwoord, het onveranderlijke element *een weg* en een voorzetselconstituent die een richting/doel benoemt. De daarmee corresponderende betekenis is dat de subjectreferent voor zichzelf een traject creëert en dat aflegt, waarbij de gedachte wordt opgeroepen aan obstakels die moeten worden overwonnen.

In deze presentatie bundelen we de resultaten van drie corpusgebaseerde scriptie-onderzoeken naar uiteenlopende aspecten van de *weg*-constructie die nog niet eerder in detail waren onderzocht. Deelstudie 1 (De Rudder 2025) richt zich specifiek op zinnen waarin *weg* een adjectief bij zich krijgt, zoals in (2). Op basis van data uit het DutchTenTen-corpus wordt onderzocht welke types adjectieven op die manier kunnen worden gebruikt en wat die adjectieven precies modificeren (de wijze van verplaatsing? de subjectreferent? het pad?). De resultaten zijn relevant voor de vraag in hoeverre het *weg*-object nu wel of niet als referentieel kan gelden, een kwestie waarover discussie bestaat in de literatuur.

Deelstudie 2 (Moyens 2025) onderzoekt de formele variant van de constructie in (3), waarin *weg* een possessieve determinator krijgt, zoals in de overeenkomstige Engelse constructie, in plaats van de “gewone” structuur met een reflexief voornaamwoord (zie ook *He fought his way through the crowd*). Een vergelijking van data uit het SoNaR-corpus en het DutchTenTen-corpus toont dat de possessieve *weg*-constructie in het wat formelere taalgebruik slechts sporadisch voorkomt, maar dat ze in informele ongeredigeerde Internettaal wel degelijk productief wordt ingezet.

In deelstudie 3 (Langenus 2025) verschuift de aandacht naar een specifiek domein van taalgebruik, nl. de voetbalverslaggeving. De zinnen in (4) komen uit een klein corpus met *live feeds* van voetbalwedstrijden uit 2011-2018 (Meier-Vieracker 2021). Aan de hand van een volledige inventarisatie van de voorkomens in dat corpus, wordt in kaart gebracht hoe de *weg*-constructie in die specifieke tekstsoort wordt ingezet en hoe dat gebruik verschilt van het “algemene” taalgebruik, bv. in het soort werkwoorden dat frequent in de constructie wordt ingevuld.

Samen geven de drie deelstudies een mooi beeld van de manieren waarop, binnen het al bij al beperkte bestek van een Bachelorscriptie-onderzoek, toch relevant nieuw licht kan worden geworpen op de eigenschappen van Nederlandse constructies.

- (1) a. Ik baande me een weg door het lawaai van de Korenmarkt. (CHN)
b. De onderzoekers [...] gooiden alle rupsen in een plastic tasje. Maar tot hun verbazing zaten de tasjes even later vol gaten. De diertjes hadden zich een weg naar buiten gegeten. (CHN)
- (2) De jonge Fin baant zich een zelfzekere weg door de soms mistige toendra van Sibelijs. (DutchTenTen)
- (3) We sjokken onze weg terug naar de auto en staan om 3 uur s'middags weer in het hotel. (DutchTenTen)

- (4) a. Fischer pingelt zich nu een weg richting de zestien, maar schiet over.
 b. Thiago dribbelt zijn weg door het midden.

Referenties:

- Colleman, Timothy. 2020. Twee vroege constructiegrammaticale studies in Nederlandse Taalkunde: Een terugblik op Schermer-Vermeer (2001) en Verhagen (2003a). *Nederlandse Taalkunde* 25: 333-343.
- De Rudder, Yoran. 2025. Hoe het adjectief zich een opvallende weg baant in de wegconstructie: Een corpusgebaseerd onderzoek naar het adjectief in de wegconstructie. Bachelorscriptie Universiteit Gent, academiejaar 2024-25.
- Langenus, Lien. 2025. Een corpusgebaseerd onderzoek naar de wegconstructie in voetbalverslaggeving. Bachelorscriptie Universiteit Gent, academiejaar 2024-25.
- Meier-Vieracker, Simon (red.). 2021. Korpora zur Fußballlinguistik (Release 2021-09), Professur für Angewandte Linguistik, TU Dresden, www.fussballlinguistik.de/korpora.
- Mortelmans, Tanja & Elena Smirnova. 2020. Analogues of the way-construction in German and Dutch: another Germanic sandwich? In: Gunther De Vogelaer, Dietha Koster & Torsten Leuschner (red.), *German and Dutch in Contrast: Synchronic, Diachronic and Psycholinguistic Perspectives*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 47-76.
- Moyens, Jarne. 2025. ??Hoe maakt het Nederlands zijn eigen weg? Een comparatief corpusonderzoek naar de possessieve variant van de Nederlandse wegconstructie. Bachelorscriptie Universiteit Gent, academiejaar 2024-25.
- Poss, Michaela. 2010. *Under construction: Cognitive and computational aspects of extended lexical units*. Utrecht: LOT Publications.
- Van den Stock, Anouk, Anne-Sophie Ghyselen, Peter Lauwers, Dirk Speelman & Timothy Coleman. 2024. Individual differences in productivity: intra- and extralinguistic determinants in evaluations of “creative” uses of grammatical patterns. *Constructions* 16(1). <https://doi.org/10.24338/cons-659>
- Verhagen, Arie. 2003a. Hoe het Nederlands zich een eigen weg baant. Vergelijkende en historische observaties vanuit een constructie-perspectief. *Nederlandse Taalkunde* 8: 328-346.
- Verhagen, Arie. 2003b. The Dutch way. In: Arie Verhagen & Jeroen van de Weijer (red.), *Usage-based approaches to Dutch*. Utrecht: LOT publications, 27-57.

Logiques syntaxiques de la grammaire française belge

Nicolas Gregov

Cette communication porte sur la manière dont la syntaxe est conceptualisée dans la grammaire française, et plus particulièrement la grammaire française de Belgique francophone. Pour ce faire, nous mobilisons l'opposition entre *dépendance* et *constituance* (Kahane et Gerdes 2022), structurante dans le champ des études syntaxiques, que nous envisageons à partir des diagrammes syntaxiques : on entend par là des signes graphiques représentant iconiquement la structure syntaxique (Mazziotta 2022). Si des études ont déjà montré la pertinence de l'opposition en vue d'analyser les diagrammes (Mazziotta et Kahane 2017), nous souhaitons enrichir l'analyse à partir d'une seconde opposition, qui concerne la logique de combinaison syntaxique. Une même structure dépendancielle peut en effet être représentée graphiquement dans une logique « relationnelle », qui réifie les relations entre les unités (p.ex. les corpus arborés, les stemmas de Tesnière), ou dans une logique « unitaire », qui relègue l'information syntaxique en tant que propriété d'unité (p.ex. les diagrammes utilisés dans les classes, qui mobilisent le soulignement et la couleur). Le contraste entre logique « relationnelle » et logique « unitaire » est également pertinent pour les diagrammes en constituants, que l'on pense par exemple aux arbres chomskyens (logique « relationnelle ») ou aux boîtes de Hockett (logique « unitaire »).

À partir de ce cadre théorique enrichi, nous analysons les diagrammes présents dans un vaste corpus de textes parus entre 1970 et 2023 représentatif du discours grammatical belge francophone (Van Raemdonck 2009) : des ouvrages de grammaire française (116 ouvrages) ainsi que huit collections de manuels destinés au primaire ou au secondaire (126 manuels). À ce corpus textuel, nous adjoignons un corpus multimodal, issu d'observations de pratiques enseignantes dans des classes filmées entre 2023 et 2024 (22 leçons, 15 heures). Ce faisant, nous pouvons documenter les mécanismes de transposition du savoir syntaxique savant au savoir enseigné (Chevallard 1985). Les résultats attestent de ruptures quant aux logiques syntaxiques, renforçant en cela l'absence de cohérence de la grammaire scolaire (Vargas 2014) : la majorité des grammaires mobilisent une logique relationnelle, tandis que les manuels et les pratiques combinent une logique unitaire à une logique relationnelle restreinte à quelques fonctions syntaxiques.

Références:

- Chevallard Y. (1985). *La transposition didactique : du savoir savant au savoir enseigné*. Grenoble : Pensée sauvage.
- Kahane S. et Gerdes K. (2022). *Syntaxe théorique et formelle. Modélisation, unités, structures*. Berlin : Language Science Press.
- Mazziotta N. (2022). « Syntaxe en *n* dimensions : choisir et représenter les espaces d'analyse », *Travaux de linguistique* 84-85, 53-72.
- Mazziotta N. et Kahane S. (2017). « To what extent is Immediate Constituency Analysis dependency-based ? A survey of foundational texts », *Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on Dependency Linguistics*, 116-126.
- Van Raemdonck D. (2009). « La grammaire en Belgique aujourd'hui. De l'autoflagellation à la sortie du placard », *Le discours et la langue* 24, 13-36.
- Vargas C. (2014). *Les grammaires scolaires. De la recomposition à la reconfiguration*. Aix-en-Provence : Presses universitaires de Provence.

Suppletion in Ukrainian deadjectival verbs

Anastasiia Vyshnevskia

1. OUTLINE This study examines deadjectival verbs derived from suppletive adjectives. According to *The Comparative-Change of State Generalization* (CΔG) Bobaljik (2012:171), if the comparative degree of an adjective is suppletive, then the corresponding change-of-state verb is also suppletive. The argument comes from the fact that cross-linguistically, suppletive adjectives derive suppletive-based verbs, as in (1), forming an ABB pattern. The ABA pattern, where the verb is based on the positive degree, as in (2), is unattested.

(1)	A B B			(2)	A B A		
	good	bett-er	to bett-er		good	bett-er	to good-er

This supports *The Containment Hypothesis*, where the positive adjective is contained within the comparative, which in turn is contained within the deadjectival verb. Ukrainian verbs, on the surface, can follow both patterns (1) and (2), posing a challenge for CΔG. As I will show, adopting a Nanosyntactic analysis helps to explain the existence of both patterns without violating the containment hypothesis.

2. Data There are five suppletive adjectives in Ukrainian, all of them presented below in Table 1. In accordance with CΔG, they derive verbs from the comparative degree adjectives followed by a TV *-a*, as in the third column; I call them *Inchoative 1*.

POS ADJ				CMPR ADJ				INCH 1			
nr	root	AGR	transl.	root	CMPR	AGR	transl.	root	CMPR	INCHINF	translation
a.	mal	yj	'small'	menj	š	yj	'smaller'	menj	š	a	ty 'to get smaller'
b.	pohan	yj	'bad'	hir	š	yj	'worse'	hir	š	a	ty 'to get worse'
c.	xoroš	yj	'good'	lip	š	yj	'better'	lip	š	a	ty 'to get better'
d.	dobr	yj	'good'	kraš	č	yj	'better'	kraš	č	a	ty 'to get better'
e.	velyk	yj	'big'	bilj	š	yj	'bigger'	bilj	š	a	ty 'to get bigger'

Table 1: Adjectives and Inchoative 1

However, the same adjectives (excluding 'big') also derive verbs based on the positive degree and a TV *-i*, as in the third column of Table 2; I call them *Inchoative 2*. They pose a challenge for CΔG, since the verb is not derived from the comparative form.

