

# LinGhentian Doctorials

## 4<sup>th</sup> edition

# BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

Wednesday 17 and Thursday 18 March 2021

Online conference

## Overview of sessions

*Click on a session to be directed to the corresponding page*

Session 1 – Language and the law.....	4
Session 2 – Language in discourse.....	7
Session 3 – Experimental methods in language studies.....	15
Session 4 – Communication and the workplace.....	21
Session 5 – Language productivity .....	25
Session 6 – Language in education .....	32
Session 7 – Typology and language contact.....	37

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## Overview of presenters

*Click on an author's name to be directed to the corresponding page*

**Alger, Mari** "I took physical lessons for granted": A case study exploring students' interpersonal interactions in online synchronous lessons during the outbreak of COVID-19

**da Silva, Bruna** Specialized digital frame-based lexicography from a perspective of dictionary use research

**Daveloose, Eline** Playing ping-pong with *ce* in Cappadocian: From simple connective to continuative/topic-shifting connective as an example of functional transfer from Turkish

**De Baets, Greet** Recipient design in intercultural business communication: Aikido as litmus test

**De Soete, Alexander** Studying multilingualism in South African tertiary education: Mixed-method approaches to translanguaging research

**Disseldorp, Jorge** Migration discourse: Discursive 'othering' in the press, a theoretical perspective

**Goddaert, Seppe** Science as a means or an end: The construction of science in a multiorganizational, citizen science context

**Huang, Haiyan** Subversive gender performativity? Gender identity construction and gender norms embodiment by the Chinese e-commerce livestreamer Lipstick King Jiaqi Li

**Ilioaia, Mihaela** *Plăcea* 'please' – a tendency toward canonical marking of subjects in Romanian?

**Jacobs, Marie** "Is this what I said?": On the entextualisation of asylum narratives within legal consultations

**Magistro, Giuseppe** Experimental approaches to diachronic pragmatics: A case study

**Reynaert, Ryan** The construction of ordinariness in interpreter-mediated police interviews with suspects

**Seynhaeve, Shauny** Interaction in online classes: The experience of newly arrived migrant students

**Slim, Mieke** Are logical representations quantifier-specific? Evidence from priming for a non-quantifier-specific representation of scope

**Soens, Ellen** Social media guidelines in the workplace: Stimulating or restricting employee social media use?

**Somers, Joren** Investigating the productivity of the Dat-Nom/Nom-Dat construction in German and Icelandic

**Van den Heede, Margot** *Het interesseert me geen ene je-weet-wet*. Minimizing strategies in present-day Dutch

**Van Hulle, Sven** 25 ways to start an event in Spanish: The productivity of the inchoative construction

**Verkest, Sofie** Speaking the language: Looking for interpretive decisions of expert sources in the news production process

# Session 1 – Language and the law

Wednesday 17 March 2021, 12:00-13:00, Zoom

## **“Is this what I said?”: On the entextualisation of asylum narratives within legal consultations**

Marie Jacobs

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Mobility characterises every aspect of the life of asylum seekers. People who apply for international protection have often been “on the run” for a long time after fleeing their home countries. Accordingly, the biographical accounts of asylum seekers are characterised by geographical references and by details of their travel routes. These stories, in turn, travel through the asylum procedure and they pass several bureaucratic institutions along the way (Maryns 2006). In this presentation, I argue that the institutional contexts in which asylum seekers and other stakeholders tell (and retell) asylum narratives leave a mark on the form and the content of the narrative. Focusing on a particular segment of the Belgian asylum context, I aim to shed light on the textual trajectory, which I will call “the entextualisation”, of asylum narratives. In doing so, I will draw upon audio-recordings of legal consultations, which were gathered during linguistic-ethnographic fieldwork at law firms specialised in immigration law. Data from asylum encounters are inherently of a multilingual nature: my corpus contains consultations in a lingua franca (English, French or Dutch) as well as interactions in which an interpreter is present.

The sociolinguistic analysis of lawyer-client interaction reveals how much of the early interaction between client and lawyer is centered around one written document, an official report constituted on the basis of the first asylum interview. In focusing on the pivotal status that this written record occupies, it becomes clear that entextualisation shapes legal service provision during the asylum procedure. The entextualisation complicates the local lawyer-client interaction, creates discursive ambiguity about speaker roles, and in this way, evokes questions of authorship. Interestingly, the analysis shows that asylum seekers display an emic awareness around the transformative nature of the entextualisation as well as about the dangers it entails. In some cases, the asylum seekers question (or even resist) the power imbalance, that speaks from the way in which institutional actors have the authority to reformulate their asylum narrative (Briggs & Bauman 1990; Silverstein & Urban 1996).

To conclude, I will reflect on how entextualisation disqualifies and sometimes even erases asylum seekers' voice, a practice which raises questions about the way in which the procedure considers asylum seekers to be the sole responsible for their testimony (Jacobs & Maryns 2021).

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## The construction of ordinariness in interpreter-mediated police interviews with suspects

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In the Belgian judiciary, police interviews with suspects involve the complex discursive task of transforming a suspect's oral narrative account into a written record. Although such statement is supposed to be written down as much as possible in the suspect's own words (Komter, 2002), the written record usually provides a summarized version of the talk which is interactionally negotiated by police authorities throughout the interview (Mason & Rock, 2019).

In multilingual interview settings, these interactional dynamics are complicated even further by the presence of an interpreter, since dialogue interpreters are known to actively coordinate the interaction and co-construct meaning, instead of acting as mere translation machines (Wadensjö, 1998). In line with a growing awareness of pragmatics in legal interpreting (e.g., Jacobsen, 2010; Gallai, 2017; Nakane 2020) our research project zooms in on interpreter-initiated pragmatic interventions by discussing their effect on the construction and perception of a suspect's identity in police interviews, as well as at further stages of the criminal process. In particular, we adopt an ethnomethodological perspective on identity as a context-bound, interactional performance in order to investigate suspects' seemingly continuous effort to depict themselves as 'ordinary people' throughout the police interview.

Our analysis draws on 11 video recordings of authentic interpreter-mediated police interviews with suspects involved in criminal procedures as well as marriage fraud investigations. These recordings, which were collected between 2014 and 2019, are transcribed following Jefferson's (2004) transcription conventions and furthermore accompanied by their corresponding written records. Through a combination of conversation-analytic tools (membership categorization), discourse analysis and narrative analysis, our study examines i) how suspects and police officers produce conflicting narratives based on the different (cultural) assumptions they hold about ordinary people, events, behaviour, etc., and, more specifically, ii) to what extent interpreters engage in the construction of such conflicting versions of (extra)ordinariness.

In this talk, we will focus on the construction of ordinariness by means of pragmatic markers (*just, only, merely*). A preliminary analysis of our data reveals that interpreters appear to repeatedly add such pragmatic items in their renditions of a suspect's statement. By doing so, interpreters seem to evoke the image of a suspect who is actively involved in minimizing the seriousness of the criminal events, although an equally strong inference cannot always be drawn from the suspect's original narrative account.

Nevertheless, ordinariness markers frequently end up in the written record as a trustworthy representation of the suspect's version of events. As such, the inclusion of pragmatic items in the written record potentially causes far-reaching consequences for the suspect. The written record in fact serves as a basis for judicial authorities' decision-making and plays a crucial role in the evaluation of a suspect's credibility, among others (De Keijser, Malsh et al., 2012). We argue that a written record which revolves around ordinariness discursively emphasizes an attempt to mitigate crime. As a result, these subtle pragmatic alterations are likely to reshape judicial authorities' perception of the suspect's identity and, to some extent, prevent the suspect from establishing full credibility for the alleged crime(s).

