

## BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

### – GERMANIC SANDWICH CONFERENCE –

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## Verbal diminutives: Regularity versus productivity

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Dutch, German and English have classes of verbs often called “verbal diminutives”: suffixed verbs that express a repeated activity of low intensity. Examples are:

(1)

a) Dutch

*snuffelen* ‘sniffle’, *grommelen* ‘grumble’, *pruttelen* ‘simmer’, *prikkelen* ‘prickle’,  
*kibbelen* ‘bicker’

b) German

*krabbeln* ‘crawl’, *hüsteln* ‘cough slightly’, *humpeln* ‘hobble’, *kritzeln* ‘scribble’,  
*rascheln* ‘rustle’

c) English

*wrestle*, *sparkle*, *crumble*, *cuddle*, *dribble*, *tickle*

The pattern is also found in onomatopoeic words, as in (2).

(2) English

*mumble*, *chuckle*, *babble*, *cackle*, *giggle*

Verbal diminutives present several interesting challenges. First, despite their native suffixes, many or most of the verbs are based on roots that do not exist as independent lexical items in the present-day language. Second, these words occur in substantial numbers and display a clear structure; yet the pattern is virtually unproductive. The absence of a lexical base and the lack of productivity stand in the way of modelling these forms in terms of word-formation rules. Instead, I will argue for a constructional approach (Booij 2010) in which regularities among listed words are captured by means of declarative schemas.

Schemas have two functions: productive schemas function *generatively* to create novel forms, and all schemas function *relationally* by reducing the arbitrariness of their instantiating words, thereby *motivating* them (Booij 2016, Jackendoff & Audring forthcoming). In this talk, I will discuss the motivating function of the *-el* verb schema in Dutch, English and German and explore the notions *multiple motivation* and *partial motivation*.

A number of the verbal forms correspond to nouns, suggesting a history of conversion. Yet, the direction of the conversion is synchronically ambiguous, as German, Dutch and English possess a nominal suffix *-el*, which diachronically is also a diminutive. Especially in Dutch, this results in a number of derivationally ambiguous forms:

(3) Dutch

*druppelen* ‘to drip’ – *druppel* ‘(a) drop’

*krabbelen* ‘to scrawl’ – *krabbel* ‘(a) scrawl’

*kruimelen* ‘to crumble’ – *kruimel* ‘(a) crumb’

From a constructional perspective, this opens up the possibility of *multiple motivation*: the nouns fit both the verbal and the nominal diminutive schema. If the lexicon is seen as a multidimensional network of words and schemas, multiple motivation is unsurprising: a word can be related to more than one constructional schema.

In fact, the motivating relation can be extended to nouns in which /əl/ is diachronically a different suffix or a part of the stem (examples (4) from German).

- (4) German  
*nörgeln* ‘nag’, *trippeln* ‘trip’, *gurgeln* ‘gargle’, *löffeln* ‘spoon’

Weidhaas & Schmid 2015 argue that some of these words have the iterative and/or attenuated meaning typical of diminutive verbs, despite their different derivational history. Hence, we see *partial motivation*, limited to phonology and (aspects of) semantics. A different type of partial motivation is found in verbs with (synchronically) non-lexical roots, such as Dutch *kietelen* ‘tickle’, German *buddeln* ‘to burrow’ and English *tangle*.

In this talk I will show that a constructional account centered on synchronic lexical relations based on shared structure provides a useful framework for the derivational patterns in the three ‘sandwich languages’.

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# Samengestelde woorden vs. Wortzusammensetzungen. Contrasting Germanic compounding in a corpus-based, construction-morphological perspective

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Contrastive research on nominal compounding in Germanic has mostly been concerned with the language pair Dutch-German (e.g. WILLEMS 2001, HÜNING & SCHLÜCKER 2010, SCHLÜCKER 2014, SCHUSTER 2016), resulting in intriguing observations of both commonalities and differences with regard to specific aspects within this domain of word-formation such as adjective+noun compounding. This corpus-based paper aims at a broad, cross-linguistic perspective on nominal compounding in general, not only addressing Dutch and German, but also bringing in Swedish as a representative of the Scandinavian type. The theoretical framework is construction morphology (CxM; BOOIJ 2010a), an approach that does not posit wordformation rules, but instead assumes a ‘hierarchical’ mental lexicon of lexical items with different sizes and levels of abstractness on the gradient between completely specified lexemes and completely abstract cognitive schemas.