POS ADJ				CMPR ADJ				INCH 2			
nr	root	AGR	transl.	root	CMPR	AGR	transl.	root	INCHINF	translation	
a.	mal	yj	'small'	menj	š	yj	'smaller'	mal	i	ty	'to get smaller'
b.	pohan	yj	'bad'	hir	š	yj	'worse'	pohan	i	ty	'to get worse'
c.	xoroš	yj	'good'	lip	š	yj	'better'	xoroš	i	ty	'to get better'
d.	dobr	yj	'good'	kraš	č	yj	'better'	dobr	i	ty	'to get better'

Table 2: Adjectives and Inchoative 2

3. Analysis In the analysis developed here, AP is decomposed into Dimension, Direction, and Point (Vanden Wyngaerd et al. 2020) followed by two comparative heads, C1 and C2 (Caha et al. 2019). The verb is comprised of Result and Process subeventive components (Ramchand 2008). I claim that the two types of inchoatives differ in root size. They also differ in the Result component, which is present in Inchoative 1 verbs but absent from Inchoative 2 verbs. Table 3 represents the structure of the suppletive verbs in the third column of Table 1. The roots lexicalise the structure up to C1 and need a comparative morpheme -š to lexicalise C2, followed by a TV -a that lexicalises PROC and ASP. The RES head is absent from the structure, which is marked in black.

DIM	DIR	POINT	C1	C2	RES	PROC	ASP	INF	translation
	menj			š			a	ty	‘to get smaller’
	hir			š			a	ty	‘to get worse’
	lip			š			a	ty	‘to get better’
	kraš			č			a	ty	‘to get better’
	bilj			š			a	ty	‘to get bigger’

Table 3: The structure of Inchoative 1

Table 4 shows the structure of Inchoative 2 verbs in the third column of Table 2. The only morpheme that can lexicalise RES is the TV -i. Since it has a foot in POINT_T, it causes the root to shrink to DIR. As a result, there is no overt comparative morphology in Inchoative 2 and the root is non-suppletive. Moreover, the existence of two inchoative forms is productive in Ukrainian outside of suppletion (Vyshnevskya 2025), which is predicted and accounted for in the current analysis.

DIM	DIR	POINT _T	C1	C2	RES	PROC	ASP	INF	translation
mal		i						ty	‘to get smaller’
pohan		i						ty	‘to get worse’
xoroš		i						ty	‘to get better’
dobr		i						ty	‘to get better’

Table 4: The structure of Inchoative 2

References:

- Bobaljik, Jonathan. 2012. *Universals in comparative morphology*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Caha, Pavel, Karen De Clercq & Guido Vanden Wyngaerd. 2019. The fine structure of the comparative. *Studia Linguistica* 73(3). 470–521. doi:https://doi.org/10.1111/stul.12107.
- Ramchand, Gillian. 2008. *Verb meaning and the lexicon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vanden Wyngaerd, Guido, Michal Starke, Karen De Clercq & Pavel Caha. 2020. How to be positive. *Glossa* 5(1). 1–34.

Vyshnevskia, Anastasiia. 2025. *Comparative morphology across categories: Ukrainian adjectives, adverbs, and deadjektiv verbs*: KU Leuven dissertation.

Kan je (aan) de drang weerstaan (aan) mij te gehoorzamen? The object of two-place aan-verbs

Alexander Van Herpe - Dirk Pijpops

Within Dutch clause structure, the two most central nominal object types are the direct object (DO) and the indirect object (IO). Yet, in practice, the distinction between them is not always clear-cut. A particularly challenging case arises with Dutch verbs that govern a single object, either as a bare nominal or as a prepositional constituent headed by *aan* ('to') (1), as exemplified by verbs like *gehoorzamen* ('to obey') and *weerstaan* ('to withstand'). Interestingly, even major Dutch grammars disagree on how to analyze the object of such verbs. While Den Hertog (1973), the second edition of the *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst* (Haeseryn et al. 1997), and Van Belle et al. (2020) classify the object of *gehoorzamen* as indirect, De Vooys (1947), De Schutter & Van Hauwermeiren (1983), and the forthcoming third edition of the ANS (Augustinus et al., in prep.) argue in favor of a direct object analysis.

- (1) *De politicus gehoorzaamde (aan) de regering.*
'The politician obeyed (to) the government.'

To address this disagreement, this study explores if the object of verbs like *gehoorzamen* and *weerstaan* functions as a direct or indirect object. We apply three established tests: nominalization, passivation, and the semantic impact of omitting *aan*. First, when nominalized, indirect objects normally cannot appear in a *van*-phrase, as typical of DOs, but only in an *aan*-phrase (2). Second, in passive constructions, a DO should surface as the subject, which is generally not possible for IOs (3). Third, prior research (Colleman 2009 etc.) shows that omitting *aan* in clearly indirect object verbs (e.g., *geven*), has little semantic impact, being influenced mostly by language processing and information structure. In contrast, omitting *aan* in DO-governing verbs (e.g., *bouwen*) leads to telic semantic contrasts (Van Hout 1996).

Jan eet [een koekje]_{do}. Het pistool ontglipte [de paukenist]_{io}.

- (2) *Het eten van een koekje.*
*Het ontglippen *van/aan de paukenist.*
- (3) *Het koekje wordt gegeten door Jan.*
**De paukenist werd ontglipt door het pistool.*

We applied these tests to *gehoorzamen* and *weerstaan*, and compared them to two control groups: *bouwen* (a prototypical *aan*-alternating DO verb), and *geven/aanraden* (prototypical *aan*-alternating IO verbs). First, a corpus study using distinctive collexeme analysis (Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003) examined whether the bare nominal and prepositional variants differed semantically (test 3). As expected, *bouwen* showed strong semantic distinctions and *geven* did not. Crucially, *gehoorzamen* and *weerstaan* also exhibited clear semantic differentiation—supporting a DO analysis.

To corroborate this, we conducted an acceptability judgment experiment (n = 162) testing nominalization and passivation (tests 1 & 2) with constructed stimuli. Participants rated 20 sentences on a naturalness scale (1–10). Results confirmed DO status for *gehoorzamen* and *weerstaan*. Surprisingly, the object of *aanraden* also showed increased acceptability to become subject in passive contexts, suggesting a broader trend: all objects, regardless of type, may increasingly be interpreted as subjects in passives.

In sum, our results support reanalyzing *gehoorzamen* and *weerstand* as verbs taking a direct object in future grammatical descriptions. Follow-up research will examine how language processing and lectal variation may further influence this alternation.

References:

- Colleman, T. (2009). Verb disposition in argument structure alternations: A corpus study of the dative alternation in Dutch. *Language Sciences*, 31(5), 593–611.
- De Schutter, G., & Van Hauwermeiren, P. (1983). *De structuur van het Nederlands: Taalbeschouwelijke grammatica*. Malle: De Sikkel.
- De Vooy, C. (1947). *Nederlandse spraakkunst*. Groningen: Batavia.
- den Hertog, C. H. (1973). *Nederlandse spraakkunst* (3e ed.). Amsterdam: Versluys.
- Haeseryn, W., Romijn, K., Geerts, G., de Rooij, J., & van den Toorn, M. (1997). *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst* (2e ed.). Groningen: Nijhoff.
- Stefanowitsch, A., & Gries, S. T. (2003). Collostructions: Investigating the interaction of words and constructions. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 8(2), 209–243.
- Van Belle, W., Lamiroy, B., Van Langendonck, W., Melis, L., Lauwers, P., Loengarov, A., & Lahousse, K. (2020). *Nederlandse grammatica voor Franstaligen*. Leuven: KU Leuven, Onderzoekseenheid Linguïstiek.
<https://www.arts.kuleuven.be/ling/project/ngf>
- van Hout, A. M. H. (1996). *Event semantics of verb frame alternations: A case study of Dutch and its acquisition* (Doctoral dissertation, Tilburg University).

The consistency of voice quality acoustics as a new diagnostic parameter for organic and functional Foreign Accent Syndrome

Jérémy Genette , and Jo Verhoeven

This study investigates the potential of measuring the consistency of voice quality acoustics as a diagnostic tool for distinguishing between organic and functional Foreign Accent Syndrome (FAS). FAS has been defined as a motor speech disorder characterized perceptually by a sudden change in the affected speaker's habitual accent.

Two main types of FAS are generally distinguished: organic and functional. Organic FAS is typically caused by neurological damage such as a stroke (Mariën, Keulen & Verhoeven, 2019), while functional FAS is associated with psychological or psychiatric conditions. In the latter, foreign-sounding speech emerges without evidence of brain damage, possibly due to a permissive role of decompensated psychiatric symptoms in the disinhibition of functional mechanisms underpinning foreign accent syndrome (Berthier, Moreno-Torres, Verhoeven & Dávila, 2025). Functional FAS is typically marked by two features: (1) speech patterns that do not align with known motor speech disorders such as dysarthria (Verhoeven et al. 2005), and (2) a lower accent consistency over time (Barreto & Ortiz, 2020). However, these characterizations have often relied on impressionistic descriptions.

The present study aims to quantify voice consistency in speakers with either functional or organic FAS, and to compare their speech with those of unimpaired speakers and individuals with dysarthria. To this end, speech samples from all four groups were analyzed using a novel metric based on Long-Term Average Spectrum (LTAS) comparisons.

Results indicate that both FAS and dysarthric speakers exhibit higher inconsistency than control participants. Functional FAS patients showed the highest variability, followed by organic FAS and dysarthric speakers. The findings support the potential of LTAS as a diagnostic tool for distinguishing functional from organic cases, by quantitatively demonstrating the greater inconsistency observed in functional FAS patients. The study also contributes to the ongoing debate about the relationship between organic FAS and other speech sound disorders of neurological origin, such as dysarthria, as both groups exhibited similar consistency patterns.

References:

- Barreto, S. D. S., & Ortiz, K. Z. (2020). Speech in the foreign accent syndrome: differential diagnosis between organic and functional cases. *Dementia & Neuropsychologia*, 14, 329-332.
- Berthier, M. L., Moreno-Torres, I., Verhoeven, J., & Dávila, G. (2025). *Revisiting the boundaries of different altered accents profiles*. Cortex.
- Mariën, P., Keulen, S., & Verhoeven, J. (2019). Neurological aspects of foreign accent syndrome in stroke patients. *Journal of Communication Disorders*, 77, 94-113.

Verhoeven, J., Mariën, P., Engelborghs, S., D'Haenen H., & De Deyn P.P. (2005). A foreign speech accent in a case of conversion disorder. *Behavioural Neurology*, 16(4), 225–232.

Experiencing MOOCs in English: A proficiency-based perspective

Pauline Jadoulle - Tanguy Dubois - Pauline Degrave - Magali Paquot

Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) were initially designed to democratize education by providing free, flexible learning opportunities to a broad audience. However, this promise remains largely unmet, as reflected in high dropout rates (Crossley et al., 2016; Goopio & Cheung, 2021). Contributing factors include limited feedback, scarce participant interaction, and unclear instructions (Topali et al., 2020; Liu, 2017). Another significant, yet underexplored, obstacle is the language of instruction: approximately 75% of MOOCs are offered in English, despite most learners being non-native English speakers (Weinhardt & Sitzmann, 2019; Uchidiuno et al., 2018). Language and cultural barriers – such as difficulties processing video content without visual aids and low confidence in language proficiency – can hinder engagement and learning outcomes (Duru et al., 2019; Liyanagunawardena et al., 2013). Therefore, understanding non-native English speakers' experiences is essential to enhance the inclusivity and effectiveness of English-taught MOOCs.