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## Session 2 – Language in discourse

Wednesday 17 March 2021, 14:00-16:10, Zoom

### Speaking the language: looking for interpretive decisions of expert sources in the news production process

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Do scientists and journalists speak the same language? Accuracy, for example, can take on a different meaning in a scientific article than it does in a journalistic article, often resulting in a great deal of frustration (Jaspers, 2014; Maier et al., 2016; Reed, 2001). Despite these frustrations, however, these professional groups appear to have a relative symbiotic relationship in which they appear to be partly dependent on each other for their success (Albæk, 2011; Briggs & Hallin, 2016; Hansen, 1994; Peters, 1995). This is not unproblematic, on the one hand journalists are sometimes accused of being insufficiently critical of scientists (Murcott & Williams, 2013). On the other hand, mediatisation seems to have penetrated deeply into scientific institutions and media attention and communication skills are increasingly seen as a form of power (Møller Hartley, 2017; Peters, 2013; Peters et al., 2008).

Research into the interaction between journalists and expert sources, like scientists, often focuses on the interpretative decisions journalists make in processing and entextualising information (Bauman & Briggs, 1990; Beeman & Peterson, 2001; Jacobs et al., 2008; Peterson, 2001; Van Hout & Burger, 2017). In this paper, we do not focus on the journalist as an interpretive actor, but

on the interpretive decisions made by the expert sources in preparation of and during conversations with journalists. We do this by investigating a case in which a newspaper, university and environmental government agency set up citizen science project that engaged 20.000 volunteers to measure air quality data in front of their doorstep. These data were then analysed by the university and government agency, the results of which were covered extensively by the newspaper involved. We approach this case from a linguistic ethnographic perspective, as the author conducted seven months of fieldwork behind the scenes of the project and was able to join several of the meetings between the scientists, and between scientists and journalists.

We look at our case through the lens of Bourdieu's field theory (Bourdieu, 2005), allowing us to see how the respective fields of science and journalism relate to one another and how players in those fields position themselves in relation to each other. We do this by looking for linguistic and metapragmatic features, typical of news and academic language. This way we aim to gain more insight in the interpretive decisions of expert sources, like scientists, in the news production process.

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## Migration Discourse: Discursive 'Othering' in the Press, a Theoretical Perspective

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In the run-up to the 2016 UK-held EU referendum, immigration featured as one of the leading topics for the political campaigns as well as the British press. In various studies into immigration-related press coverage in British national newspapers, a gradual increase in the volume of immigration-related press coverage has been observed (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Khosravinik, 2010b; William, 2016), which seems to have its origins in the second half of the 1990s. Attitudes in the British press on immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees since (and before) this period are predominantly characterized by their negative stance (Berry, Garcia- Blanco, & Moore, 2015; Blinder & Allen, 2016; Buchanan & Grillo, 2004; Clark & Campbell, 2000; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Greenslade, 2005; Khosravinik, 2009; Moore & Ramsay, 2017). As however overtly racialized differentiations based on somatic phenotypical differences run directly counter to the outward projection of a pluralistic and ideologically anti-racist society, the negative representations of immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees emphasize putative naturalized cultural differences between in- and out-groups that consequently are used to legitimize (the call for) stricter migration legislation/policies (Fox, Moroşanu, & Szilassy, 2012; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wał, 2002).

In the current phase of my research, I am focusing on theoretical frameworks by which to analyze the discursive techniques and strategies that are part of immigration discourse in the (British) press, and that are more specifically common to press portrayals of immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees. As a theoretical basis, I rely heavily on some of the central assertions to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), in which the dialectic nature between discourse (as a concrete linguistic manifestation) and ideology (as an abstract macro-level sense-making system) are emphasized, and in which “[d]iscourse and ideology are (partially) constituted by each other as well as constituting one another (Khosravinik, 2010a, pp. 60–61). Discourse is thus seen in CDA and analyzed as a social practice, in which the historical, social, and political context in which texts are embedded influence the content and discursive structures of these texts, as well as vice versa, discourse contributing to the societal structures of this context (Khosravinik, 2014; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Van Dijk, 1991). Van Dijk (1991) describes the centrality of positive Self-presentation and negative Other-presentation to immigration discourse to legitimize and justify more macro-level exclusionary practices. Various CDA-based studies building on this basic ‘positive-Self’ and ‘negative-Other’ distinction have proposed a variety of analytical tools for the textual analysis of the discursive manifestation of ethno-racist discrimination focusing on questions of which social actors are present in texts (inclusion/exclusion), what traits are attributed to them, the argumentation schemes that are applied to legitimate exclusionary practices, and the type of positioning that occurs in texts (Khosravinik, 2010a; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Van Dijk, 1991; van Leeuwen, 1996). I will attempt to present some of the central notions present in these different frameworks, and how they help to theorize the discursive construction of immigration and immigrants in press discourse. This is intended to form part of the basis of the methodology for the textual analysis of my own corpus at a later stage of my research.

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## Science as a means or an end: the construction of science in a multiorganizational, citizen science context

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Within the current climate of democratization of science, the process of politicization often influences the general public debate. Politicization happens when actors emphasize the uncertainty inherent to (a part of) science, which can prevent the construction of a consensus (Bolsen & Druckman, 2015). To counteract this destabilization, in this case in the field of environmental science, some governments and organizations use citizen science to create participation and consensus through democratization of the scientific process (Wesselink et al, 2011), where citizen science is “the process whereby citizens are involved in science as researchers” (Conrad & Hilchey, 2011: 274). And while we often see the results of such processes of participation, consensus formation and politicization in citizen science, the process itself has largely avoided scrutiny, which forms the base of this research, using the Brussels Clean Air Project as a focus. It is a large project organized by the Environmental Department of Brussels and financed by an international philanthropic organization, with partners in different societal fields, such as education, research facilities and citizens' movements. The focus is on creating broad awareness of the consequences of air quality on the quality of life and general health. This focus includes education, starting at the age of 6, which educational materials going up until the age of 15.

The method of science democratization mentioned earlier, called ‘citizen science’, is meant to allow communities to understand scientific processes and, through enhanced knowledge, make more informed decisions (Brossard et al, 2005). While citizen science can be seen as a new and popular source of public participation, policy makers and other stakeholders sometimes end up overwhelmed by the results of their endeavors to motivate the public to participate (Wesselink et al, 2011). Policymakers use it as they strive to make decisions that are justified, credible and form a barrier to future criticism, effectively instrumentalizing participation through public debate (Wesselink et al, 2011). However, democratization of science also brings forth a large amount of relatively divergent opinions, which makes any form of policymaking hard to justify in the end (Wesselink et al, 2011).

Most citizen science projects work together with citizens to achieve scientific results and provide scientific knowledge to participants through practice. The Brussels Clean Air project, the core project this research is based on, has broadened its scope, choosing primary and secondary school education as a strong focus. (Science) teachers generally aim to teach their pupils how to critically approach data and scientific methods, and citizen science allows these pupils to achieve these goals in the field. When schools take part in these citizen science projects, pupils are motivated to take part in the public debate, thinking and debating on matters of science, with *Bildung* as its guiding framework. *Bildung* is a German term which denotes the importance of autonomy, critique and self-reflection in an atmosphere of participation in (science) education (Sjöström et al, 2016). The goal of this kind of education is to form pupils into critical thinking citizens through a reflexive process and, by doing so, strengthening the quality of the public debate (Sjöström 2016).