The first part of the paper is concerned with empirical observations: it presents a general overview of the different nominal compound types and their quantitative proportions in Dutch, German and Swedish, taking into account recent data from the COW-corpora (SCHÄFER & BILDHAUER 2012, SCHÄFER 2015). Commonalities and convergent developments between these languages prevail, and nominal compounding in Germanic generally displays high levels of morphological productivity (cf. BAAYEN 2009). Subtle differences do exist, and Swedish and Dutch often contrast with German, e.g. in the preference of noun phrases over compounds, cf. D. *samengestelde woorden*, Sw. *sammansatta ord*, G. *Wortzusammensetzungen* ‘compound words’. This affects adjective+noun combinations in particular, cf. D. *zwarte markt*, Sw. *svart marknad*, G. *Schwarzmarkt* ‘black market’, or D. *vreemde taal*, Sw. *främmande språk*, G. *Fremdsprache* ‘foreign language’, a preference that is, however, not always clear-cut in Swedish (cf. D. *rode wijn* ‘red wine’ vs. Sw. *rödvin*, G. *Rotwein* ‘red wine’) and sometimes even goes against the expectations (Sw. *kort/långbyxor* vs. D. *korte/lange broek*, G. *kurze/lange Hose* ‘shorts/trousers’).

The second part of the paper is devoted to the theoretical discussion of the empirical findings. Nominal compounding in Germanic is characterized by both its productivity and its inherent dynamics, which are manifest in a constant conflict between transparently formed compounds and formations with some degree of opacity (e.g. D. *ogen/blik*, G. *Augen/blick*, Sw. *ögon/blick* ‘lit. wink of an eye; moment’) (cf. JACKENDOFF 2009). The discussion centres around the question what frequency data based on large corpora reveals about compound processing and production, especially the co-occurrence of compound formation through schemas with varying productivity on the one hand, and analogy on the other hand (BOOIJ 2010b; see also BARÐDAL 2008). It will be argued that a construction-morphological approach to compounding is in fact capable of accounting for the interdependence of morphological processes with different degrees of relatedness, conceptualizing the dynamics of wordformation as an interplay between lexical constructions and more or less abstract (sub)schemas (cf. BOOIJ & HÜNING 2014).

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## The role of V2 for L2 learners of English with L1 German/Norwegian/Dutch - a grammar competition analysis

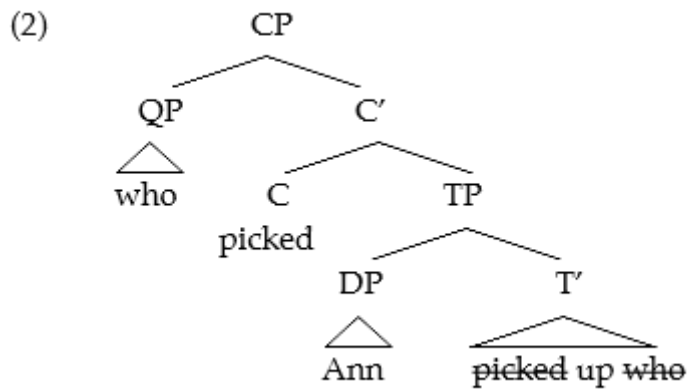
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Grammar competition (GC) is a concept that was suggested in diachronic research on historical linguistics (Kroch & Taylor 1997) and in first language acquisition Roeser (1999). The basic idea is that optionality in a given language boils down to a competition between two (or more) potentially contradicting sub-rules in the grammar of this language, one of which may be productive and the other lexicalized (e.g. for English: *realize subjects overtly* and *do not realize subjects overtly in topic-drop contexts like: Where's Jack? \_\_ went home*). This paper investigates the implications of GC in SLA contexts. The hypothesis is that if GC is real in monolingual diachronic and synchronic contexts we should expect to find it in SLA contexts too.

In order to test this we examined the role of L1 V2 word order in SLA contexts. German, Norwegian and Dutch are robust V2 languages. English, however, is a residual V2 language (Rizzi 1990). Under the assumption that GC theory (Roeser 1999) plays a role in SLA (Amaral & Roeser 2014), it is to be expected that native speakers of a generalized V2 language apply V2 also in second language residual V2 contexts. This study investigates in how far very advanced (university level) L2 speakers of English with a proficiency level of B2/C1 in English with L1 German/Norwegian/Dutch use generalized V2 in English in questions of the form in (1). If GC in the form of generalized V2 is observable in L2 English, it is expected that in (1a) *Ann* is interpreted as the subject, with the main verb moved across the subject position to the V2, i.e. C°, position (cf. (2)), which is a licit operation in German, Dutch and Norwegian but crucially not in English. Our results show that L2 speakers of English with L1 generalized V2 interpret the questions in (1) as instances of verb movement into C° and thus as an object question rather than a subject question. The effect is highly significant in the conditions in (1a) and (1c). It is most significant in (1c), where the preference for an object interpretation for the *wh*-phrase is even higher because the *wh*-phrase cannot be disambiguated by additional overt case marking (*who/whom*). In (1b)/(1d) in contrast error rates decrease significantly (cf. also Rankin 2014 for similar results from studies on *wh*-questions without particles). This, we argue, can be explained by the fact that particle pied-piping is not an option in Germanic. However, we do find a significant effect between Dutch vs. German/Norwegian speakers, which, we argue, can be linked to small but significant cross-linguistic differences in V2 languages (Germanic sandwich properties). Overall, particle pied-piping provides the relevant cue for the L2 grammar and a generalized V2 interpretation is dispreferred. We additionally find that generalized V2 in *wh*-+particle questions persists in highly proficient L2 speakers, which leads us to the conclusion that this provides additional evidence for a representational conflict in terms of grammar competition rather than a processing problem because otherwise we would expect error rates for the conditions in (1a/1c) to drop at least to the levels we see in (1b/1d) in highly advanced speakers.