However, existing research mainly examines language-learning MOOCs (LMOOCs) (e.g. “Conversational English Skills”) rather than disciplinary MOOCs (e.g. “Data Science” or “International Law”) (Uchidiuno et al., 2018; Hsu, 2023). Moreover, they rarely differentiate between learners at different English proficiency levels, despite evidence from English-Medium Instruction (EMI) indicating that proficiency shapes participant engagement and success (Evans & Morrison, 2018). Against this backdrop, this study investigates the experiences of non-native participants enrolled in disciplinary MOOCs taught in English (henceforth ‘English MOOCs’), based on their self-assessed proficiency level (B1, B2, C1, C2). The study focuses on three key dimensions: motivations for enrolling, attitudes toward MOOCs and themselves, and challenges encountered. Data were collected via a survey combining 7-point Likert scale items (e.g. “I take MOOCs in English to improve my English skills”) and open-ended questions (e.g. “Are there other reasons for you to take MOOCs in English?”). The survey also gathers demographic information, prior MOOC experience, and self-assessed English proficiency.

A pilot study with 87 participants recruited through *Prolific* (Jadoulle et al., forthcoming) revealed preliminary trends. For example, the absence of equivalent courses in other languages appeared as a primary motivator to enroll in an English MOOC. Participants generally perceived these MOOCs as high-quality and prestigious, and report limited difficulties in comprehension or expression. However, analysis by proficiency revealed nuanced differences. For example, B2-level participants were more likely than C2-level participants to pursue MOOCs to enhance their English proficiency, and report using language support tools (e.g. dictionaries, DeepL) more frequently.

While these preliminary results offer valuable insights into non-native speakers' experiences in English MOOCs, the relatively small, non-representative sample limits generalizability. Therefore, an ongoing larger-scale study employs the same survey on *Qualtrics*, targeting approximately 600 non-native English speakers from seven countries (China, Morocco, Japan, Spain, Poland, Brazil, Indonesia) who completed an English MOOC within the last two years. If findings confirm pilot trends, they would underscore the heterogeneity of MOOC participants, and challenge the tendency to treat non-native

English speakers as a monolithic group. Recognizing proficiency-level differences would then reveal critical to developing more inclusive MOOCs, by adapting, for example, materials, instructions, or support tools to learners' specific linguistic needs.

References:

- Crossley, S., Paquette, L., Dascalu, M., McNamara, D. & Baker, R. (2016). Combining click-stream data with NLP tools to better understand MOOC completion. *Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on Learning Analytics & Knowledge*, New York, 6-14.
- Duru, I., Sunar, A.S., White, S., Diri, B. & Dogan, G. (2019). A case study on English as a Second Language speakers for sustainable MOOC study. *Sustainability*, 11(10), 2808.
- Evans, S. & Morrison, B. (2018). Adjusting to higher education in Hong Kong: The influence of school medium of instruction. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 21(8), 1016-1029.
- Goopio, J. & Cheung, C. (2021). The MOOC dropout phenomenon and retention strategies. *Journal of Teaching in Travel & Tourism*, 21(2).
- Hsu, L. (2023). What makes good LMOOCs for EFL learners? Learners' personal characteristics and information system success model. *Computer Assisted Language Learning*, 36(1-2), 1-25.
- Jadoulle, P., Dubois, T., Degrave, P. & Paquot, M. (forthcoming). Developing a survey on motivations, attitudes, and challenges of non-native participants in English-taught MOOCs. *Proceedings of the Twentieth European Conference on Technology Enhanced Learning*, Newcastle and Durham.
- Liu, L. (2017). An empirical analysis of Chinese college learners' obstacles to MOOC learning in an English context. *English Language Teaching*, 10(3), 136-150.
- Liyanagunawardena, T., Williams, S. & Adams, A. (2023). The impact and reach of MOOCs: a developing countries' perspective. *eLearning Papers*, 33.
- Topali, P., Ortega-Arranz, A., Martínez-Monés, A. & Villagrà-Sobrino, S. (2020). "Houston, we have a problem": Revealing MOOC practitioners' experiences regarding feedback provision to learners facing difficulties. *Computer Applications in Engineering Education*, 29(4), 769-785.
- Uchidiuno, J., Ogan, A., Yarzebinski, E. & Hammer, J. (2018). Understanding ESL students' motivations to increase MOOC accessibility. *Proceedings of the Third (2016) ACM Conference on Learning @ Scale*, New York, 169-172.
- Weinhardt, J. & Sitzmann, T. (2019). Revolutionizing training and education? Three questions regarding massive open online courses (MOOCs). *Human Resource Management Review*, 29(2), 218-225.

Human vs GenAI feedback: Changing patterns in students' text-revision behaviour

Marilize Pretorius

Generative artificial intelligence (GenAI) is increasingly being integrated into language education. Its ability to potentially complement teachers' feedback, and thereby relieve some of the workload involved in grading students' papers in writing courses, is one of its most appealing features (e.g. Yang & Li, 2024). However, to date, there is limited empirical research on how and to what extent students integrate input or feedback from GenAI into their writing. Thus, this paper compares English as a Second Language (ESL) learners' text revision behaviour in two contexts: (1) academic papers revised *without* GenAI use (n=89) and (2) academic papers revised *with* ChatGPT assistance (n=94). The comparison aims to capture the nature of and differences in revision behaviour based on teacher feedback vs students' self-generated ChatGPT feedback. The extent, nature, necessity and success of the two groups' revisions are thus compared.

The participants in both cohorts are L1 Dutch-speaking undergraduate students of English literature and linguistics at the University of Antwerp, Belgium. Data were collected from two successive cohorts in an English for academic purposes writing course in 2022 and 2023. An adaptation of Strobl et al.'s (2024) codebook was used for analysing text revisions in terms of the following: revision type (structure, content, lexicon, grammar, etc.), necessity (i.e. necessary, unnecessary) and success (i.e. improvement, neutral, aggravation). Frequency distributions and binary regression analysis are then used to determine whether there are differences in the revision behaviours between the two groups and whether any observed differences are statistically significant.

The results reveal that students make more extensive revisions based on feedback they generated with ChatGPT. However, there are several surprising similarities in the two groups' revision behaviours. The groups focus on similar types of revision at both the text and surface level, as well as displaying similar rates of revision success. Additionally, neither revision focus (i.e. surface and text level revisions) nor success is significantly associated with the source of feedback. However, a significant association between revision necessity is evident, with students using self-generated ChatGPT feedback making more unnecessary revisions. The implications of these findings will be discussed in light of some of the assumptions and fears surrounding the use of GenAI for language learning (e.g. that students may copy-and-paste wholesale), as well the pedagogical implications. Particularly the need to develop students' feedback literacy (Nieminen, et al. 2024) in the age of GenAI is foregrounded.

References:

- Nieminen, J. H., & Carless, D. (2023). Feedback literacy: a critical review of an emerging concept. In *Higher Education* (Vol. 85, Issue 6, pp. 1381–1400). Springer Science and Business Media B.V. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-022-00895-9>
- Strobl, C., Menke-Bazhutkina, I., Abel, N., & Michel, M. (2024). Adopting ChatGPT as a writing buddy in the advanced L2 writing class. *Technology in Language Teaching & Learning*, 6(1), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.29140/tltl.v6n1.1168>
- Yang, L., & Li, R. (2024). ChatGPT for L2 learning: Current status and implications. *System*, 124, 103351. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2024.103351>

The Management of Face of Organizations in Service Encounters: Previous Work and Current Challenges

Abdul Ahad Jajja - Nicolas Ruytenbeek Assistant

This talk provides an insight into the role played by pragmatic elements, particularly face and politeness, in organizations' efforts to maintain rapport with customers taking place in service encounters through webcare and chatbot interactions. Service encounters have traditionally been given significant importance for their role in organizational image building (Bitner, 1990; Bouchet, 2015; Lievens, 2017) but no such effort has yet been made in understanding face-threat and facework with the organization as the target, for instance in service encounters.

This study aims to 1) chart the evolution of group/collective face theorization, 2) propose a fine-grained definition of organizational face and 3) examine the importance and role of service encounters, in particular webcare and chatbot interactions, in organizational face management. Earley (1997) was the first to examine cross-cultural organizational behaviour and how it affects an individual's presentation of self, i.e. face, and considers face as a driving force for individuals in social and work interactions in presentation to the self (*lian*; cf. Hu, 1944) and to other groups (*mianzi*; cf. Hu, 1944). The current study uses Earley's work and focuses solely on the external portrayal of an organization's face, particularly through service encounters, as opposed to Earley's focus on internal organizational face dynamics. It does this by adopting a methodology of critically evaluating theoretical literature and recent empirical studies with a focus on development of face from an individual perspective to a more group-oriented one.

Face was first introduced by Goffman (1967) as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (p. 5). Further notions of face have since emerged. Brown and Levinson (1987) defined face as a person's public self image that needs to be managed using politeness during interactions. Spencer-Oatey (2000) took their iteration further and considered face management as one part of a broader rapport management framework. Importantly, she (2005, p.106) points out that face is not only an individual phenomenon, but one that has a collective dimension, which will serve as our framework. The earliest theorization of group face came from Nwoye (1992), who defined it as an "individual's desire to behave in conformity with culturally expected norms of behavior that are institutionalized and sanctioned by society" (p. 313). Similar contributions include national face—the national self nations presented to other nations (Chen and Hwang, 2016); institutional face – the professional persona a company presents to the public (Orthaber and Marquez-Reiter, 2011); and organizational face – the internal face and facework a company cultivates within its workforce (Earley, 1997). This study focuses on the external aspect of organizational face that manages rapport and facework through a particular online service encounter, i.e., webcare (see Ruytenbeek C De Cock, (2024); Depraetere et al., (2021) and chatbot interactions (Jacobs C Liebrecht, (2022)). The preliminary results established 1) a better and clearer definition of organizational face informed by a critical review of webcare studies, and 2) established practical challenges regarding organizational face management. This study paves the way for research into imminent topics, in particular, how organizational face is managed through AI chatbots which have become increasingly powerful communication tools.