While a lot of research has been done on politicization and instrumentalization of science and its results, the process itself has remained under the radar. In this paper, we aim to find out how politicization of science affects consensus construction and science education within the context of a Brussels-based, government-led, multiorganizational, citizen science project, the Brussels Clean Air project. This project involves an international philanthropic organization, universities, educational agencies, citizens' movements, etc. It aims to measure air quality in Brussels, make people aware of the concept of air quality and educate children and teens in the process of (environmental) science, with all of this leading to possible policy changes. Our linguistic ethnographic dataset consists of interviews with actors within these different cooperating organizations on their work and views on science, observations of their internal and external meetings and teacher-training science education seminars on air quality education for children age 6 to 15, with differentiation. These data have been gathered through recordings (into transcriptions) and/or ethnographic fieldnotes and even self-recordings after the events.

Preliminary findings indicate that the educators in this project are particularly mindful of the Bildung-principle, while other parties would make science more explicitly political in education. The education agency would prefer to teach pupils correct scientific methods and allow them to critically reflect through induction, while the most vocal citizens' movement, an organization consisting of mostly citizen volunteers and one employee, would prefer to make explicit the link between science and socio-political and environmental goals.

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## Subversive Gender Performativity? Gender Identity Construction and Gender Norms Embodiment by the Chinese E-commerce Livestreamer Lipstick King Jiaqi Li

Haiyan Huang, Katrien De Graeve and Ellen van Praet

*Department of Translation, Interpreting and Communication*

This paper focuses on the nationwide famous e-commerce livestreamer Jiaqi Li in China to explore if his non-normative gender practices (e.g., putting on lipstick and makeup) are truly of subversive value and contribute to challenging conventional gender binaries widely upheld in Chinese society. The findings of this paper are expected to contribute to current gender studies in the following two aspects. Firstly, Although the global trend of 'beauty boys' (male beauty vloggers, youtubers and livestreamers) is on the rise, their presence is still under-researched (Wang, 2019). The question whether their practices are subversive parodies or merely publicity stunts is yet to be answered. A critical exploration of Li's discourse then can provide us an account of the subversion potential beauty boys may carry. Secondly, the beauty consumption of Chinese women—the group that constitutes Li's target audience is under-researched despite a gradually increasing attention paid to it (e.g., Yang, 2011; Chang & Ren, 2016; Meng & Huang, 2017; Wu & Dong, 2019; Yang, 2020). We thus seek to critically analyze Li's discourse and unveil indigenous gender issues (e.g., gendered consumption) that are subject to the impacts of Chinese local socio-economic background and modernization processes (Peng, 2020).

We treat Li's success as a discursive site and adopt purposive sampling to exemplify the key features of multiple layers of Li's discursive practices. The data selected are more illustrative than definitive (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). We selected data with the criterion that the discourse is related to his gender identity construction and his ideology of gender norms. The eventual corpus consists of Li's discourse narrated in his e-commerce livestreaming sessions, the theme song *Buy It* for his livestreaming room as well as interviews with Li. We then adopt Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a framework to analyze the data at three levels—text, discourse practice, and socio-cultural context—and the dynamic interplay among them (Fairclough, 2001).

Three distinctive themes are distilled and analyzed: deliberate self-distancing from "feminine" practices of using makeup, metrosexuality as a reworked version of masculinity, objectification and sexualization of women. Situating these findings in the socio-economic background of modern China and in the context of e-commerce livestreaming as a new media genre, we can conclude rather than challenging the existing gender binaries, his gender performativity is more of consumerist value than subversive significance. His destabilizing gender practices enabled by the platform performativity is to attract attention; the strong commodification of womanhood (e.g., encouraging women to possess femininity through consuming beauty products) he purports is conditioned and fueled by the increasing patriarchal technocrat governance and social class inequalities (Meng & Huang, 2017; Chang, Ren & Yang, 2018). We thereby propose that researching gender issues in contemporary China requires textual level analyses to generate fine-grained findings as well as the accommodation of macro socio-economic context that conditions and sustains the discourse under investigation (Blommaert, 2005).

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## Session 3 – Experimental methods in language studies

Wednesday 17 March 2021, 16:20-17:50, Zoom

### Experimental approaches to diachronic pragmatics: a case study

Giuseppe Magistro

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Italian and other Italo-Romance varieties, like the Venetan ones *inter alia*, can deploy the pragmatic particle *mica* (or related variants) in order to deny a proposition in the communicative common ground (Frana & Rawlins 2019; cf. also Cinque 1976, Zanuttini 1997). As is cross-linguistically common for such elements, *mica* (literally 'crumb') first started life as a minimizer, denoting the lowest point on a pragmatic scale, and then turned into a negative polarity adverb carrying a conventionalized implicature through reanalysis (see Breitbarth et al. 2020 for a detailed review). Cross-linguistic evidence has reported cases where this process eventually led to the promotion of the original minimizer to the function of standard negation (see, for example, French *pas*). It has also been proposed that this grammaticalization process, which forms the first half of a development known as Jespersen's cycle (Dahl 1979), starts with negation taking scope over explicit predicate of the common ground and gradually extends to more implicit semantic content until the new negator was able to deny completely new predicates (Blaxter & Willis 2018, Larrivé 2020). Some quantitative surveys, mainly based on historical corpora, support this analysis (Hansen & Visconti 2009). Nonetheless, the current stage of Jespersen's cycle in Italian and Northern Italian Dialects has been mainly assumed with impressionistic intuitions and syntactic tests by researchers. When asking to speakers, grammaticality judgements are puzzling and there emerges no clear-cut picture of *mica* in the grammaticalization cline. We aim at addressing these issues, by supporting such theoretical foundations with experimentally verifiable research.

Before applying any experimental methodology to Italo-Romance dialects, which can be more problematic (displaying more internal variation and orthography issues), we started with Italian, which is a more standardized variety of Italo-Romance. We created an experiment on Psytoolkit (Stoet 2010, 2017), where speakers were asked to judge 50 target dialogues and 14 fillers on a Likert Scale ranging from 1 (not acceptable at all) to 7 (completely acceptable). Overall, 25 negative sentences had *mica* denying an explicit semantic content introduced previously (1) in the dialogue and 25 negative sentences with *mica* with no explicit deniable utterance (2). Except for the training items (inserted to establish a ceiling and floor level of acceptability), all items were randomized each time. In order to implement the acceptability judgements and to gain more insight about the rating choice, reaction times were also measured. Here, to prevent slowdown effects given by the introduction of new referents in the discourse, we kept similar semantic fields.

1. A: *Ti è piaciuta la pizza?* 'Did you like the pizza?'  
B: *Non ho mica mangiato la pizza.* 'I haven't had pizza at all'
2. A: *Che è successo?* 'What happened?'  
B: *Non ho mica mangiato la pizza.* 'I haven't had pizza at all'

Our results empirically confirmed the theoretical assumptions made so far in the previous literature (Cinque 1976): when *mica* would deny old content (ex.1), it scored 6 or 7 on average, i.e. they were considered highly or totally acceptable. On the contrary, those sentences with *mica* in non-presuppositional contexts (ex. 2) had lower ratings, namely 3 or 2, i.e. almost unacceptable. This result was also confirmed with regression techniques, which showed that the estimated rating would drop by -3.40 with a significance of  $p < 0.001$  when *mica* is used as standard negation. Furthermore, some sentences occupy a medial position (rating 4-5) when presuppositional

accommodation could have been engendered via presupposition triggers (discourse markers, future, etc.). For these particular items, reaction times were also significantly higher than in those items that were rated as perfectly acceptable or completely unacceptable ( $p < 0.001$ ). We believe these exceptions can be the footprint of more transitional stages, where the grammaticalization process is still ongoing. Under this light, Italian *mica* might be advancing in the grammaticalization cline towards more implicit scope.