- (1) a. Who picked Ann up?  
b. Who picked up Ann?  
c. Which one picked Ann up?  
d. Which one picked up Ann?



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## Semi-insubordinate (*d*)*at*-constructions in Dutch and Norwegian: semantic, grammatical and discursive properties

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This paper reports on a comparative synchronic corpus investigation of adverbial and adjectival semi-insubordinate (*d*)*at*-constructions in Dutch and Norwegian. That is, constructions in which a subordinate (*d*)*at*-clause is not part of matrix clause, but headed by a single adverb, as in (1), or just one adjective, as in (2).

- (1) a. ***Kanskje at det tar litt lang tid.***  
b. ***Misschien dat*** het veel tijd kost.  
lit. ‘Perhaps that it takes a little long time.’
- (2) a. ***Hyggelig at du kunne komme.***  
b. ***Fijn dat je kon komen.***  
lit. ‘Nice you could come.’

As becomes clear from the examples in (1) and (2), semi-insubordinate (*d*)*at*-constructions are often headed by forms expressing modal or attitudinal meanings (cf. Ramat & Ricca 1998, Aelbrecht 2006, Van linden & Van de Velde 2014). However, other elements, like ‘but’ or ‘plus’ (as in example 3) also appear to be able to function as minimal matrix clauses in this construction type (cf. Julien 2009: 127).

- (3) a. *Vi prøver å finne ut hva vi skal bli. **Pluss at vi vil ha det gøy, og bli kjent med nye folk, og oppleve og erfare nye ting.***
- b. *We proberen uit te zoeken wat we willen worden. **Plus dat we het leuk willen hebben, en nieuwe mensen willen leren kennen, en nieuwe dingen willen beleven en ervaren.***  
lit. ‘We try to find out what we want to be. Plus that we want to have a good time, and meet new people, and to encounter and experience new things.’

The present study offers an overview of the range of possible initial adverbs and adjectives in semi-insubordinate (*d*)*at*-constructions in Dutch and Norwegian. On the basis of data from written language corpora (*CONDIV-corpus* and *The Corpus for Bokmål Lexicography*) and speech corpora (*NoTa-Oslo* and *Corpus Gesproken Nederlands*) it will be investigated which adverbs and adjectives can - and cannot - occur as the first constituent in this construction type. The aim of this paper is to provide a detailed description of the semantic, grammatical and discursive properties of adverbial and adjectival semi-insubordinate (*d*)*at*-constructions by focusing on the differences and similarities between Dutch and Norwegian.

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## Syntactic variation with Dutch *komen*: between *kommen gelaufen* and *come running*

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Dutch presents a fascinating case of syntactic variation that positions it between German and English. Dutch *komen* ‘come’ can combine with a past participle or with an infinitive, as illustrated in (1), to describe a single motion event with two simultaneous ‘components’: *komen* conveys that the subject referent moves towards a contextually construable vantage-point, while the other verb describes the manner of this motion.

- (1) Zonder kloppen kwam hij de kamer binnenlopen/binnengelopen (Haeseryn et al. 1997: 982) without knocking came he the room in-walk/in-walked ‘Without knocking, he came walking into the room’

As far as I am aware, German and English do not show this variation. German *kommen* combines with a past participle to express this unidirectional motion in a certain manner (e.g. Vogel 2005), while English *come* combines with a present participle (e.g. Malá 2015), cf. (2) and (3). Another difference is that the Dutch constructions require a directional phrase or particle, while those in German and English do not.

- (2) Sie kamen gelaufen.  
(3) They came running.

According to Haeseryn et al. (1997), speakers of Dutch can freely choose between the two variants, although there are regional differences: speakers in the north of the Netherlands prefer the infinitive, while speakers in the south and in Belgium prefer the past participle. There have been some suggestions, however, that there is a subtle meaning difference between the two variants (Duinhoven 1997: 282, 551; Ebeling 2006: 418). Honselaar (2010), in particular, provides corpus data to illustrate certain communicative contexts in which the speaker might prefer one variant to the other.

In this presentation, I would like to lend further support to the view that the two syntactic variants with *komen* differ semantically, if ever so slightly. Each describes an unfolding, unidirectional motion event towards a contextually construable vantage point, as do the German and English constructions. However, the past-participle variant in Dutch highlights the end of a process, and the infinitive variant an internal portion of it. The support comes from two small-scale corpus studies. One explores the variation of *komen* with *aangerend/aanrennen* (towards-run, ‘approach while running’) in the Dutch national newspaper *de Volkskrant*. The other considers examples of *komen* with *uit het ei gekropen/kruipen* (‘crept/creep out of the egg’ or ‘hatched/hatch’), collected from the internet.