References:

- Bitner, M. J. (1990). Evaluating service encounters: The effects of physical surroundings and employee responses. *Journal of Marketing*, 54(2), 69-82.
- Bouchet, H. (2015). *Organizational Image Management: A Theoretical Model*. World Research Library.
- Brown, P., C Levison, S. (1987). *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge University Press.
- Chen, R., C Hwang, K. K. (2016). Nation, face, and identity: An initial investigation of national face in East Asia. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 7(OCT). <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2016.01557>
- Depraetere, I., Decock, S., C Ruytenbeek, N. (2020). Linguistic (in)directness in twitter complaints: A contrastive analysis of railway complaint interactions. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 171, 215–233. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2020.09.026>
- Earley, P. C. (1997). *Face, harmony, and social structure: An analysis of organizational behavior across cultures*. Oxford University Press.
- Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction ritual: Essays on face-to-face behavior*. Pantheon Books.
- Hu, H. C. (1944). The Chinese Concepts of “Face.” *American Anthropologist*, 4c(1), 45–64. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1944.46.1.02a00040>
- Jacobs, S., C Liebrecht, C. (2022). Responding to online complaints in webcare by public organizations: the impact on continuance intention and reputation. *Journal of Communication Management*, 27(1), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1108/jcom-11-2021-0132>
- Lievens, F. (2017). The SAGE encyclopedia of industrial and organizational psychology (2nd ed.). In SAGE Publications, Inc. eBooks. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483386874>
- Nwoye, O. G. (1992). Linguistic politeness and socio-cultural variations of the notion of face. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 18(4), 309-328. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166\(92\)90092-P](https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166(92)90092-P)
- Orthaber, S., C Márquez-Reiter, R. (2011). “Talk to the hand”. Complaints to a public transport company. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(15), 3860–3876. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2011.10.004>
- Ruytenbeek, N., C Decock, S. (2024). Expressing and Responding to Customer (Dis)satisfaction Online: New Insights From Discourse and Linguistic Approaches. In *International Journal of Business Communication* (Vol. 61, Number 1, pp. 3–17). Sage. <https://doi.org/10.1177/23294884231199740>
- Spencer-Oatey, H. (2000). Rapport management: A framework for analysis. In *Culturally Speaking: Managing Rapport through Talk across Cultures* (pp. 114-146).
- Spencer-Oatey, H. (2005). (Im)Politeness, Face and Perceptions of Rapport: Unpackaging their Bases and Interrelationships. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 1(1), 95-119. <https://doi.org/10.1515/jplr.2005.1.1.95>

Exploring the Construct of Phraseological Competence: Perspectives from Human Raters Through Comparative Judgment

Tingting Wang - Magali Paquot - Dandan Zhou - Gabriela Vaughan

Phraseological competence is crucial for language acquisition, processing, and fluency (Ellis *et al.*, 2008; Paquot *et al.*, 2020) but remains challenging for L2 learners (Laufer & Waldman, 2011; Paquot & Granger, 2012). Recent empirical studies have increasingly conceptualized phraseological competence as a multidimensional construct that includes facets such as accuracy, depth, and breadth (Naismith & Juffs, 2025; Paquot, 2019; Xu, 2018). This conceptualization raises important questions about how phraseological competence should be assessed and which dimensions are most salient in different contexts. In research on linguistic constructs more broadly, two complementary approaches are commonly adopted: (1) analyzing learner output to identify salient performance features, and (2) examining rater orientations to uncover the criteria underlying expert judgments (Ducasse & Brown, 2009). Within phraseological research, however, the first approach—relying on corpus-based analyses and computational indices—has been overwhelmingly dominant (e.g., Paquot, 2019; Paquot & Naets, 2025). In contrast, little is known about the dimensions that human raters focus on when evaluating phraseological competence, even though their judgments are often regarded as the gold standard for establishing construct validity (Crossley *et al.*, 2013).

This study investigates how human raters assess phraseological competence, with the aim of identifying the specific dimensions to which they are most sensitive. To this end, it adopts comparative judgment (CJ), a methodological innovation increasingly used to assess complex and multidimensional linguistic constructs in applied linguistics (Thwaites & Paquot, 2024; Verhavert *et al.*, 2019). In CJ, expert raters compare pairs of performances and decide which one demonstrates a higher level of the target construct. These pairwise comparisons are then modelled statistically using the Bradley-Terry-Luce (BTL) framework. CJ has proven to be a reliable and valid method for assessing complex constructs in language learning and assessment (Thwaites *et al.*, 2024; Verhavert *et al.*, 2019).

The study addresses two questions:

RQ1. How reliable are the rating scales of test takers' phraseological competence generated through human comparative judgements?

RQ2. What dimensions of phraseological competence do raters attend to when using CJ methods for assessment?

To investigate these questions, the study involved 30 doctoral students and university instructors in Applied Linguistics who served as judges. Each judge completed 49 pairwise comparisons based on transcripts of oral performances from 98 candidates who sat the Test for English Majors Band 8 Oral (TEM 8-Oral) exam. For every comparison, judges also provided written justifications for their decision. The reliability of the resulting scale was measured using Scale Separation Reliability (SSR). In addition, a thematic analysis of the qualitative comments was conducted to identify the specific aspects of phraseological competence (e.g., accuracy, diversity, sophistication) that featured most prominently in human judgments.

After all comparisons were completed, the CJ-generated rating scales demonstrated high reliability, with SSR reaching 0.88. Thematic coding of 953 justifications from the judges (approximately 20% of all data) revealed that raters attended to multiple dimensions of phraseological competence, including accuracy, appropriateness, phraseological sophistication, diversity, idiomaticity, quantity, and fluency. Among these, accuracy was the most frequently emphasized (37.04%), followed by phraseological sophistication (19.80%), diversity (16.57%), appropriateness (12.49%), idiomaticity (7.99%), quantity (5.52%), and fluency (0.59%). These findings shed light on the dimensions foregrounded by raters, provide empirical support for the multidimensional nature of phraseological competence, and demonstrate the value of CJ as a tool for construct exploration in language assessment. We are currently conducting double annotation for 10% of the dataset to further establish inter-coder reliability. Results from the full dataset will be presented at the conference.

References:

- Crossley, S., Salsbury, T., & McNamara, D. S. (2013). Validating lexical measures using human scores of lexical proficiency. In S. Jarvis & M. Daller (Eds.), *Studies in bilingualism* (Vol. 47, pp. 105-134). John Benjamins Publishing Company. <https://doi.org/10.1075/sibil.47.06ch4>
- Ducasse, A. M., & Brown, A. (2009). Assessing paired orals: Raters' orientation to interaction. *Language Testing*, 26(3), 423–443. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0265532209104669>
- Ellis, N. C., Simpson-Vlach, R., & Maynard, C. (2008). Formulaic language in native and second language speakers: Psycholinguistics, corpus linguistics, and TESOL. *TESOL Quarterly*, 42(3), 375–396. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1545-7249.2008.tb00137.x>
- Laufer, B., & Waldman, T. (2011). Verb-noun collocations in second language writing: A corpus analysis of learners' English. *Language Learning*, 61(2), 647–672. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9922.2010.00621.x>
- Naismith, B., & Juffs, A. (2025). The impact of collocational proficiency features on expert ratings of L2 English learners' writing. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0272263125000075>
- Paquot, M., & Granger, S. (2012). Formulaic language in learner corpora. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 32, 130–149. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0267190512000098>
- Paquot, M., & Naets, H. (2025). Phraseological sophistication as a multidimensional construct: Exploring the relationship between association, register specificity and frequency of word combinations. In T. Larsson & D. Biber (Eds.), *Cumulative knowledge building and replication in Learner Corpus Research. International Journal of Learner Corpus Research*, 11(1). <https://doi.org/10.1075/ijlcr.23033.paq>
- Paquot, M., Gries, S. Th., & Yoder, M. (2020). Measuring lexicogrammar. In P. Winke & T. Brunfaut (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of second language acquisition and language testing* (pp. 223–232). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351034784-25>
- Thwaites, P. (2024). *Comparative judgement for advancing research in applied linguistics*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rmal.2024.100142>
- Verhavert, S., Bouwer, R., Donche, V., & De Maeyer, S. (2019). A meta-analysis on the reliability of comparative judgement. *Assessment in Education: Principles, Policy & Practice*, 26(5), 541–562. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0969594X.2019.1602027>
- Xu, J. (2018). Measuring “Spoken Collocational Competence” in Communicative Speaking Assessment. *Language Assessment Quarterly*, 15(3), 255–272. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15434303.2018.1482900>

La relation partie/tout et la structure russe « У X есть Y »

Les relations intrinsèques et extrinsèques

Tatiana Dumont

Dans cette communication, je propose d'aborder une construction du russe contemporain « у X есть Y » (« u X est' Y »), littéralement « chez un X, il y a Y ». Généralement associée au verbe « avoir » en français, elle exprime l'idée de possession.

L'intérêt de cette structure est qu'elle couvre une grande variété de cas sémantiquement hétérogènes et que le verbe peut être soit présent, soit absent. Elle peut ainsi concerner les objets matériels, des relations sociales, des états psychiques, des processus temporels ou encore des modalités. Or, la question de la présence ou de l'absence du verbe *есть* reste peu ou mal expliquée, aussi bien dans les manuels de russe que dans les travaux théoriques. C'est ce manque théorique qui m'a conduit à faire de « у X есть Y » l'objet central de mon travail.

L'hypothèse que je formule est la suivante: la présence ou l'absence du verbe *есть* dans cette structure ne dépend pas d'un seul paramètre, mais résulte d'un ensemble de facteurs sémantiques. Parmi ceux-ci, le type d'inaliénabilité joue un rôle dominant, en particulier dans le cas de l'inaliénabilité absolue. En revanche, l'inaliénabilité relative implique une variation plus subtile et peut dépendre de la perspective adoptée, de l'accent mis sur l'existence ou sur la nature de l'élément, ou encore de l'intention communicative. C'est précisément cette complexité, et la pluralité des paramètres en jeu, que je cherche à éclairer dans ce travail.

Pour explorer cette hypothèse, je m'appuie sur des exemples tirés du *Russian National Corpus*, incluant des extraits de presse, de littérature et des interactions en ligne. Ces exemples sont classés selon deux critères fondamentaux: (a) relations intrinsèques, où Y est une partie stable ou essentielle de X et (b) relations extrinsèques, où Y est rattaché à X de manière circonstancielle ou temporaire. La classification met en valeur les relations sémantiques hiérarchisées, allant des exemples où l'élément Y fait partie de l'identité ou de la constitution du référent X à ceux où Y n'est qu'un élément circonstanciel, temporairement rattaché à X.

Les résultats provisoires montrent que la structure possessive russe « у X (есть) Y » ne se limite pas à exprimer la possession matérielle mais qu'elle constitue un marqueur syntaxique de la relation partie/tout, relation dont les manifestations sont multiples et variées.

L'étude apportera un éclairage nouveau sur la compréhension de la mise en forme de la relation de possession en général et en russe en particulier.

Références:

- Aristote (? /1879), *Métaphysique*, livre V, traduit en français par Jules Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire, Paris Librairie Germer-Baillière et Cie.
- Bally Ch. (1926), « L'expression des idées de sphère personnelle et de solidarité dans les langues indo-européennes. » In *Festschrift Louis Gauchat* ; Franz Franhauser & Jud Jakob (eds) p68-78.
- Benveniste Émile (1966), *Problèmes de linguistique générale* t1, Gallimard
- Cruse David Alan (1986), *Lexical Semantics*, Cambridge University Press.