Not only was this experiment useful in quantifying abstract and “armchair linguist” hypotheses, but it also promises new experimental possibilities in capturing the change in progress along the continuum. Hence, we propose that the application of such methodology to similar languages at different stages of the change, like Venetan dialects, can be useful to capture the nature of graduality and ongoing reanalysis.

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## Are logical representations quantifier-specific? Evidence from priming for a non-quantifier-specific representation of scope

Mieke Sarah Slim, Peter Lauwers and Robert J. Hartsuiker

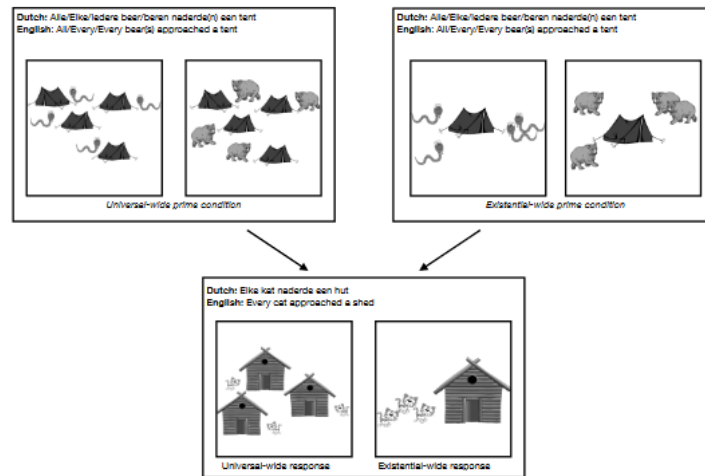
*Department of Experimental Psychology*

Scopally ambiguous sentences (e.g., *Every bear approached a tent*) allow two scopal configurations: a *universal-wide* (wide scope *every*: every bear approached a different tent) and an *existential-wide* configuration (wide scope *a*: every bear approached the same tent). The assignment of scope is mentally represented in logical representations. A key question about these mental logical representations is whether scope is represented following quantifier-specific scope-taking operations or following quantifier-general scope operations. This question is relevant because quantifiers differ from each other in their scope-taking biases (e.g., *each* is more likely to take wide scope than *all*, Ioup, 1975). A way to investigate this question is by using the *structural priming paradigm*. Priming refers to the often-observed effect that language users have the tendency to repeat the structure that they recently encountered. This effect is assumed to emerge because it is easier to recompute representation that were previously used. Therefore, priming can indicate which parts of (linguistic) representation are *shared* between prime and target structures (see e.g., Branigan & Pickering, 2017 for review). Feiman and Snedeker (2016; henceforth F&S) previously used the structural priming paradigm to test whether logical representations specify the assignment of scope quantifier-specifically. They observed that logical representations are only susceptible to priming if prime and target contained the same quantifiers. This finding indicates that logical representations are differentiated according to quantifier-specific scope-taking mechanisms. Otherwise, priming between quantifiers would be expected.

We replicated F&S's study in Dutch. Dutch quantifier words are slightly different than English quantifier words. More specifically, the Dutch distributive quantifiers *iedere* and *elke* are closer in meaning than their rough English translation equivalents *each* and *every*. Our original aim was therefore to test whether priming emerged between *elke* and *iedere*. However, the outcome of Exp. 1 led us to re-examine F&S's hypothesis that logical representations are quantifier-specific. We used sentence-picture matching tasks to elicit priming of logical representations in language comprehension (similar to F&S; Fig. 1). Prime sentences either had the form *elke...een* ('every...a'), *iedere...een* ('every...a') or *alle...een* ('all...a'). Target sentences were always *elke...een*. In Exp. 1 ( $n=188$ ), we manipulated Prime Quantifier (*elke*, *iedere*, *alle*) between participants (following F&S). The results of Exp. 1 revealed priming from *elke* to *elke*, but also between the different quantifiers *alle* and *elke*. There was no priming between *iedere* and *elke* (Fig. 2). Given these inconclusive results, we ran a replication (Exp. 2;  $n=180$ ) in which Prime Quantifier was manipulated within participants. Exp. 2 showed priming in all conditions (with no differences in the magnitude of the effect; Fig. 3). This finding contrasts with F&S's hypothesis. Rather, people seem to generalise in scope assignment across different quantifier words if they are exposed to similar interpretations of different quantifier words. Note that the contrasts between F&S's findings and our findings is likely not due to the difference in language tested in both studies (Dutch vs English). Like English quantifiers, Dutch quantifiers differ from each other in scope-taking behaviour (*elke* and *iedere* are more likely to take wide scope than *all*, e.g., Dik, 1975). Therefore, it is more likely that these differences are due to differences in experimental design (We further tested this hypothesis in Experiment 3, which corroborated the finding that logical representations can be primed both within and between quantifiers. Unfortunately, I will not have the time to discuss Experiment 3 in much detail).

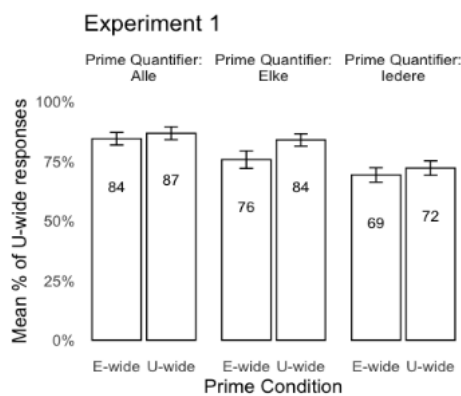
Altogether, our results therefore suggest that the absence of between-quantifier priming does not denote a quantifier-specific representation of scope assignment. Rather, people seem to generalise across the scope-taking behaviour of different quantifiers if they are exposed to the scope-taking behaviour of multiple quantifiers. Therefore, we conclude that logical representations do not involve a quantifier-specific representation of scope assignment: Quantifiers bias us towards the construction of a particular logical

representation, but logical representations themselves do not specify quantifier-specific scope-taking mechanisms.

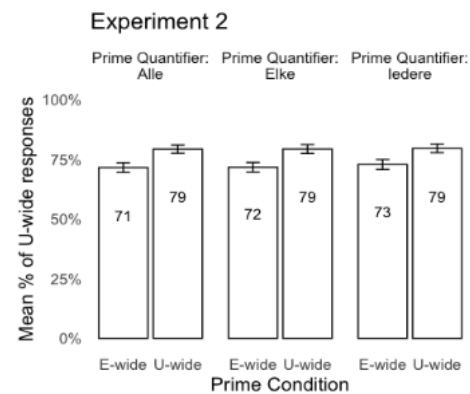


**Fig. 1.** Example of a prime-target trial of the sentence-picture matching tasks used in Experiments 1-3. Participants matched the sentence with one out of the two pictures. In the primes, they were forced to select one interpretation, in the targets, they could choose between both interpretations.

Prime sentences always involved one universal quantifier (*elke, iedere* or *alle*). The labels *Universal-wide prime*, *Existential-wide prime*, *Universal-wide response* and *Existential-wide response* and the English translations are added to this figure for ease of illustration.



**Fig. 2.** Percentage of u-wide target choices per Prime Quantifier and Prime Condition configuration in Exp. 1. Logit mixed-effect models comparisons revealed a main effect of Prime Condition ( $p < 0.001$ ), which was modulated by Prime Quantifier ( $p = 0.013$ ; post-hoc comparisons: priming was stronger in *elke* compared to *iedere* ( $p = 0.011$ ), but not compared to *alle* ( $p = 0.127$ ).