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## Reflexive markers on their way to passives. Comparing functional extent in Germanic languages

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In all Germanic languages, reflexive pronouns are used to indicate coreferentiality of the agent and the patient with canonically transitive predicates, e.g.

- (1) a. She shot herself
- b. Sie erschoss sich (selbst)
- c. Hun sköt sig

In many languages, reflexive markers are also used for further patterns of reduced or altered valency, like anticausatives or passives. In Swedish both functions are coded by means of a suffixed morpheme *-s* that historically derives from a free reflexive pronoun, while a free form is still used for reflexivization (compare examples 1c and 2a).

- (2) a. En älg sköt-s ihjäl av polis 'An elk was shot by the police'
- b. Dörren öppnas 'The door opens' or 'The door is opened'

The corresponding grammaticalization path is well attested cross-linguistically (Heine and Kuteva, 2002; Kemmer, 1993), but there is still room for improvement on the details. Now, the closely related and well documented Germanic languages use cognate morphemes in functions stretching from reflexivization of highly transitive predicates only in English to a fully developed passive in Swedish, providing an opportunity to gain further insights on the development of passive markers from reflexives by contrastive inspection of the way they use (originally) reflexive markers.

Assuming unidirectionality of functional expansion in this case (Haspelmath, 1990), the constraints on using reflexive markers are taken to correspond to stages on a way to canonical passives. For example, reflexives can code anticausative event readings of many predicates like 'open' in German (3a), and constructions like *Diese Bücher verkaufen sich gut* have already expanded past the stage of mere anticausatives and may better be analyzed as "potential" passives (Haspelmath, 1987, 1990) by explaining the restrictions imposed on them as persistence phenomena (Hopper, 1991). Reflexives in Dutch, which can perform neither of these functions, show incipient extension into the middle domain (see examples 3b and 3c) where Dutch patterns partly with English and partly with German (Oya, 2003).

- (3) a. Die Tür öff nete sich 'The door opened'
- b. \*de deur opende zich
- c. Hij waste zich

Using a language-independent inventory of functions (Geniušienė, 1987), I will compare the synchronic distribution of formal means (reflexive pronoun, synthetic *-s* marker, analytic passive, zero) to code reflexive, anticausative, and passive valency patterns as well as related functions with a fixed set of lexical items. Apart from explanations from grammaticalization theory, I will draw on the diachronic implications of semantic map approaches (Haspelmath, 2003; Narrog and van der Auwera, 2011) like the prediction that the expansion of a marker from reflexive to anticausative function should not "skip" middle functions like "grooming actions", which are taken to be intermediate.

Limiting myself to English, Dutch, German and Swedish, I will discuss the following questions:

- which functions can (originally) reflexive markers fulfill in either language?
- which restrictions apply to the coding of a given function?
- can the synchronic differences be analyzed as stages on a common grammaticalization process, and what can they tell us about it?

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**Luizen in de pels – of wat (*dan*) ook / was *auch immer* / whatever**  
**Duitse irrelevantiepartikels tussen Nederlands en Engels**

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Dat partikels wel eens de "Läuse im Pelz unserer Sprache" genoemd worden (Reiners 1949: 283), neemt niet weg dat ze welbepaalde functies vervullen die taalkundig onderzoek dient te preciseren. Dit geldt o.a. voor irrelevantiepartikels, een zelden bestudeerd partikeltype dat in zog. "universele concessief-conditionele" zinsconstructies (UCCs; König 1986, Breindl 2014) voorkomt:

- (1) a. *Wat* hij **ook** zegt, het interesseert niemand.  
b. *Was immer* er *auch* sagt, es interessiert keinen.  
c. *Whatever* he says, nobody is interested.

De partikels *ook/auch* en *immer/-ever* zijn hier duidelijk semantisch gemotiveerd: ze zorgen er voor dat het bijzinsinleidende w(h)-voornaamwoord uiteenlopende invullingen kan krijgen naar gelang de context of de keuze van de ontvanger ("free choice"). Daardoor ontstaat er een zinsverband van het type *als p<sub>x</sub>, dan q*, waarbij de invulling van *p* irrelevant is voor de waarheid van *q*: *Als hij a zegt (= p<sub>1</sub>), interesseert het niemand (= q)*; *als hij b zegt (= p<sub>2</sub>), interesseert het niemand (= q)*; ...; *als hij p<sub>x</sub> zegt, interesseert het niemand (= q)* (König 1986).

In onze bijdrage zullen we eerst een basisoverzicht geven van de irrelevantiepartikels in het Nederlands, Duits en Engels. Dat deze talen additieve en/of scalaire partikels als "free choice" markeerders gebruiken, ligt in de lijn van de typologische verwachtingen (Haspelmath/ König 1998). In het Nederlands gaat het om *ook*, dat meestal rechts in de bijzin geplaatst wordt, in het Engels om *-ever*, dat onmiddellijk bij het wh-woord aansluit. Het Duits kent de twee strategieën tegelijk (cf. Leuschner 2000): enerzijds het meestal rechts geplaatste, (scailair-) additieve focus partikel *auch* en anderzijds *immer*, dat bij het w-woord aanleunt en met *-ever* het verleden als temporeel-scalair bijwoord ('ooit') deelt. Met zijn twee irrelevantiepartikels (elk met zijn eigen, functioneel gemotiveerde positioneringstendens) staat het Duits dus tussen het Nederlands en het Engels, en het verbaast dan ook niet dat *auch* en *immer* vaak in combinatie met elkaar gebruikt worden. *Immer (...)* *auch* kan dan gescheiden voorkomen, *auch immer* niet.