- Cruse, David Alan (2000), *Meaning in Language : an Introduction to Semantics and Pragmatics*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2e edition.
- Dubois Jean, Giacomo-Marcellesi Mathée, Guespin Louis, Marcellesi Christiane, Mevel Jean-Pierre, (2012), *Le Dictionnaire de linguistique et des sciences du langage*, Paris: Larousse.
- Ferreira M., (2005), *Event Quantification and Plurality*: Ph. D. dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 138 p.
- Geller James, Rush C., Liu Li-Min, Halper M., Perl Y. (2001), « Ownership Semantics in the Financial Domain », New Jersey Institute of Technology
- Halliday M.A.K., Hasan Ruqaiya (1976), *Cohesion In English*, Longman Group Ltd.
- Herslund Michael (1983), "Le datif de la possession inaliénable en français", in M.Herslund, O. Mordrup et F. Sorensen (éds.): *Analyses grammaticales du français. Études publiées à l'occasion du 50e anniversaire de Cari Vikner*. Copenhagen, 99-115.
- Husserl Edmond (1900/1962), *Recherches logiques*. Tome 2. *Recherches pour la phénoménologie et la théorie de la connaissance*. Recherches III. De la théorie des tous et des parties, traduit de l'allemand par Hubert Elie, Arion L. Kelekel et René Scherer, Presses Universitaires de France.
- Jacquino Bernard (1981), « La notion de possession inaliénable et les langues classiques. » in : *L'Information Grammaticale*, N. 10, pp. 12-16.
- Jakobson, Roman, 1971 [1963]. *Parts and Wholes in Language*, in *Selected Writings 2*, 's-Gravenhage, Mouton, 280-284
- Leoni Federico Albano. *Les parties et le tout : Jakobson, Husserl et la phonologie*. In: *Histoire Épistémologie Langage* tome 37, fascicule 1, 2015. *Le tout et ses parties. Langue, système, structure*. pp. 27-42
- Lyons John (1977), *Semantics*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Milliaressi Tatiana (2015), *Aspects et temporalité*, Presses Universitaires du Septentrion.
- Nagel Ernest (1952), *Wholes, Sums, and Organic Unities in Philosophical Studies: An International Journal for Philosophy in the Analytic Tradition*, Vol. 3, No. 2 Feb., Columbia University, pp. 17-32.
- Orlov Pavel (2020), « La possession inaliénable en russe relève-t-elle toujours de la possession? », *ELAD-SILDA*, 4, Université Jean Moulin Lyon-3.
- Riegel Martin, (1984), « Pour une redéfinition linguistique des relations dites de «possession» et d'«appartenance» », *L'Information Grammaticale*, Volume 23, Numéro 1, pp. 3-7.
- Salles Mathilde, (1995), *La relation lexicale partie-de (Implications dans la phrase et le texte)*, Université de Caen.
- Saussure Ferdinand (1957) , *Les Sources manuscrites du Cours de linguistique générale*, Droz-Minard,, p.220.
- Seiler H.-J. (1983), *Possession as an Operational Dimension of Language*, Tübingen : Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Winston Morton E., Chaffin Roger, Herrmann Douglas, (1987), « A Taxonomy of Part-Whole Relations. », *Cognitive Science*, 11(4):417–444.
- Ю.Д. Апресян (1995), «Образ человека по данным языка. Попытка системного описания.», *Вопросы языкознания* N1 : 37-67.
- Н. Арутюнова, (1976), *Предложение и его смысл. Логико-семантические проблемы*, Издательство «НАУКА» Москва.
- Л.О. Вольт (1963), «Соотношение структуры и элементов», *Вопросы философии* N°5, p.45
- В.Г. Гак (1973), «Высказывание и ситуация», *Проблемы структурной лингвистики*, Издательство «Наука», pp.349-372.

- В.Г. Гак (1968), Проблемы лексико-грамматической организации предложения (на материале французского языка в сопоставлении с русским). Автореферат дисс. ...докт. филол. наук. М., 1968.
- А. В. Головачева, Вяч. Вс. Иванов (отв. ред.), Т. Н. Молошная, Т. М. Николаева, Т. Н. Свешникова (1989), Категория посессивности в славянских и балканских языках. М.: "Наука".
Национальный корпус русского языка [Электронный ресурс]. URL: <http://www.ruscorpora.ru>
- Сушкова Ирина Михайловна (2017), «Значение отторжимой/неотторжимой принадлежности как семантическая оппозиция в сфере посессивности», Филологические науки. Вопросы теории и практики Тамбов: Грамота, 2017. № 10(76): в 3-х ч. Ч. 2. С. 156-159. ISSN 1997-2911. Адрес журнала: www.gramota.net/editions/2.html
- Учебный фразеологический словарь. — М.: АСТ. Е. А. Быстрова, А. П. Окунева, Н. М. Шанский. 1997.
https://phraseologiya.academic.ru/342/%D0%B4%D1%83%D1%88%D0%B0_%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%B0%D1%81%D0%BF%D0%B0%D1%88%D0%BA%D1%83#sel=10:1,10:17
- Большой Энциклопедический словарь. 2000.
Большой фразеологический словарь русского языка. М.: АСТ-Пресс. Е.Н. Телия. 2006.

Évaluer les connaissances et compétences traductives autrement

Tiffany Jandrain

La crise sanitaire mondiale due à la pandémie du Covid-19 a imposé notamment une reconsidération à grande échelle des pratiques d'enseignement et, *a fortiori*, d'évaluation, et la discipline de la traduction n'a pas fait exception. En effet, l'élaboration et la tenue d'épreuves traductives en distanciel ont suscité réflexions et adaptations à bien des égards, qui, par ailleurs, peuvent toujours rester d'application.

Cette communication vise à présenter une épreuve que nous avons complètement repensée dans ce contexte dans le cadre de notre cours d'initiation à la traduction du russe vers le français (en nous basant sur Delisle (2003)). Plus précisément, nous avons conçu un test sur la plateforme d'e-learning Moodle qui avait pour objectif d'amener les étudiants, au travers de questions à choix multiples et de questions de traduction précises, à réfléchir au processus de traduction plutôt que de se concentrer uniquement au produit traductif. En effet, au lieu de demander aux étudiants de traduire de manière classique un texte à distance sans que nous puissions vérifier l'utilisation (pourtant prohibée) ou non d'outils traductifs tels que des traducteurs automatiques, facilement accessibles en ligne, il nous est apparu plus intéressant de cibler des connaissances et compétences traductives précises, à l'aune des discussions qui s'étaient tenues préalablement en classe sur la traduction à vue (c'est-à-dire la traduction orale d'un texte écrit, « hybride » entre traduction et interprétation (Dragsted & Hansen, 2009)).

Après la présentation des questions que nous avons conçues, la communication se penchera sur l'analyse des résultats à l'épreuve obtenus par les étudiants (n = 14). Il en est ressorti que ces derniers ont été plus performants lorsqu'ils devaient proposer eux-mêmes la traduction de phrases isolées (= questions de traduction) plutôt que lorsqu'ils devaient choisir des traductions adéquates parmi celles que nous propositions (= questions à choix multiples). La question portant sur du contenu théorique n'a, quant à elle, été correctement répondue que dans 28 % des cas. En d'autres termes, les étudiants ont semblé éprouver plus de difficulté à répondre à des questions suscitant un regard critique sur le processus de traduction lui-même plutôt qu'à traduire des phrases *ex nihilo*, un constat, à notre sens, digne d'intérêt au vu notamment de l'évolution fulgurante des technologies pouvant être utilisées à des fins traductives. Il est à noter également que cette épreuve a eu une influence positive sur les résultats des étudiants (n = 9) ayant aussi présenté par la suite trois épreuves de traduction à vue, mais cette corrélation est faible (r = 0,229) (Levshina, 2015).

Si cette étude reste exploratoire, elle soulève des pistes qu'il nous semble intéressant d'explorer dans les réflexions pédagogiques que peut avoir tout enseignant en traduction, d'autant plus dans un contexte de plus en plus technologique et numérique.

Références :

- Delisle, J. (2003). *La traduction raisonnée. Manuel d'initiation à la traduction professionnelle de l'anglais vers le français* (2^e éd.). Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa.
- Dragsted, B., & Hansen, I. G. (2009). Exploring translation and interpretation hybrids. The case of sight translation. *Meta*, 54(3), 588-604. <https://doi.org/10.7202/038317ar>

Levshina, N. (2015). *How to do linguistics with R: Data exploration and statistical analysis*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

La phrase interrogative dans le Foreigner Talk en français

Nore Van den bergh - Bert Oben - Karen Lahousse

Cette recherche se penche sur l'acte interrogatif dans le registre du Foreigner-Talk : une forme d'adaptation linguistique adoptée par les locuteurs natifs (L1) lorsqu'ils s'adressent à des locuteurs non natifs (L2), dans le but de faciliter la communication (Ferguson 1971 ; Fischer 2016). Ces ajustements sont analysés à travers la Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) (Giles et al. 2023) et de l'hypothèse du Least Collaborative Effort (Bortfeld C Brennan 1997), qui postulent respectivement que les locuteurs ajustent leur discours en fonction de leur interlocuteur, et que les partenaires de communication cherchent à optimiser l'effort cognitif global.

La question principale de cette recherche est de savoir si un locuteur natif du français modifie sa manière de poser des questions selon qu'il s'adresse à un autre locuteur natif ou à un locuteur non natif. L'analyse se concentre sur six aspects : la fréquence des questions, leur forme (intonation, inversion, *est-ce que*, etc.), leur type (questions totales, partielles, alternatives), leur type sémantico-pragmatique (questions référentielles, questions d'affichage / de feedback, reformulations), ainsi que leur co-occurrence avec des marqueurs discursifs et des gestes.

Le corpus étudié, publié par Prové, Oben et Feyaerts, comprend 30 entretiens de neuf minutes : 20 entre L1 et L2, et 10 entre deux L1. Les données, totalisant 558 questions, ont été annotées à l'aide du logiciel ELAN, puis enrichies manuellement avec des informations linguistiques et multimodales.

Selon l'analyse de variance unidirectionnelle (ANOVA), les résultats indiquent que les locuteurs natifs posent significativement plus de questions lorsqu'ils interagissent avec des locuteurs non natifs ($p = 0.003$), ce qui corrobore l'hypothèse du Least Collaborative Effort : les locuteurs natifs assument davantage la charge interactionnelle pour faciliter la communication. En revanche, aucune différence significative n'a été observée en ce qui concerne la forme ou le type des questions, ce qui nuance les prédictions de la Communication Accommodation Theory.

Un usage accru de questions de feedback a toutefois été observé dans le contexte de FT, en particulier des confirmation checks (ex. : « Tu veux dire... ? ») ($p = 0.001$), ainsi qu'un recours plus fréquent aux reformulations ($p = 0.003$). De plus, les locuteurs natifs utilisent davantage de gestes déictiques lorsqu'ils s'adressent à des locuteurs non natifs ($p = 0.028$). Ces résultats confirment partiellement la CAT.

Les hypothèses fondées sur la littérature existante, la CAT et le Least Collaborative Effort, sont donc partiellement confirmées. Certaines adaptations sont manifestes, tandis que d'autres font défaut. Cela peut s'expliquer en partie par l'automaticité de certains éléments linguistiques en français (comme les marqueurs discursifs), moins susceptibles d'être modifiés consciemment dans le cadre du FT, ou par l'homogénéité relative de l'échantillon (principalement des femmes âgées de 18 à 26 ans) et leur niveau de compétence linguistique élevé (B1–B2). Néanmoins, cette étude met en lumière la richesse de l'acte interrogatif dans le FT et son potentiel pour des recherches futures, notamment à travers une présentation qui offrira une analyse quantitative complète, accompagnée de descriptions qualitatives permettant de mieux cerner la fonction du comportement d'adaptation.

References :

Bortfeld, Heather, et Susan E. Brennan. « Use and Acquisition of Idiomatic Expressions in Referring

- by Native and Non-Native Speakers ». *Discourse Process* 23, n° 2 (1997):116-47. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01638537706544686>.
- Ferguson, Charles A. 1971. « Absence of Copula and the Notion of Simplicity : A Study of Normal Speech, Baby Talk, Foreigner Talk and Pidgins » . Dans *Pidginization and Creolization in Language*, édité par Dell Hymes, 115-23. Cambridge : University Press.
- Fischer, Kerstin. 2016. *Designing Speech for a Recipient: The Roles of Partner Modeling, Alignment and Feedback in so-Called « Simplified Registers »*. 1e éd. Pragmatics beyond. New Series 270. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Giles, Howard, America L. Edwards, et Joseph B. Walther. « Communication Accommodation Theory: Past Accomplishments, Current Trends, and Future Prospects ». *Language Sciences* 66 (septembre 2023): 101571. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langsci.2023.101571>.
- Prové, V., Oben, B. C Feytaerts, K. 2024. « Beyond Foreigner Talk: multimodal repertoires in L1-L2 interaction ». KU Leuven RDR. doi: 10.48804/97XF7F.
- Wittenburg, P., Brugman, H., Russel, A., Klassmann, A., Sloetjes, H. 2006. « ELAN: a Professional Framework for Multimodality Research ». Dans *Proceedings of LREC 2006*, Fifth International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation.