**Fig. 3.** Percentage of u-wide target choices per Prime Quantifier and Prime Condition configuration in Exp. 2. The statistical analyses revealed a main effect of Prime Condition ( $p < 0.001$ ), which was not modulated by Prime Quantifier ( $p = 0.935$ ).

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## Specialized digital frame-based lexicography from a perspective of dictionary use research

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Research regarding the use of dictionaries is concerned with providing the ground for improvement and refinement of completed and ongoing lexicographic projects (Töpel 2014). In Digital Lexicography, research on dictionary use can take advantage of information provided by log files, which are “a machine-readable, automatically generated record of the interaction of the user with the website-based dictionary.” (de Schryver *et al.* 2019:2). Although underused, log-files analyses have demonstrated great potential to deliver free implicit feedback and unobtrusive monitoring of all actions performed by dictionary users (de Schryver & Joffe 2004, de Schryver *et al.* 2019) and, thus, to contribute to the development of strategies oriented for improving dictionaries and their users’ experience.

Aiming at exploring the power of log files in the digital-lexicographic context and their contributions to the development of more user-friendly dictionary interfaces, this research investigates the use of *Dicionário Olímpico* (Chishman and colleagues 2016-2021), a Brazilian online dictionary that describes the lexicon of the 40 Summer Olympic sports based on the theoretical foundations of Frame Semantics (Fillmore 1982). Such theory claims that, to understand the meaning of a lexical unit, one must understand the entire system of concepts (frames) in which this lexical unit plays a role (Fillmore 1982).

Until the present, we have conducted an experiment of log-files analyses using both AWStats (200-2021) and Google Analytics (2005-2021), tools that are available for *Dicionário Olímpico*. Data analysed correspond to three months (August, September, and November) with the highest average of unique visitor numbers from 2016 to 2019. In general, results obtained from our experiment have pointed to two major findings: (1) most dictionary data is hardly seen by users, and (2) users tend to start their searches at the dictionary homepage and follow the dictionary hierarchical structure, i.e., sports > scenarios > words.

These initial results, even limited in scope, have indicated possible strategies to be adopted for *Dicionário Olímpico*, such as encouraging users to search for the least-viewed sports/scenarios/words OR making the most-viewed sports/scenarios/words as good as possible; and adding ways to measure users (dis)satisfaction with their search experience.

The *Dicionário Olímpico*'s log files regarding 2020 are currently being analysed; and, combined with the results from this first exploration, they will contribute to the future directions of our investigation. The final findings of our study may have important implications for the revising process of *Dicionário Olímpico*, as well as for the compilation of similar tools in the future, by providing a very solid ground for improving dictionaries’ interface and their users’ experience.

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## Session 4 – Communication and the workplace

Thursday 18 March 2021, 9:30-10:30, Zoom

### Recipient design in intercultural business communication: aikido as litmus test

Greet De Baets, Sofie Decock and Ellen Van Praet

*Department of Translation, Interpreting and Communication*

Aikido is one of the martial arts practised globally. Most martial arts stand for combat and self-defence. However, aikido typically stands for seeking harmony by turning opponents into partners (Shimizu, 1994; Ueshiba & Stevens, 1993). Because of this, it is applied as a metaphor or an embodiment method (a combination of cognitive and physical experience) in fields such as therapy, conflict resolution and communication training (Brawdy, 2001; Faggianelli & Lukoff, 2006; Lukoff & Strozzi-Heckler, 2017). In the field of intercultural business communication training, for instance, it may be argued that aikido meets a need for training approaches using experiential discovery rather than conventional didactic expository (Waxin & Panaccio, 2005; Treven, 2003; Graf, 2004; Díaz & Moore, 2018). However, few scholars have investigated aikido as a training approach for intercultural communication or business communication.

As a first step in exploring the possible effectiveness and efficiency of aikido as an embodied pedagogy for intercultural business communication training, we identified the core principles of aikido. We performed a global benchmarking study with semi-structured interviews: twenty aikido experts from all over the world reflected on the principles of aikido. Relying on NVivo software, we performed a qualitative content analysis of the interview data (Gibbs & Flick, 2018). Preliminary findings show at least four core principles which focus on the careful attention to the other in aikido interaction: adaptability, other-relative view, safety and win-win attitude. Firstly, in an aikido interaction, an aikido practitioner adapts to the moves, the speed, the direction, the power and the physiology of the training partner. Secondly, an aikido practitioner practises an other-relative view to see the other in relation to one self and to understand any inequality in the interaction. Thirdly, an aikido practitioner behaves safely, i.e. effectively and efficiently without doing harm to all the people involved in the interaction. Fourthly, an aikido practitioner aims for a win-win outcome in which all people involved feel adequately satisfied. These four principles could be interpreted as recipient-design principles, with recipient design referring to the capacity and sensitivity for tuning communicative behaviour to conversation partners (Blokpoel et al., 2012; Kecskés, 2018; Sacks et al., 1974). Kecskés developed the notion of 'conscious recipient design' in the context of intercultural interaction. As successful aikido interaction matches recipient-design principles, it may indicate that intercultural business communication training could teach conscious recipient design relying on the embodied pedagogy of aikido, thus potentially increasing the effectiveness and efficiency of intercultural business training.

To validate and triangulate the interview findings, a large-scale survey will address different communities of aikido practitioners all over the world. The results will then feed an aikido framework for intercultural business communication training. In the next step in exploring the possible effectiveness and efficiency of the aikido framework, we will conduct a longitudinal comparative experiment between aikido-based and non-aikido-based intercultural business communication training.

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## Social Media Guidelines in the Workplace: Stimulating or Restricting Employee Social Media Use?

Ellen Soens and An-Sofie Claeys

*Department of Translation, Interpreting and Communication*

**Introduction and purpose of the study** – Employees are increasingly using social media *at work*, *for work* and *about work*. Therefore, many organizations implement social media guidelines to minimize the risks (e.g., the spread of criticism; DiStaso et al., 2011) and maximize the opportunities associated with employee social media use (e.g., ambassadorship; Cervellon & Lirio, 2017). Prior research on social media guidelines is predominantly descriptive and focused on the organizational perspective (e.g., Johnston, 2015; Opgenhaffen & Claeys, 2017). We thus have little or no idea about the actual impact of social media guidelines on employees. The purpose of this study is to investigate how these guidelines affect employees' social media-related behaviors on the one hand and attitudes toward their employer on the other hand.

**Literature review** – Although research has not examined the impact of social media guidelines on employees, some advice has been formulated on how these guidelines can be drafted and communicated. First, communication scholars generally recommend to formulate social media guidelines in an incentive way, focusing on opportunities and stimulating employee social media use (e.g., Stohl et al., 2017). Legal scholars, by contrast, advise organizations to protect themselves by means of unambiguous and strict guidelines (e.g., O'Connor et al., 2016). This aligns with a rather restrictive formulation, focusing on avoiding risks and limiting work-related social media use. We conducted two experiments in order to examine the effectiveness of these types of guidelines in terms of employee branding behavior and guideline recall, as well as their impact on the organization-employee relationship.

Second, research indicates that most organizations write their social media guidelines in a conversational style as opposed to a more traditional, corporate style (Johnston, 2015). Such conversational style can help organizations to adopt a conversational human voice, which has already proven to generate benefits (e.g., positive word-of-mouth; Park & Cameron, 2014) when communicating with external publics. Our first experiment, therefore, examines guideline style as a potential moderator in the impact of guideline content. Third, some organizations demand employees to sign the social media policy (O'Connor et al., 2016). This is believed to enhance their guideline recall and understanding. As such, our second experiment investigates the potential moderating effect of how the guidelines are imposed on employees.