Vervolgens bespreken we in een tweede stap de resultaten van een momenteel lopend, contrastief onderzoek naar de frequenties, distributies en motivaties van irrelevantiepartikels in de drie talen, met focus op de w-woorden 'wat' en 'wie'. We gebruiken daarvoor gegevens uit het *ConVerGENTiecorpus* (een nieuw meertalig corpus, samengesteld aan de Universiteit Gent), aan gevuld vanuit grotere, maar ook minder vergelijkbare corpora zoals het *Corpus Hedendaags Nederlands*, het *Deutsche Referenzkorpus* het en Engelse *NOW Corpus*. Gezien de sterke dominantie van *immer* in Duitse UCCs ( $\pm 80\%$  van alle tokens bevatten *immer*) ligt het Duits qua partikelgebruik dichter bij het Engels dan bij het Nederlands. Ook dit strookt met de typologische verwachtingen, aangezien een bij het w-woord aanleunende irrelevantiepartikel in taaloverschrijdend perspectief de voorkeurkeuze voor "free-choice"-markeerder vormt (vgl. Haspelmath/König 1998: 609). Kennelijk is het vooral de systemische aanwezigheid van *auch* die *immer* belemmert om tot hét verplichte irrelevantiepartikel van het Duits te grammaticaliseren (cf. *-ever*). Het Nederlands, dat geen equivalent voor *immer/-ever* kent, valt in dit opzicht uit de boot.

In een derde stap vergelijken we deze resultaten tot slot met drie secundaire gebruikswijzen van 'w+partikel'-combinaties zoals in (2) die historisch via ellips tot het primaire gebruik in UCCs als (1) herleid kunnen worden:

- (2) a. *Hoe dan ook*, één keer per week vegetarisch eten doet niemand kwaad.
- b. So etwas darfst du nicht einfach *wem auch immer* weitererzählen!
- c. They cooked us some spaghetti, penne, or *whatever*.

In deze secundaire constructies wordt een andere partikeldistributie aangetroffen, waarbij in het Duits overwegend de partikelcombinatie *auch immer* gebruikt wordt ( $\pm 60\%$ ). Terwijl in het Engels *-ever* de enige optie blijft, behelpt het Nederlands zich door *dan* toe te voegen. Op basis van deze constructietypes liggen Nederlands en Duits dichter bij elkaar en valt er onder de luizen in de Duitse pels een evolutionaire dynamiek waar te nemen die in de historisch gegroeide twee slachtingheid van de Duitse irrelevantiemarkering gegrond is en extra duidelijk naar voren komt dankzij de contrastieve Sandwich-benadering.

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## The re-inflecting of Afrikaans

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Owing to a history of intense language contact, Dutch underwent a great deal of deflection at the Cape since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, for example as regards the deflection of the finite verb, the loss of the finite-nonfinite distinction, the loss of the preterite as a tense form, the regularisation of the past participle, the loss of grammatical gender, etc., all of which contributed to making Afrikaans a more analytic language than Dutch. However, what has gone unnoticed to a large extent, is that Afrikaans has been reintroducing remnants of inflection in new functions and even developing novel forms of inflection deviating from Dutch, e.g.

- reinstating attributive adjective –e under new conditions, e.g. Afr. *'n aardige sommetjie* vs Du. *een aardig sommetje* ‘a considerable amount’;
- creating a literal/figurative contrast by means of adjectival inflection, e.g. *die ryk heerser* ‘the rich ruler’ vs *'n ryke verbeelding* ‘a rich imagination’;
- extending adjectival inflection to emotive adverbs, e.g. *'n vreeslike groot ongeluk* ‘a terribly big accident’;
- employing the few remaining preterites in new functions, e.g. *Dit sou moes kon geslaag het*, ‘It should have been possible to succeed’, where the preterites *moes* ‘must’ and *kon* ‘could’ have a linking function;
- employing the two remaining infinitives in a directive function, e.g. *Kom ons wees eerlik*, lit. ‘Come we (= let us) be honest’, *Kom ons hê pret*, lit. ‘Come we (=let us) have fun’, and
- creating of a novel double plural in compounds consisting of day-of-the-week + -*oggende* ‘mornings’, -*middae* ‘afternoons’ or -*aande* ‘evenings’, e.g. *Maandagaand* ‘Monday evening’ but *Maanda'aande* ‘Monday evenings’.