The Effectiveness of Everyday Linguistic Agency: Reconceptualizing Self-Advocacy Among People with Physical Disabilities

Cato Denissen

This article reconceptualises self-advocacy for people with physical disabilities, arguing it serves as a powerful everyday linguistic strategy to proactively shape social environments. The existing literature often presents self-advocacy through vague concepts, predominantly focusing on organisational contexts, healthcare, and special needs education, or portraying people with physical disabilities as passive recipients of care (Anderson and Bigby, 2017, p. 115; Sebag, 2010; Wehmeyer et al., 2000). This approach overlooks their agency and fails to address immediate, real-life scenarios such as navigating public spaces or seeking assistance.

To address these gaps, this study undertakes an extensive literature review (252 pieces initially, 32 included) and integrates authentic input from focus groups of 35 people with physical disabilities that was gathered through a questionnaire and interviews. The reconceptualisation proposes that self-advocacy is a dynamic and multifaceted practice grounded in language and everyday interaction, built upon four interrelated building blocks:

Intrapersonal awareness: This involves understanding one's own emotions, strengths, weaknesses, and self-worth (Khan & Moin, 2016, p. 590), and recognising that disability and associated stigmas are socially constructed rather than inherent limitations. This helps individuals view self-advocacy as a purposeful action towards autonomy, not a sign of dependence.

Interpersonal awareness: This entails understanding how others perceive and respond to situations involving disability (Khan & Moin, 2016, p. 590), including potential hesitation or uncertainty from non-disabled individuals. Recognizing these dynamics enables strategic navigation of social interactions, fostering shared responsibility for inclusion.

Communicative competence: Defined as the ability to effectively understand and use language in authentic social situations (Hymes, 1972, p. 277, qt. in Carranza, 2017, p. 123), this includes initiating contact, clearly expressing needs, requesting accommodations, and responding to misconceptions. It bridges the gap between others' willingness to help and the provision of effective support.

Disclosure strategies: These are critical for managing how and when individuals share information about their disability to achieve personal and social goals, preferably framed with approach-goals to foster positive outcomes (Chaudoir and Fischer, 2010, p. 8; Omarzu, 2000, p. 174). This transparency empowers the person with a disability and increases the confidence of non-disabled individuals in responding appropriately.

By focusing on language as a medium of agency and these (linguistic) components, this study offers a novel perspective that exceeds structured contexts, allocates proactive communicative responsibility to people with physical disabilities, and breaks away from outdated narratives of dependency and incapability. This approach aims to transform

potential moments of exclusion into opportunities for connection, cooperation, and empowerment in everyday life. While the current elaborations are mainly theoretical, future research should explore the effectiveness of specific linguistic formulations and develop hands-on training programmes.

References:

- Anderson, S., and Bigby, C. (2017). Self-advocacy as a means to positive identities for people with intellectual disability: 'We just help them, be them really.' *Journal of Applied Research in Intellectual Disabilities* 30 (1), 109-120.
- Carranza, V. A. (2017). What is language for sociologists? The variationist, ethnographic, and conversation-analytic ontologies of language. *Linguistic online* 83(4), 115-131. <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=664573439005>
- Chaudoir, S. R., and Fischer, J. D. (2010). The disclosure processes model: Understanding disclosure decision-making and post-disclosure outcomes among people living with a concealable stigmatized identity. *National Institute of Health Public Access*. Author manuscript, available in PMC 2011, 1-38. Published in final edited form as: *Psycho Bull* 136 (2), 236-256. Doi: 10.1037/a0018193.
- Kahn, T. H., and Moin, F. (2016). Effect of intrapersonal and interpersonal awareness dimensions of emotional intelligence on stress management of adolescents. *International Journal of Applied Research* 2(10), 589-592. <https://www.allresearchjournal.com/archives/2016/vol2issue10/PartI/2-10-98-431.pdf>
- Miller, L. A., et al. (2022). (Re)defining their place at the table: Frank discussions by adults with disabilities on contemporary self-advocacy. *Journal of Applied Research in Intellectual Disabilities* 35 (3), 777-788.
- Omarzu, J. (2000). A disclosure decision model: determining how and when individuals will self-disclose. *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 4(2), 174-185.
- Sebag, R. (2010). Behavior Management Through Self-Advocacy: A Strategy for Secondary Students With Learning Disabilities. *Teaching Exceptional Children* 42 (6), 22-29.
- Wehmeyer, M. et al. (2000). Promoting Causal Agency: The self-determined Learning Model of Instruction. *Exceptional Children* 66 (4), 439-453.

Think before you speak. How ‘re-entrance’ might be keeping us from falling into communicative chaos

Anthe Sevenants - Dirk Speelman - Freek Van de Velde - Dirk Pijpops

Frequency effects are a key aspect of language change. One example is the reducing effect described by Bybee (2003), where frequent constructions become phonetically reduced over time (e.g., *I don't know* becomes *dunno*). High-frequency constructions reduce more severely and quickly due to “neuromotor automation” (Bybee 2003), as speakers become more practiced in their pronunciation. While empirical studies support the reducing effect, corpora do not reveal the causality behind these patterns. We do not know, for example, how speakers avoid miscommunication and maintain communicative success during reduction.

To find the requirements for the reducing effect, we use computer simulations with virtual language users, or ‘agents’. These communicate on the basis of simple, local rules. Our goal is to identify the necessary conditions for our agents to exhibit reduction, with the same properties as those found in corpus data, while maintaining communicative success. In our model, virtual speakers use constructions following a natural language distribution: a few highly frequent constructions and many infrequent constructions. Each agent has a memory of constructions represented by vector representations (cfr. Baeviski et al. 2020), which are compared during communication using cosine distance metrics to determine the ‘heard’ constructions.

To simulate acoustic information loss, speakers can reduce the values in an exemplar’s vector, leading to more efficient representations over time. Our simulations identified five essential requirements for reduction to occur as seen in empirical studies:

1. Spontaneous reduction of forms by language users.
2. A shared vocabulary among users.
3. Vocabulary frequency following Zipf’s law (Zipf 1965).
4. The ability to remember multiple forms of the same word (“exemplars,” Pierrehumbert 2001).
5. Speakers checking if they would understand a reduced form before using it.

Without spontaneous reduction, no reduction happens. Without a shared vocabulary, communication is impossible. Without Zipf’s law, reduction strength does not vary with frequency as described by Bybee (2003). Without the capacity to remember multiple forms, representations of frequent constructions evolve too rapidly, leading to unstable and unsuccessful communication.

The final requirement is the most interesting theoretically. Without it, reduced constructions are often confused with the most frequent construction. This happens because as the acoustic representations become sparser, the same constructions now have to compete for a smaller total acoustic space. In this busy phonetic space, frequent constructions with many exemplars quickly dominate, leading to communicative confusion.

This communicative confusion can be avoided by making speakers check first whether they would correctly categorise the reduced form they are about to speak themselves. If not, the reduction process is reversed. This simple step, called “re-entrance” by Steels (2003), avoids most wrong classifications and is roughly related to interchangeability as

defined by Hockett & Hockett (1960): hearers can become speakers, and hearers can become speakers. This requirement highlights how defining principles of human communication may also define its further evolution. More generally, the interaction of our five simple requirements proves that even complex behaviour can be brought back to a few simple defining features.

References:

- Baevski, Alexei, Henry Zhou, Abdelrahman Mohamed & Michael Auli. 2020. wav2vec 2.0: A Framework for Self-Supervised Learning of Speech Representations. arXiv. <https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.2006.11477>.
- Bybee, Joan. 2003. *Phonology and Language Use*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hockett, Charles F. & Charles D. Hockett. 1960. The Origin of Speech. *Scientific American*. Scientific American, a division of Nature America, Inc. 203(3). 88–97. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24940617>. (27 May, 2025).
- Pierrehumbert, Janet B. 2001. Exemplar dynamics: Word frequency, lenition and contrast. In Joan Bybee & Paul J. Hopper (eds.), *Frequency and the Emergence of Linguistic Structure* (Typological Studies in Language), vol. 45, 137–158. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. (7 February, 2024).
- Steels, Luc. 2003. Language re-entrance and the 'inner voice'. *Journal of Consciousness Studies*. US: Imprint Academic 10(4-5). 173–185.
- Zipf, George Kingsley. 1965. *The Psycho-Biology of Language*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Evolving motivations in Chinese heritage language learning: A semi-longitudinal qualitative study

Jiayin Zhang

Motivation is a central concern in heritage language (HL) learning and has been linked to both ethnic identity and language proficiency. Ethnic identity itself constitutes a key source of motivation in HL learning (Te Huia, 2017). Many HL learners report studying their heritage language to communicate with family members and explore their ethnic roots (Park, 2024). Although L2 motivation research has increasingly adopted dynamic perspectives that emphasize developmental change over time (Ushioda, 2021), such approaches remain rare in HL contexts. In particular, little is known about how motivation unfolds among Chinese heritage language learners (CHLLs) in multilingual European settings, or how ethnic identity and perceived proficiency interact with their motivational profiles. This study investigates how the motivation of CHLLs develops over time and how ethnic identity and perceived proficiency contribute to shaping that motivational process.

Fifteen CHLLs enrolled in Chinese-related university programs in Flanders, Belgium, participated in semi-structured autobiographical interviews at the beginning of the 2024 academic year. Participants were encouraged to reflect on their Chinese learning histories, including how their motivation developed from childhood through university. Written follow-up reflections were collected seven months later to trace motivational changes and validate the initial interview interpretations through member checking. This study employed a hybrid thematic analysis approach that integrates both deductive and inductive strategies (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006), informed by the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009) and the Ethnic Identity Scale (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004). While the coding was theoretically guided, emergent patterns were grounded in participants' narratives.

Findings show that many participants demonstrated a transition from early externally oriented motivation, such as a sense of obligation to family or community (*Ought-to HL Self*), to more internalized aspirations for native-like proficiency and cultural belonging (*Ideal HL Self*) during university. Ethnic identity resolution, including both self and other perception, significantly shaped motivational trajectories.

This study contributes to HL motivation theory by highlighting its dynamic, contextualized nature. Pedagogically, the study calls for HL instruction that nurtures learners' sensitivity to their ethnic identity, cultivates a strong sense of proficiency ambition, and responds to stage-specific motivational needs as learners transition across life phases and social roles.

References:

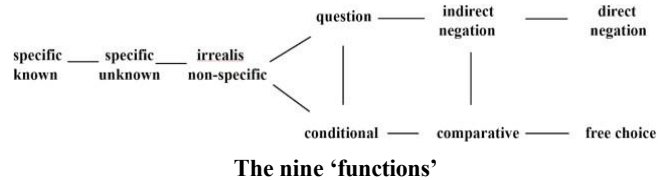
- Dörnyei, Z. (2005). *The psychology of the language learner: Individual differences in second language acquisition*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2009). *The psychology of second language acquisition*. Oxford University Press.