**Methodology** – To examine the causal impact of social media guidelines on employees' attitudes and behavior, two online experiments were conducted among Belgian men and women who worked for an organization consisting of at least 20 ( $N = 212$ ; Experiment 1) or 50 employees ( $N = 222$ ; Experiment 2). Participants read a fictitious social media policy that was manipulated in terms of focus (i.e. restrictive vs. incentive) and style (i.e. conversational vs. corporate; Study 1) or enforcement (signature requested vs. not requested; Study 2).

**Results and conclusions** – Results indicate that restrictive guidelines succeed best at enhancing guideline recall. Incentive guidelines, by contrast, are most beneficial for stimulating employee branding behavior on social media, while safeguarding the organization-employee relationship at the same time. The guidelines' style and manner of enforcement did not seem to matter. A key recommendation for employers that want to draft social media guidelines is, therefore, to do so in an incentive rather than a restrictive way. However, the findings also show that solid social media guidelines will not make up for an organization's initial bad reputation among employees. The organizational reputation among employees affected their social media behavior and relationship with the employer more strongly than the focus and formulation of social media guidelines.

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## Session 5 – Language productivity

Thursday 18 March 2021, 10:45-12:15, Zoom

### 25 ways to start an event in Spanish: The productivity of the inchoative construction

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On a more global level, the Productivity At Work-consortium studies the productivity of constructions, and their different slots, in order to find (i) how the productivity of the constructions in question evolved historically, (ii) how semantics influences a construction's productivity and (iii) how the different measurements of productivity are interrelated. This presentation is concerned with the productivity of the inchoative construction in Spanish.

The inchoative construction expresses the onset of an event and consist of four slots: a subject, an auxiliary verb, a preposition, and an infinitive. As opposed to other Romance languages, the yet understudied construction has become strikingly productive in Spanish, where a wide gamut of verb classes fills the auxiliary verb slot, for instance: change of state verbs (*Rompió a llorar*, lit. 'he broke to cry'), motion verbs (*Se echó a reír*, lit. 'she threw herself to laugh') or put verbs (*Se mete a escribir*, lit. 'she puts herself to write') (Engels & Van Hulle 2018). A second source of productivity is located in the infinitive slot, as many different events can be described as 'setting of'. This talk provides a first overview of the extension and the high degree of productivity of the inchoative construction in present-day peninsular Spanish.

The analysis is based on corpus data taken from Sketchengine (esTenTen18). A specific search syntax was used for each auxiliary in order to find tokens corresponding to the syntactic structure of [AUX] + [a] + [INF]. Only the examples from the European Spanish Subcorpus were selected. In total, after cleaning, the inchoative dataset contains 6050 tokens, with a maximum of 500 tokens per auxiliary.

To begin with, a careful consideration of the empirical data reveals that at least 25 verbs can enter the auxiliary-slot. Intuitively, we can group the inchoative auxiliaries in three major semantic clusters, namely the superlexical-cluster (*comenzar, empezar, principiar, recomenzar* and *reempezar*), the locative-verbs-cluster (*arrojar, echar, lanzar, meter, poner* and *tirar*) and the verbs-of-destruction-cluster (*arrancar, estallar, arrancar* and *romper*). This observation raises the question to what extent the (semi-)auxiliary verbs can be considered as near-synonymous. It is plausible that certain auxiliaries add a certain (aspectual) nuance whereas others share semantic preferences. The research question has been explored by conducting a hierarchical cluster analysis, based on the infinitives each auxiliary is combined with. At first sight, the cluster analysis confirms these above-mentioned semantic intuitions: indeed, the superlexical verbs, which are the inherent inchoative verbs, and the locative verbs form each a separate semantic cluster. This implies that both groups of verbs are combined respectively with the same infinitives in a significant way. Clustering based on the lexical categories of the infinitives even points out that both clusters share the same lexical categories, which could potentially lead to the most prototypical semantic use of the inchoative construction in general.

Furthermore, in the corpus of 6050 tokens, 1090 different verbs are attested in the infinitive-slot. It is relevant to know whether these infinitives are distributed in a random way among the 25 inchoatives, or if we can uncover certain collocational patterns. The main conclusions that can be drawn so far are the following. First, the schema contains a wide gamut of micro-constructions that are very unproductive, such as *agarrar, arrojar, embarcar, estallar, prorrumpir, reventar, zambullir, ...* It is possible that these auxiliaries have recently been attracted to the overall schema, which explains their low token frequency. Still, because of their low productivity, it is more difficult to make claims about their semantic behaviour. Second, some micro-constructions (mostly formed with

the superlexical inchoative verbs, such as *comenzar* and *empezar*) are very productive and are semantically open, meaning that they can be combined with many different infinitives, from various semantic fields. However, other micro-constructions are composed repeatedly with the same auxiliaries and infinitives, indicating that some combinations constitute idioms, or more fixed collocations (Bybee 2009). Finally, as a general observation, a lot of infinitives combine with many different auxiliaries, that is, with 10 (or even more) out of the 25 auxiliaries. The question then arises how the speaker selects the inchoative auxiliary (s)he will use. Presumably, the speaker first has the infinitive in mind, wanting to express the start or beginning of this action. However, the data show that the infinitive slot not always restricts the selection of the auxiliary slot. In future research we will conduct psycholinguistic experiments to further investigate the interaction between both slots.

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## *Het interesseert me geen ene je-weet-wet*. Minimizing strategies in present-day Dutch

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The notion of productivity, or the domain of application of a grammatical pattern, is at the heart of usage-based Construction Grammar (Goldberg 2019; Barðdal 2015). The general aim of our research, which is part of the *Language Productivity @ Work* project (<https://www.languageproductivity.ugent.be/>), is to provide a better understanding of the different components of a construction's productivity. Specifically, this study investigates the productivity of the minimizing construction in present-day Dutch, which is used to reinforce the sentential negation (e.g. *Het interesseert me geen bal* 'It doesn't interest me a ball').

Minimizers are nouns that denote a small or minimal quantity. The term minimizer was introduced by Bolinger (1972: 122), who describes its meaning as: "neg. + minimizer = zero". Originally, their meaning is based on an implicature. When minimizers are used in negative contexts, "the negation denotes the absence of a minimal quantity, and hence the presence of no quantity at all" (Horn 1989: 400). If someone doesn't understand even a word of my text, s/he doesn't understand my text at all. However, this implicature no longer exists for many conventionalised minimizers such as *zier* (which etymologically means 'a mite') and *sikkepit* ('goat droppings'), which have become completely opaque for present-day language users.

The category of minimizers consists of a wide variety of types. They are recruited from different semantic categories (Hoeksema 2002), such as units of money (e.g. *geen rooie cent* 'not a red cent'), words related to language (e.g. *geen woord* 'not a word') or taboo terms (e.g. *geen reet* 'not an ass'). Moreover, the scope of the minimizers varies as well: they can be combined with a comparative (e.g. *geen cent duurder* 'not a cent more expensive') or a noun (e.g. *geen euro winst* 'not a euro of profit'), but I focus on minimizers that reinforce predicates (e.g. *het kost geen frank* 'it doesn't cost a franc'). This means that I analyse the minimizing construction that consists of two slots: the slot of the minimizer and the slot of the predicate. My analysis is based on data from the web corpus Dutch Web 2014 (nlTenTen14, Jakubíček et al. 2013) available on Sketch Engine. I searched for the combination of a predicate followed by '*ge(e)n(e)* + minimizer' in the Netherlandic Dutch subcorpus, which consists of almost 2 billion tokens. My dataset encompasses more than 200 minimizers and I manually annotated 100 tokens per type (at least, if that many tokens were available).