The main focus will be on the auxiliary *het* ‘have’, which seems to have reached inflectional status in final position after verb clusters. Final *het* and the perfect construction it forms part of differ from Dutch *hebben* constructions as well as other Afrikaans auxiliaries in the following ways:

- Afrikaans *het* is used more often than all other auxiliaries put together and has an extremely high overall frequency;
- final *het* is often reduced to [ət] and mostly unstressed, e.g. [xəsəŋ-ət] for *gesing het*;
- final *het* is inseparable from the past participle it governs, e.g. *dat sy die aria moes gesing het* (\**gesing moes het*) ‘that she had to sing the aria’;
- the participle is inserted **after** the particle *te* ‘to’ in full infinitives, e.g. *om te gesing het* ‘to have sung’ vs *om gesing te word* ‘to be sung’.

Most of the anomalies surrounding *het* and distinguishing it from Dutch and other Afrikaans auxiliaries, are explainable by assuming that final *het* is an inflectional affix alternating with the simplex *het* in V1 and V2 positions. As such it is comparable to the affixed North Germanic definite article alternating with the full article, as in Icelandic *hesturinn* ‘the horse’ vs *hinn sterki hestur* ‘the strong horse’, and may represent a synthetic development similar to that of the French future or the Germanic weak preterite. It therefore seems clear that *het* has advanced further on the path of verbal grammaticalisation than other Afrikaans and all Dutch auxiliaries.



## **Polar questions and affirmative answers in Dutch, English, and German picture description dialogues**

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Dutch and German additive particles (*ook*, *auch*) occur with high frequency as a coherence device in oral narratives (Dimroth et al. 2010) – much more frequently than for example their French counterpart *aussi* appears in comparable types of texts. The Dutch and German particles are typically used in their stressed variant, following the 'added constituent' to indicate that another token of a similar event applies to a new topic (Reis & Rosengren 1997), as in (1a).

- (1) Meneer Rod doet het licht uit en gaat slapen.  
(a) Meneer Blauw gaat OOK slapen.  
(b) Ook Meneer Blauw gaat slapen.

Particles appearing in a post-finite position as in (1a) have been shown to be functionally related to polarity (Krifka 1999), establishing a paradigmatic contrast with negation, Verum Focus (Höhle 1992) and affirmative particles like *wel* (Hogeweg 2009; Turco et al. 2014). This is in contrast to the entity bound position in (1b), which is possible, but less widespread (in particular in Dutch). On the basis of similar data, Dimroth et al. (2010) classify Dutch and German as "assertion oriented" languages.

This paper addresses the question of whether a similar phenomenon can be observed in interaction. Data from an interactive picture comparison task ('find the difference'; see Mulken & Hendriks 2015) that was administered to native speakers of Dutch and German reveal that the relevant particles are used with high frequency in polar questions (2a) as well as affirmative answers (2b). Dialogs conducted in a Receptive Multilingualism (cf. Beerkens & Thije 2011) format show that the systems are similar enough for addition to function across language boundaries (2c); when using English as Lingua Franca (cf. Bles et al. 2014) speakers relied on the same strategy (2d).

- (2) (a) heb je ook dat potje balsem?  
(b) Puderpinsel und Rasierklinge hab ich auch  
(c) und rechts daneben eine zahnbürste? ja heb ik ook  
(d) do you also have two credit cards under the papers? yes. and I also have the rope

Expressing addition is redundant in the context of the picture comparison task and the particles in (2) could in principle be left out. They seem, however, to fulfil an important function for speakers of Dutch and German, who are constantly checking whether and confirming that the similarity between the pictures that they presuppose is indeed there. The findings can thus be interpreted in the framework of obligatory presupposition (Amsili & Beyssade 2009). The results will be compared with data from native speakers of English.

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## Een toebroodje van infinitieven

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De *vervangende infinitief* (*Infinitivus pro participio/IPP*) verwijst naar een perfectumconstructie waarin een infinitief opduikt op een plaats waar men een deelwoord verwacht. Het fenomeen doet zich voor in een subset van de West-Germaanse talen (Schmid, 2005). De volgende voorbeelden illustreren IPP-constructies voor het Nederlands (1) en het Afrikaans (2).

(1) Die zijn we daar toen **gaan** ophalen. (*Corpus Gesproken Nederlands*)

(2) Jy het **ophou** praat en jou onttrek. (*Taalkommissiekorpus*)

In (1) is het IPP-effect verplicht voor het Nederlandse *gaan*, maar in het Afrikaans treft men ook constructies aan met het verwachte deelwoord *opgehou*. De twee talen vertonen een aantal gelijkenissen en verschillen met betrekking tot de set van werkwoorden die als IPP kunnen optreden, alsook met betrekking tot het al dan niet verplicht optreden van het fenomeen.

In tegenstelling tot de vervangende infinitief in het Nederlands en het Duits, krijgt het fenomeen in het Afrikaans relatief weinig aandacht in de literatuur. Uit de literatuur blijkt dat auteurs het niet eens zijn welke werkwoorden verplicht of optioneel het IPP-effect vertonen, cf. Ponelis (1979), Donaldson (1993). We proberen met een empirische studie helderheid te scheppen in deze kwestie.