- Fereday, J., & Muir-Cochrane, E. (2006). Demonstrating rigor using thematic analysis: A hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding and theme development. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5, 80-92. <https://doi.org/10.1177/160940690600500107>
- Park, M. Y. (2024). Heritage language use and identity construction: A study of two Korean-American bilingual adolescents. *Darnioji Daugiakalbystė*, 24, 1–22.
- Te Huia, A. (2017). Exploring the role of identity in Māori heritage language learner, motivations. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 16(5), 299–312. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2017.1319282>
- Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Yazedjian, A., & Bámaca-Gómez, M. (2004). Developing the ethnic identity scale using Eriksonian and social identity perspectives. *Identity*, 4(1), 9–38. https://doi.org/10.1207/S1532706XID0401_2
- Ushioda, E., & Dörnyei, Z. (2021). *Teaching and Researching Motivation* (3rd ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351006743>

Splitting the Haspelmath indefiniteness functions

Johan van der Auwera

Haspelmath's *Indefinite Pronouns* (1997) proved to be a milestone study: methodologically, it set a standard for the use of 'classical' semantic maps in typology, and it had and continues to have a strong impact on studies of indefiniteness, both typological and language-specific ones, functional as well as formal. The semantic map with its nine 'functions' has proven to be robust, yet it can be improved. Different from earlier proposals to improve the map, I start from the general worry that it is not sufficiently clear what the map points, the 'functions', represent: '[they] often seem to be just different CONTEXTS rather than different MEANINGS' (Haspelmath 1997: 59; see also Denić *et al* 2022: 3). Thus the use of the label 'conditional' for *anyone* in (1) arguably makes sense as a statement about a context, whereas the use of the label 'free choice' for (2) arguably refers to the meaning of *anyone*.



- (1) If *anyone* calls, let me know. 'conditional'
 (2) *Anyone* can see that. 'free choice'

Furthermore, for the use of *any* in (3), the label 'irrealis non-specific' seems to tell us about both a context and a meaning.

- (3) Talk to *anyone*! 'irrealis non-specific'

In the spirit of e.g. Aguilar Guevara *et al.* (2011: 3) I will require functions to specify both the meaning of the indefinite pronoun on its own and its context, and I will furthermore require the function to tell us about the 'constructional meaning', i.e., the result of the interaction of the context and the meaning of the indefinite. It turns out that this requirement will split most of the 'functions'. Thus, the 'direct negation' function will be split in three.

(4)		context	meaning of the indefinite	
			on its own	in its context
a.	I saw <i>no one</i> .	positive	negative	negative
b.	I didn't see <i>anyone</i> .	negative	non-specific	negative
c.	I ain't seen <i>no one</i> .	negative	negative	negative

In the presentation I will motivate two more splits. The first one will split up the conditional and question functions and will take care of the distinction illustrated in (5).

- (5) a. Unicorns are mythical beast: if Joan sees *any*/??*some*, I'll eat my hat.
 b. If John sees *some*/??*any* goldfish in that tank, it's not surprising: there are lots.

I thus disagree with Haspelmath (1997: 82), who explicitly decides against reflecting this distinction on the map because it would relate to a dimension that is different from the one mapped. The second split concerns the 'specific unknown' function. The split is to

take care of the influential observation by Kratzer & Shimoyama (2002) on German *irgend* that its specific function can express ignorance as well as indifference.

- (6) *Irgenjemand* hat angerufen
‘Someone has called’
a. the speaker does not know who
b. the speaker knows who it was but considers this irrelevant

The new map will be more complex, but also more adequate, both from a descriptive and an explanatory point of view.

References:

- Aguilera Guevara, Ana, Maria Aloni, Angelika Port, Radek Šimik, Machteld de Vos & Hedde Zeijlstra. 2011. Semantics and pragmatics of indefinites : Methodology for a synchronic and diachronic corpus study. In *Beyond semantics: Corpus-based investigations of pragmatic and discourse phenomena*. Stefanie Dipper & Heike Zinsmeister, eds., Bochum: Bochumer Linguistische Arbeiten, 1–16.
- Denić, Milica, Shane Steinert-Threlkeld & Jakub Szmanik. 2022. Indefinite pronouns optimize the simplicity/informativeness trade-off. *Cognitive Science* 46(3). <https://doi.org/10.1111/cogs.13142>
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1997. *Indefinite pronouns*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kratzer, Angelika & Junko Shimoyama. 2002. Indeterminate pronouns: the view from Japanese. In *The proceedings of the third Tokyo conference on psycholinguistics*. Ukio Otsu, ed., Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo. <http://semanticsarchive.net/Archive/WEwNjc4Z/>

‘euh *allee* hoe heet dat’ The use of the pragmatic marker *allee* in contemporary spoken Dutch by university students

Line Winkelmans

Research on pragmatic markers such as *well*, *you know* or *like* has surged over the past thirty years, but much of the field has been rather anglocentric. Since the turn of the century, the research scope has been broadened to also include quite a few other languages as well as contrastive studies of pragmatic marker usage. To date, however, research on pragmatic markers in Dutch has remained rather scarce. Apart from more extensive accounts on markers such as *dus*, *toch*, *wel* or *eigenlijk* (see e.g. Buysse 2023, Foolen 2006, Hogeweg 2009, Van Bergen et al. 2011), many other frequently used markers in spoken Dutch are underexplored.

This study focuses on how native speakers of Dutch use one such marker, viz. *allee*. Anecdotal evidence suggests that *allee* is on the rise in spoken Belgian Dutch, but no research has yet explored its full functional scope (with the notable exception of two Master’s theses – Declercq 2022 and Verhelst 2016 – and an exploratory study by Kloots 2007). The data consist of 15 recorded dyad conversations between 2nd- and 3rd-year BA students of Linguistics C Literature who are native speakers of Dutch. Each conversation contains approximately 30 minutes of spontaneous talk, amounting to a total of 7.5 hours of data. Quantitative and qualitative analyses will empirically show how *allee* is used in contemporary spoken Belgian Dutch by university students.

Preliminary results demonstrate that *allee* occurs 427 times in the Dutch corpus, making it one of the most prominent pragmatic markers in the data. Contrary to other frequently used Dutch markers such as *wel*, *dus* and *of zo*, *allee* does not have a clear formal equivalent in English. Nevertheless, *allee* fulfils various functions that are also expressed by pragmatic markers in English. For example, a speaker may use *allee* to repair or elaborate their previous utterance or to express hesitation in looking for the right words. This presentation will expound on the various functions of *allee* in the corpus, their frequencies and the contextual environments in which they surface.

References:

- Buysse, L. (2023). Counterexpectational translations: The Dutch markers *toch* and *eigenlijk* contrasted with their English correspondents. *Contrastive Pragmatics*, 4(2), 178–212.
- Declercq, F. (2022). “*Allee hup*”: *Allee in spontaan gesproken Nederlands. Een semantisch-pragmatisch onderzoek naar de betekenissen en het gebruik van allee in Vlaams-Nederlandse reality-tv*. [Master’s thesis, UGent].
- Foolen, A. (2006). Polysemy patterns in contrast: The case of Dutch *toch* and German *doch*. In K. Aijmer, C.A.-M. Simon-Vandenberg (Eds.), *Pragmatic Markers in Contrast*, 59–72.

- Hogeweg, L. (2009). The meaning and interpretation of the Dutch particle *wel*. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41(3), 519–539.
- Kloots, H. (2007). ‘Allee, wat was het weer?’ Het tussenwerpsel ‘allee’ in spontaan gesproken Standaardnederlands. *Over Taal*, 4c(1), 17–19.
- Van Bergen, G., Van Gijn, R., Hogeweg, L., C Lestrade, S. (2011). Discourse marking and the subtle art of mind-reading: The case of Dutch *eigenlijk*. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(15), 3877–3892.
- Verhelst, A. (2016). “*Allee het begint wee zenne*”: *Allee as a discourse marker in Dutch*. [Master’s thesis, KU Leuven].

The development of attitudes towards Dutch accents in monolingual and bilingual 4-to 8- year-old children

Anne-France Pinget - C Tom St Pierre

In the Netherlands, as in many societies, people often regard the dominant, standardized language variety as more prestigious and desirable, but in some contexts, non-standard accents might be viewed more favorably (e.g., sounding friendlier). The questions of when children acquire these attitudes, and the factors that influence their development, are still poorly understood. In the current study, we examined the development of language attitudes in 4- to 8- year-old Dutch children, and how they might vary based on children's sociolinguistic environment.

A total of 297 primary school children took part in a cross-sectional study. Approximately half of the participants were tested in the northwestern province of Fryslân (N=149), and the other 148 children in the Randstad region. In the Randstad, Standard Dutch predominates, while Fryslân is a complex multilingual situation. The children from Fryslân were exposed at home to Frisian only, Dutch only, or a mix of Dutch and Frisian.

First, we wanted to examine children's preferences for standard accents in formal contexts. To do this, children completed a teacher preference task. In each trial, children heard two voices, one who spoke in a Standard Dutch accent, and another who spoke with a non-standard accent (either Frisian, Limburgian or Moroccan). After hearing each pair of voices, children were asked to choose who they would prefer as a teacher. Across both regions, the youngest children (ages 4 and 5) showed no clear preference pattern, but from 5-years-old onwards, there was a significantly growing preference for Standard Dutch speakers, especially when contrasted with Moroccan and Limburgian Dutch. However, we did also find differences between regions. Specifically, Frisian children's preference for Standard Dutch developed significantly later than for children raised in the Randstad. Moreover, young monolingual Dutch children in Fryslân showed greater preferences for standard-accented speakers than bilingual peers.

Second, we investigated the extent to which children associate different varieties with different attitudinal dimensions. Children completed a verbal guise task, where they evaluated the voices of other children. In each trial, children heard another child speak in one of four accents (see above) and rated how 'nice' and 'smart' they sounded on a three-point Likert scale. Results showed that the younger children tended to rate all children very positively without distinctions of scale or accent. Older children tended to differentiate between accents. They gave higher ratings for Frisian Dutch and Standard Dutch than for the other varieties, but there was no systematic difference between the power (smart) and solidarity (nice) scales.

Overall, the results are consistent with the idea that attitudes towards accent variation emerge gradually alongside the understanding of how variation is used meaningfully within children's environment. The beginning of primary school (at the age of 4 in the Netherlands) appears to be a crucial moment for this developmental stage. At age 7-8, children show

preferences that parallel adult patterns, but they have not yet integrated more complex dimensions of sociolinguistic awareness.

On the semantics of two ‘turn out verbs’: French *s’avérer* and Spanish *resultar*. An interesting subclass of achievements

Ana Stulic - Patrick Dendale

‘Turn out verbs’ came into the picture around 2019 when they were categorized as *markers of evidentiality* by scholars in many languages (Nuyts 1994 for *blijken*; Tobback & Lauwers 2012 for *s’avérer*; Cornillie 2007 for *resultar*) and/or as *markers of mirativity* (e.g. Bomans 2019, Mortelmans 2022 for Dutch; Serrano-Losada 2017 for English and Spanish). These categorizations fail, however, to capture the core meaning of this class of verbs. *Turn out* verbs have been shown not to be evidentials (Author 2024), compatible as they are with all sources of information. And mirativity, we will argue here, is not a systematic property of them neither.

The question then is: what do these verbs express? And to what verb class do they belong?