I investigate the productivity of this minimizing construction at two levels. At the level of the macro-construction I focus on the slot of the minimizer and analyse the extension of the construction by reporting the number of hapaxes (or "one-off formations", De Smet 2020) and by demonstrating that the construction is open to creative uses (for instance: *Luizen? Kan me geen neet schelen!* 'Lice? I don't care a nit!'). At the level of the micro-construction I present preliminary data on the productivity of some specific minimizers, for instance the number of different predicates that are combined with a specific minimizer (type frequency). The dataset allows for the classification of these minimizers on a continuum from more to less productive.

These first analyses point to the conclusion that, at the micro-level, the minimizer-predicate combinations have a varying productivity in Netherlandic Dutch. At the macro-level, the high number of types, many of them low in token frequency, and the creative extensions show that the minimizing construction is high in productivity.

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## Investigating the productivity of the dat-nom/nom-dat construction in German and Icelandic

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This study investigates the productivity of the alternating DAT-NOM/NOM-DAT constructions in Present-Day German from a Construction Grammar perspective. In line with other usage-based approaches (e.g. Barðdal 2008 and Goldberg 2019), the concept of productivity will be conceived of as the degree to which a given construction can be extended to new types. The aim of this study is (1) to lay out a detailed picture of which German and Icelandic verbs are attracted to the construction and (2) to determine whether new types can be coerced into it. The former will be attempted through a corpus study, the latter through a number of psycholinguistic experiments.

In Icelandic, non-canonically case-marked subjects can sometimes occur post-verbally without a difference in meaning from the preverbal construction. In other words: for certain verbs, DAT-NOM predicates and NOM-DAT predicates are perceived of as equally acceptable (e.g. Barðdal 2001). This alternation has also been observed for German (e.g. Lenerz 1977; Primus 2012; Barðdal, Eypórssón & Dewey 2019):

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (1a) <i>Mér fellur þessi bók vel í geð</i><br>me.DAT falls this.NOM book.NOM well in liking<br>"I like this book" | (1b) <i>Þessi bók fellur mér vel í geð</i><br>this.NOM book.NOM falls me.DAT well in liking<br>"This book pleases me" |
| (2a) <i>Mir gefällt das Buch gut</i><br>me.DAT likes this.NOM book.NOM<br>"I like this book"                      | (2b) <i>Das Buch gefällt mir gut</i><br>this.NOM book.NOM likes me.DAT<br>"This book pleases me"                      |

Although the hypothesis laid out above is not new, empirical support is scant (see, however, Rott 2013 for Icelandic, and Verhoeven 2015 and Temme & Verhoeven 2016 for German). This study intends to bridge that gap by (1) increasing the number verbs under scrutiny for both languages, (2) by using data from larger corpora and by (3) including tokens with different types of constituents (i.e. pronouns, full NPs, or a combination of both). Data cleaning and annotation are still ongoing, but a pilot study on six German verbs has already yielded some interesting results, revealing that each of the verbs in question shows a different inclination towards the NOM-DAT order, with some verbs approximating a 50-50 distribution. Consequently, the observed frequencies support the hypothesis that when the relevant verbs occur with the DAT-NOM case frame, the dative behaves syntactically as the subject, while the opposite is true for the NOM-DAT case frame (Barðdal 2001, Barðdal, Eypórssón & Dewey 2019).

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

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## Session 6 – Language in education

Thursday 18 March 2021, 13:15-14:45, Zoom

### **"I took physical lessons for granted": a case study exploring students' interpersonal interactions in online synchronous lessons during the outbreak of COVID-19**

Mari Alger and June Eyckmans

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In the sudden, unprecedented, and all-encompassing shift to online education across the globe during the outbreak of COVID-19, students and teachers alike found themselves navigating a very different learning journey to what they had set out on: arguably, a more solitary and undefined one. The coronavirus pandemic presented a unique opportunity to explore how students interact when faced with a dramatic change to unknown modes and practices. This exploratory case study examines the types and functions of students' interpersonal interactions in online classes during the initial stages of the COVID-19 outbreak. Our focus is on the social and emotional side of interaction; that is, how students maintained and transformed relationships with each other and their teacher in online classes during this time of social isolation.

The data comprises chat transcripts taken from eight online synchronous lessons of an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) university course in Belgium. Forty students attended at least one of these lessons. To understand and quantify patterns of relational behaviour in interpersonal interactions, content analysis guided by the Community of Inquiry theoretical framework (Garrison et al., 2000) was performed on students' text-based messages, whereby messages were coded according to social (affective, interactive and/or cohesive) elements. To further explore the possible functions of students' interpersonal interactions, a qualitative interpersonal pragmatics approach drawing on 'relational work' (Locher & Watts, 2005) was adopted, which enabled us to illustrate localised snapshots of what students achieved together in situ. Finally, to verify the phenomena observed in the transcripts, we also drew on students' personal experiences of the transition to online learning through a thematic analysis of their responses to a series of reflective open-ended questions. Preliminary results show that interpersonal interactions helped to create an emotionally satisfying learning experience for students, which in turn helped strengthen learning persistence.

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## Studying Multilingualism in South African Tertiary Education: Mixed-Method Approaches to Translanguaging Research

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More than twenty-five years after the birth of a democratic South Africa, it has become clear that the country's legislative provision for multilingualism in education does not match the facts on the ground (Heugh, 1999; Probyn, 2001; Brock-Utne, 2007; Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013). In particular, effectively incorporating the wide variety of home languages spoken by the students in a way that is beneficial to their educational outcomes is currently one of the biggest challenges in tertiary education (Slembrouck, Valcke & Verdoolaege, 2013, p. 381).

The University of the Western Cape (UWC), like many other South African higher education institutions, voices a strong ambition to include the country's multilingual reality in actual teaching practice (UWC Language Policy). Despite this aspiration, the analyses of in-house researchers as well as my ongoing linguistic ethnographic fieldwork at UWC have indicated that the linguistic reality of this institute is that of a hegemony of English as the language of learning and teaching (Antia & Van der Merwe, 2019, pp. 415-421). As a result, advantageous and disadvantageous positions for students are created based on their linguistic background, and equal access to education is undermined. A growing number of researchers points to the relevance of translanguaging, "a range of linguistic and discursive practices in which students appropriate the language practices of school into their own linguistic repertoire and move freely within and between resources they have at their disposal" (Slembrouck & Rosiers, 2018, p. 168). Stroud and Kerfoot assert that translanguaging, when adopted as a pedagogical strategy in this context, could allow students to fully exploit their linguistic skillset whilst simultaneously recognizing multilingualism as a resource for epistemological access (2013, p. 402).

In this paper, I argue that studying the impact of translanguaging on epistemological access is best achieved through a mixed-method approach. More specifically, I will be looking at the way in which student engagement is influenced by facilitating translanguaged student-student communication in asynchronous online discussion groups, a pedagogical tool employed by lecturers at UWC to provide their students with a means of familiarizing themselves with class materials prior to the (on-campus) lectures. I propose a trifocal model (currently undergoing pilot-testing) in which student engagement is defined and observed through (i) quantitative analysis of students' forum contributions (i.e. frequency of posting, length of individual posts, amount and levels of syntactic complexity), (ii) qualitative analysis of students' forum behavior (i.e. classification of forum activities through means of an online learning taxonomy), and (iii) analysis of students' reported experiences of engagement (through means of a questionnaire).