Aan de hand van een uitgebreide corpusstudie op basis van het *Taalkommissiekorpus* hebben we onderzocht welke werkwoorden verplicht of optioneel als IPP optreden in het Afrikaans. We zijn daarvoor vertrokken van de inleidende studie van Augustinus & Dirix (2013) en hebben deze uitgebreid met de modale werkwoorden.

Uit de resultaten blijkt dat in de gewone dubbele-infinitiefconstructie (type *Dit het ophou reën*) in 98,5% van de gevallen IPP voorkomt. In tegenstelling tot het Nederlands worden duratieve constructies in het Afrikaans gevormd met het voegwoord *en*, bv. *Ons staan en praat*<sup>1</sup>. Voltooides constructies van dit type vertonen in de corpusdata in 51,7% van de gevallen IPP, waaruit blijkt dat in dergelijke constructies IPP optioneel is.

Een laatste opmerkelijke fenomeen in het Afrikaans betreft voltooides constructies met de modale werkwoorden *kan*, *moet*, *mag*, *wil* en *sal*. In dergelijke constructies kan een preteritumvorm opduiken waar in de overeenkomstige Nederlandse en Duitse equivalenten de vervangende infinitief optreedt.<sup>2</sup> Een voorbeeld is (3).

(3) *Hy het nooit **kon** oefen smiddae nie, want hy moes werk.* (*Taalkommissiekorpus*)

Ponelis (1979) verwijst naar dergelijke constructies, die over het algemeen i.p.v. IPP voorkomen, als *preteritieve assimilatie*.

Tenslotte bekijken we hoe het Afrikaans past in het *Germanic Sandwich*-verhaal, door na te gaan of de Afrikaanse data kunnen gecategoriseerd worden volgens bestaande typologieën voor

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<sup>1</sup> “We staan te praten”.

<sup>2</sup> De preteritumvorm komt in het Afrikaans enkel nog voor bij de werkwoorden *is* (*was*), *kan* (*kon*), *moet* (*moes*), *wil* (*wou*), *sal* (*sou*) en *dink* (*dag/dog*). Bij *hê* (*had*) en *mag* (*mog*) wordt hij als archaisch beschouwd. Geen enkel modaal werkwoord heeft een voltooid deelwoord in het Afrikaans.

Nederlandse en Duitse IPP-werkwoorden, zoals die voorgesteld door Schmid (2005) en Augustinus & Van Eynde (2016). In het Afrikaans vinden we dezelfde categorieën terug als voor het Nederlands, maar er zijn wel verschillen in frequentie, verplicht-zijn en verder ook een aantal unieke constructies.

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## **Regional similarities and differences in production and perception of the Dutch pronominal gender**

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The Dutch language is currently undergoing a systematic change regarding its pronominal gender. The so-called ‘resemanticisation’ describes a transition from a syntactic to a more semantic pronominal gender system, resulting in mismatches with lexical gender. The degree of individuation is one of the main indicators in this context: Highly individuated nouns (count nouns) go along with masculine and feminine pronouns while lowly individuated ones (mass nouns), such as the feminine noun *melk* ‘milk’, entice the neuter pronoun *het* (Audring 2009). For the German language this tendency has been found as well, albeit on a limited scale (Kraaikamp 2016; Klom/De Vogelaer to appear).

Resemanticisation is more strongly observed in northern varieties of Dutch, which are characterized by a loss of the three-way nominal gender, in contrast to southern varieties, where masculine, feminine and neuter gender are still distinguished, and the traditional pronominal gender system is acquired faster and more competently (Cornips & Hulk 2006; De Vogelaer & De Sutter 2011). In contrast, due to the opacity of lexical gender northern speakers of Dutch tend to use semantically-driven default strategies instead of the grammatical gender (De Vos & De Vogelaer 2011).

Whereas current research on resemanticisation has focused on production, this psycholinguistic study addresses these differences between northern and southern speakers of Dutch (in Ghent & Utrecht) as well as German learners of Dutch (in Münster) primarily from a processing point of view. We combine sentence completion tasks with speeded grammaticality judgements to generate a more extensive analysis of the participants’ grammatical competence. First results of the sentence completion task (production) led to the assumption that there is more sensitivity for the grammatical gender in Ghent. This finding could only be confirmed partly regarding the perception and the reaction times during the speeded grammaticality judgements, as in cases of masculine antecedents a semantic overuse of *het* was observable. Remarkably, German learners of Dutch do show tendencies of this phenomenon as well. Nevertheless, the grammatical gender has a greater impact on learners than the semantic gender agreement which can be attributed to a L1 transfer effect.

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## Subtle differences, but rigorous implications: German and Dutch representation of tense-aspect features. Evidence from SLA.

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When faced with the task of learning a second language, comprehending the features connected to tense and aspect is a crucial part of reaching the target. The present task will use a study we conducted on the L1 effect in second language acquisition in order to shed light on subtle differences between verb systems contributing to language description.

In comparison to Germanic languages, aspect plays a rather prominent role in Romance languages. There has been a lot of work regarding English speaking learners of Spanish and French (Comajoan 2013, Salaberry & Comajoan 2013), but German and Dutch are underrepresented.