To answer these questions, we studied the properties of the *turn out* verbs *s’avérer* and *resultar* through a systematic study plus targeted searches of authentic examples from corpora within SketchEngine. Our analysis shows that *s’avérer* and *resultar* are in fact “dynamic appear/appearance verbs” having the following specific properties within that class:

(A) **Aspectual-cognitive properties:** like *appear (on stage)*, they are *achievements* (Vendler 1957) – *dynamic, telic, instantaneous* events – by which knowledge, established as true, appears publicly. This amounts to a *change of state* (Smith 1979:30) in knowledge, by which a *resulting state* (“known and established as true”) contrasts with a *source state*, which can be qualified by the context as either “unknown” (1), “plausible/possible but not yet established true” (2)-(3), or “wrongly established as true” (4):

- (1) **Il s’est avéré qu’**un stagiaire avait oublié de finaliser l’enregistrement au niveau du comptoir. (ftt23)
- (2) Au final, il **s’est avéré que** mon premier choix était le bon. (ftt23)
- (3) Leyéndolo me venían ecos de otros cuentos leídos que no acababa de identificar [...] y después buscando **resulta que** eran del mismo autor. (estt23)
- (4) Todo parecía haberse cerrado, cuando de repente **resultó que** no. (estt23)

Turn out verbs further presuppose a preparatory event (Martin 2011), not integrated in their meaning (as it is with *accomplishments*), that will be shown to be twofold. (B) **Syntactico-semantic properties:** *s’avérer* and *resultar* have only one syntactic argument, one thematic role, a Theme (Gruber 1965). They have no Agent nor Experiencer (Fillmore 1968) in their case structure, unlike e.g. *apprendre* (Experiencer) or *comprobar* (Agent). The Theme of these verbs is necessarily realized by a ‘third-order entity’ (Lyons 1977), a piece of knowledge and/or abstract proposition. The properties under (B) explain why these verbs, with this meaning, only appear: either in impersonal constructions with extraposed subject (1)-(4), or in (copular or semi-auxiliary) raising constructions (not illustrated above).

(C) **'Alethic' properties** (i.e. "having to do with truth"): the emerging knowledge is presented as *(established) true* (cf. French *avéré* means "verified and proven true"), "impersonal" (i.e. not linked to the speaker nor a specific individual/group) and valid for an unspecified time span from the time of its emergence onwards.

The proposed analysis can also explain why these verbs have been considered evidential markers by so many scholars and will show where the mirativity of these verbs resides and does not reside.

References:

- Bomans, C. (2019). On the development of *blijken* and *turn out*: How did these verbs become linguistic markers of surprise? Poster presented at *A Germanic Sandwich* 2019. Amsterdam, 23-24 May 2019.
- Cornillie, B. (2007). *Evidentiality and Epistemic Modality in Spanish (Semi-)Auxiliaries*. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Fillmore, Ch. (1968). The case for case. In: Bach, E. & Harms, R. T. (Eds.), *Universals in Linguistic Theory* New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1-90.
- Gruber, J. S. (1965). *Studies in lexical relations*. PhD, Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics, Cambridge, MA: MIT.
- Lyons, John. (1977). *Semantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Martin, F. (2011). Revisiting the difference between accomplishments and achievements. In: J. Mortelmans, T. Mortelmans, and W. de Mulder (eds), *From Now to Eternity*. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, 43-64. (Cahiers Chronos 22).
- Mortelmans, T. (2022). *Blijken*: Een evidentieel-miratieve outsider: Een corpusanalyse op basis van het CGN. *Nederlandse Taalkunde*, 27, 3, 293-327.
- Nuyts, J. (1994). *Layered Structures and Control in Language and Conceptualization*. Antwerp, University of Antwerp.
- Piñón, Chr. (1997). Achievements in an Event Semantics, *Semantics and Linguistic Theory. Proceedings of SALT 7*, 277-293.
- Serrano-Losada, M. (2017). On English *turn out* and Spanish *resultar* mirative constructions. A case of ongoing grammaticalization? *Journal of Historical Linguistics*, 7, 160-189.
- Smith, C.S. (1979). *The Parameter of Aspect*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Sketch Engine, Create and search a text corpus, <https://app.sketchengine.eu>.
- Tobback, E. & Lauwers P. (2012). Une analyse en miroir de deux semi-copules évidentielles: *s'avérer* et *se révéler*. *Revue romane*, 47, 49-75.
- Vendler, Z. (1957). Verbs and Times. In: Z. Vendler (1967). *Linguistics in Philosophy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 97-121.

How to Make a Semantic Dictionary of Spanish Causative Verbs: Design, Progress, and Roadmap of an Ongoing Lexicographical Project

Ernesto Wong García

This talk presents the ongoing lexicographical project “Diccionario Semántico de Verbos Causativos del Español (DIVERCE)” (Wong García, 2022). Founded on a semantic model of causality (Wong García, 2020) that synthesises and expands on classic knowledge in cognitive semantics (Talmy, 2000), and applying established and relevant lexicographical theory (Atkins & Rundell, 2008; Dickerson et al., 2004; Porto Dapena, 2002; Rasmussen, 2014), DIVERCE will be a digital semantic and ideographic dictionary of Spanish causative verbs, aimed at Spanish-speaking users, native or otherwise. The main goal so far has been designing the dictionary’s macrostructure (overall organisation, including access routes) and microstructure (local organisation, entry structure). This has involved the selection of an initial lexicon through analysis of lexicographical definitions in two main sources (Moliner, 2008; Real Academia Española, 2014), the semantic decomposition of selected verbs using a sufficiently expressive apparatus based on the adopted model, verifying specific meanings in a reference corpus (Real Academia Española, 2021), and creating the end-user profile needed for a functional approach to lexicography. This work has allowed us to design the dictionary’s database—a complex relational database built on SQL, although migration to the free and open-source MySQL is planned—that will contain all the information provided by the dictionary. DIVERCE will offer a detailed description of the semantic field of causative verbs in Spanish, which will be useful as both a reference tool and an instrument for hypothesis formation and testing. Other uses could be found in corpus annotation and, combined with a reasoning system, in Natural Language Processing.

References:

- Atkins, B. T., & Rundell, M. (2008). *The Oxford Guide to Practical Lexicography*. Oxford University Press.
- Dickerson, M., Oliver, D., & Skipper, J. (2004). Semantic Dictionary and Concept Model. *INSIGHT*, 7(2), 21–28. <https://doi.org/10.1002/inst.20047221>
- Moliner, M. (2008). *Diccionario de uso del español (versión 3.0)* (Edición electrónica). Gredos.
- Porto Dapena, J.-Á. (2002). *Manual de técnica lexicográfica*. ARCO/LIBROS, S.A.
- Rasmussen, S. (2014). Los aspectos metalexicográficos de un diccionario semántico. Reflexiones en torno a un diccionario semántico de los verbos españoles. In G. Wotjak (Ed.), *Estudios de lexicología y metalexicografía del español actual* (pp. 38–62). Max Niemeyer Verlag.

- Real Academia Española. (2014). *Diccionario de la lengua española | Edición del Tricentenario*. <https://dle.rae.es/>
- Real Academia Española. (2021). *Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI (CORPES XXI)*. <http://www.rae.es/banco-de-datos/corpes-xxi>
- Talmy, L. (2000). Force Dynamics in Language and Cognition. In *Toward a Cognitive Semantics* (Vol. 1, pp. 409–470). The MIT Press.
- Wong García, E. (2020). Aspectos de un modelo semántico de la causalidad. *Signos Lingüísticos*, XVI(31), 8–43.
- Wong García, E. (2022). Planta del Diccionario semántico de verbos causativos del español (Diverce). *Lingüística y Literatura*, 43(81), 156–175. <https://doi.org/10.17533/udea.lyl.n81a07>

Split intransitivity in Pamir languages: A lexical approach.

Daria Chistiakova - An Van Linden

This paper presents a study of split intransitivity (SI) within three closely related and mutually intelligible languages: Bartangi, Shughni and Rushani (Iranian, Indo-European). It investigates the lexical distribution of simple intransitive verbs in these languages with a special focus on cognate verbs. The data for this study were collected in the field through elicitation (2022-2025), with stimuli based on existing dictionaries; the original questionnaire comprised 371 entries.

This study focuses on the lexical distribution of cognates and shows that even cognate verbs in closely related languages may belong to different classes. A closer study of the discrepancy in lexical distribution points toward diachronic changes and allows us to trace shifts in alignment, leading to the changes and sometimes even loss of the SI system in modern languages.

In Bartangi, SI is observed in the past tenses (Karamkhudoev (1973), Edelman (1990), who, however, did not label it as SI), where both A and P are marked for oblique case (1a); S_A also receives oblique case (1b), whereas S_P is marked for direct case (1c). Subject agreement clitics further differentiate S_A and S_P: the transitive clitic (=af 3PL.TR) is used in (1a) and (1b), while the intransitive clitic (=an 3PL.ITR) appears in (1c).

(1) Basid Bartangi

a) Transitive:

uf=af	dim	vār	na-ḏō-d
D3.PL.OBL=3PL.TR	D2.F.SG.OBL	strength	NEG-give-PST
‘They didn’t handle it’ (Sokolova 1960:34).			

a) Intransitive, S_A-verb:

uf=af	kata	ruz	fis-t
D3.PL.OBL=3PL.TR	whole day	blow_nose	PST
‘They (S _A) were blowing their noses all day’ (elic. 2024).			

b) Intransitive, S_P-verb:

wāḏ=an	ar	yi	zul	čūd	wīz-d
D3.PL.DIR=3PL.ITR	DOWN	INDEF	small	house	fit-PST
‘They (S _P) fit into the small house’ (elic. 2024).					

However, the two morphosyntactic manifestations of SI in Basid Bartangi, as well as the entire tense-based split alignment system, are becoming obsolete (Payne 1980).

For this study, comprehensive lists of simple intransitive verbs were collected in four lects (Shughni, Rushani and two dialects of Bartangi). The resulting inventories share a significant number of cognates: out of 371 entries, 137 are cognates preserved in all four lects and 107 are found in two or three lects. However, the cognates do not always end up in the same verb class. For instance, in Shughni, certain verbs such as *čiktow* ‘leak’ and *waštow* ‘to wave hands while walking’, behave as S_A-verbs, whereas in Bartangi the cognates of these verbs behave as S_P-verbs. Moreover, some verbs may end up in

different classes in the same language when classified by verbal agreement and case-marking separately.

To explain these findings, this study adopts a diachronic perspective, analysing the development of SI in modern Shughni-Rushani as a result of a broader diachronic shift in alignment. The alignment system is levelling toward accusativity, in line with a general trend observed across many Iranian languages. As a result, SI in modern Shughni-Rushani languages is weakening – not through a uniform collapse, but via divergent developments in its two morphosyntactic loci. These changes can be traced through comparison of SI lexical inventories across closely related languages.

References:

- Edelman J. 1990. *Sravnitel'naya grammatika vostochnoiranskih yazykov. Morfologiya. Elementy sintaksisa* [Comparative grammar of Eastern Iranian languages. Morphology. Elements of syntax], Moscow: Nauka.
- Karamhudoev N. 1973. *Bartangskiy yazik*. [Bartangi Language], Dushanbe: Donish.
- Payne, J. 1980. The decay of ergativity in Pamir languages // *Lingua*. V. 51: 147–186.
- Sokolova, V. 1960. *Batangskie teksty i slovar'* [Bartangi Texts and a Dictionary]. Moscow, Russia.