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## Interaction in online classes: the experience of newly arrived migrant students

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Demographic background variables disproportionately impact the educational gains made by pupils in the Flemish educational system (De Meyer et al., 2019; Thielemans et al., 2017). In Flanders, pupils with a migration background are nearly twice as likely to fall short of achieving OECD educational threshold levels as their classmates without a migration background (OECD, 2018). It is possible that the distance education, implemented in the wake of the Covid-19 crisis, will exacerbate existing educational inequalities (Drane et al., 2020), but the impact on recently arrived migrant pupils' second language (L2) development remains unclear. In this study we consider that matter from the perspective of newly arrived migrant students (NAMS) in secondary education.

This study focuses on NAMS' linguistic interaction with teachers and fellow students in online and on-campus classes. This interaction is crucial to further L2 development, which is essential since NAMS are often unprepared for the linguistic – and other – challenges of mainstream education (AGODI, 2017; Emery, Spruyt, Boone and Van Avermaet, 2020; OECD, 2018). As such, we wish to determine how NAMS in secondary education perceive the impact of online education on interaction and on language gains.

In order to answer this research question, we are organizing six semi-structured focus groups with 24 NAMS in year 4, 5 and 6 of the technical and general track. The focus groups will offer insights into how the participants perceive the benefits and drawbacks of on-campus and online education, but also how they judge the impact of online education on classroom interaction and L2 development. The focus groups will be transcribed verbatim and analyzed using both a priori and inductive coding categories. Axial coding, which focuses on the relationship between coding categories, will yield a selection of 52 generalizable statements that will form the concourse for a Q Method study. This is a relatively new methodology in applied linguistics that relies on factor analysis to quantify the degree of agreement within a group. At a later stage, these findings may be linked to the overall performance data of NAMS during the current pandemic, set off against their average performance.

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## Session 7 – Typology and language contact

Thursday 18 March 2021, 15:00-16:00, Zoom

### Playing ping-pong with *ce* in Cappadocian: From simple connective to continuative/topic-shifting connective as an example of functional transfer from Turkish

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Cappadocian is the name of a cluster of closely related dialects spoken in Central Asia Minor until the population exchange between Turkey and Greece in 1923-24 (Janse 2020, 2021). Due to very long and very intensive contact, Cappadocian has been heavily influenced by the Turkish language (cf. Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 215-22; Janse 2009). A particular case of this heavy borrowing is what Siegel calls 'Functional Transfer', i.e. the application of the grammatical functions of a morpheme from one language to a morpheme in another language (2012: 189).

In this paper I discuss a particular case of functional transfer: the extension of the functional range of the Greek proclitic particle *ce* to include the function of topic shift marker associated with the Turkish enclitic particle *dA*. Turkish *dA* already shared some of its functions with Greek *ce*: both are used as connective as well as scope particles (Göksel & Kerlake 2005: 110; Dawkins 1916: 506), e.g. Capp. *pire ce to peri* (Phosteris & Kesisoglou 1960: 116); Tk. *çocuğu da aldı* 'he took the child too'. Additionally, *dA* also functions as a topic shift marker in Turkish, with which a new topic is introduced "without changing the direction of the discourse" (Göksel & Kerlake 2005: 513), e.g. Tk. *Ahmet dükkâna gitti. Ayşe de sinemaya gitti*. 'Ahmet went to the store. As for Ayşe, she went to the cinema.' It is this pragmatic function of *dA* that was transferred and included in the functional range of *ce*. Although Cappadocian *ce* is in its other meanings and functions a proclitic particle, it is used in its new function of topic shift marker as an enclitic, e.g. *néka c' ípe [...]* (Dawkins 1916: 334) 'as for the woman, she said [...]'. This may be considered as an example of pattern replication in the sense of Matras (2009: 234-74): only the pattern or construction of grammatical or semantic meaning is replicated, without borrowing the form itself.

It is noteworthy that this particular use of *ce* is only attested in some Cappadocian dialects: at Delmeso, it is systematically used as a topic shift marker; at Aravan, *ce* is frequently attested as well (and very occasionally at Axo and Ulağaç). It should be noted that the enclitic *ce* is only found in combination with the verb *léo* 'say'.

This research will be conducted using both quantitative and qualitative textual analysis of a corpus consisting of 59 orally transmitted Cappadocian folktales (approximately 42 000 words) that were recorded and transcribed from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Special attention will be paid to information structure (Lambrecht 1994) and in particular to topic (shift).

This analysis of the use of *ce* as an enclitic topic shift marker in Cappadocian is an important contribution to the study of language contact in general and on functional transfer in particular. It sheds new light on the manifold ways in which this remarkable Greek dialect was influenced by Turkish and points out once again how substantial the impact of language contact can be.

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## *Plăcea* 'please' – a tendency toward canonical marking of subjects in Romanian?

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This talk deals with the Romanian construction in (1), in which the psych verb *plăcea* 'please, like' shows two different configurations, one with a non-canonically-marked subject in the dative (1a), the other with a canonical subject in the nominative (1b).

- (1) a. *Mariei*                      *îi*              *place*              *de*      *vecina*              *ei*  
    Maria.DAT                      her.DAT      please.3SG      of      neighbor.the      hers  
    'Maria likes her neighbor'
- b. *Colegii*                      *mei*              *mă*              *plac*  
    colleagues.the                      mine              me.ACC              like.3PL  
    'My colleagues like me'

Recent studies suggest that Romanian expands its non-canonical marking of core arguments (Bossong 1998, Van Peteghem 2016, 2017). For this reason, Bossong (1998) and Haspelmath (2001), highlighting the tendency of typical Standard Average European (SAE) languages toward canonical marking of core arguments, oppose Romanian to other Romance languages, such as French, Spanish, or Italian, and group it with East-Slavic and Baltic languages. Nevertheless, it has been shown that Spanish tends to evolve against this tendency. In this language, the dative domain expands itself and covers, besides psychological verbs, several other verb classes, such as verbs of happening, cognitive verbs, and even existential verbs (Melis & Flores 2013). In spite of this tendency, Spanish continues to be considered a typical SAE language, whereas Romanian does not.

Bearing this in mind, synchronized with this expansion of non-canonical marking of core arguments one may expect a simultaneous regression of canonical marking in Romanian. Yet, the canonical construction in (1b), which is most probably an innovation of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, provides evidence against this.

By means of a diachronic corpus study, the evolution of the two constructions with *plăcea* 'please, like' in (1a-b) is examined from their first attestation until present-day Romanian. For this case study, the Romanian Web Corpus RoTenTen16 is used for the 21<sup>st</sup> century, alongside a self-made corpus for the period between the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> century of Romanian, which contains approximately eight million words. Interestingly, whereas a simple query in the corpus for the 21<sup>st</sup> century returns many examples containing the canonical construction in (1b), the corpus for the pre-21<sup>st</sup>-century Romanian did not return any example of this structure before the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This early result points toward the possibility that the canonical structure in (1b) represents an innovation in Romanian, most probably under the pressure of the transitive syntax specific to SAE languages.

It is argued in this paper, based on the case-study of *plăcea* 'please, like', that the tendency of SAE languages toward a transitive syntax, and hence, toward canonical marking of core arguments, contrary to all evidence, causes certain non-canonical structures to develop into canonical, structures in Romanian. The question is raised whether this is a generalized tendency in Romanian or a unique phenomenon limited to the verb under scrutiny. It is also suggested that a more comprehensive study – involving a larger number of verbs – can contribute to a better understanding of the position of Romanian with respect to SAE languages.

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