In Spanish, aspectual distinctions between Preterit (*comí* 'I ate') and Imperfect (*comía* 'I was eating/would eat') are necessary to speak about past events (Leonetti 2004), a distinction that is absent in the Germanic languages focused here: neither Dutch nor German has separate perfective and imperfective forms that would equal the Spanish ones (Ebert 1996, Schwenk 2012, Vater 2010). The grammatical aspect is completely independent from the inherent one, as well as from other semantic features, so that every verb can, according to the context, appear in any form (Zagona 2007, Gonzalez 2013). While some uses as the distinction between punctuality and habituality can be acquired via a simple rule-based learning, other contexts require a broader understanding (Slabakova & Montrul 2003).

By means of an analysis of elicited data from second language learners with German or Dutch as native language, we will show that these differences indeed cause apparently insuperable challenges when it comes to subtle meanings and complex uses in L2. These results bring additional evidence in favor of the Transfer Hypothesis, controversially discussed for decades in Second Language studies (see White 2003).

In order to overcome these challenges, the participants seem to have developed non-nativelike strategies to choose between competing verb forms. Crucially, however, these strategies are very different when comparing Dutch and German learners as will be detailed in the talk. Our main goal is to present theoretical explanations for these differences.

If one observes the temporal systems of both languages, a couple of interesting observations can be made: German has no grammatical aspect at all; i.e., it lacks a standardized progressive and its past tenses are principally interchangeable for mere stylistic reasons (Heinold 2015). Dutch, conversely, contains aspectual elements with a progressive which, however, is not as obligatory as the English one (Ebert 1996). Moreover, Dutch normally does not mark syntactic aspect on the verb, so that it differs from, e.g., English in that progressive aspect can simply be expressed by means of the simple present/past (Broekhuis and Corver 2016). Our aim is to empirically compare both languages as far as their aspectual intricacies are concerned. We will follow Verkuyl's (2008) binary tense system (based on te Winkel's (1866) tense distinctions) as the matrix to show how both tense systems can be organized on the basis of three binary oppositions, and will try to defend that the differences in aspectual representations can also be accounted for.

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## **De historische ontwikkeling van zou(den) als hearsay- en beleefdheidsmarkeerder en wat een vergelijking met het Engels en Duits kan bijdragen aan de verklaring hiervan.**

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Het hulpwerkwoord *zou(den)* heeft in het huidige Nederlands verschillende betekenissen en functies zoals hypotheticaliteit, de overheersende betekenis van *zou(den)*, temporaliteit, evidentialiteit (*hearsay*) en mitigatie. Daarnaast wordt *zou(den)* in de secundaire literatuur vaak aangeduid als een analytische vorm voor de conjunctief (b.v. Haeserijn et al. 1997, Roels, Mortelmans & Van der Auwera. 2007, Boogaart & Janssen 2010, Coupé 2015) omdat het de stand van zaken als hypothetisch (in de literatuur ook wel *irrealis*, *potentialis* of *non-factual* genoemd) voorstelt en het huidige Nederlands niet meer over een preteritale conjunctief beschikt. Het bekendste voorbeeld van een context waarin *zou(den)* als hypothetische markeerder voorkomt, is in de protasis en apodosis van conditionele constructies. Daarnaast zijn er functies van *zou(den)* waarbij de stand van zaken eveneens hypothetisch is en die juist door deze eigenschap zijn ontstaan, namelijk de functie als hearsay- en beleefdheidsmarkeerder. De historische ontwikkeling van deze functies staat centraal in deze lezing. Omdat corpusonderzoek alleen niet voldoende is om de ontwikkeling van evidentieel *zou(den)* te kunnen verklaren, is een vergelijking met het Engelse cognaat *should* en de functie van de *subjunctive* in oudere taalstadia van het Engels (Traugott 1989, Warner 1993) noodzakelijk. Ook het Duits, dat over de *Konjunktiv* en het hulpwerkwoord *sollen* beschikt om vergelijkbare functies uit te drukken, geeft meer inzicht in deze materie. Hetzelfde geldt voor de ontwikkeling van *zou(den)* als beleefdheidsmarkeerder, dat sterk gebonden is aan bepaalde grammaticale patronen zoals de combinatie met andere modale hulpwerkwoorden. In het Engels zijn vergelijkbare ontwikkelingen met het hulpwerkwoord *would* te vinden, maar in het Duits kan naast een constructie met *würden* ook de *Konjunktiv II* (Leirbukt 2008) worden gebruikt. Het is de vraag, in hoeverre de conjunctief als functioneel concept en hypotheticaliteitsmarkeerder nog aanwezig is in deze twee betekenis categorieën van *zou(den)*.

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## **Derdetaalverwerving (L3) in het Nederlands en het Zweeds met aandacht voor positiewerkwoorden: een didactisch perspectief**

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Deze presentatie behandelt de positiewerkwoorden *zitten*, *liggen*, *staan* in twee Germaanse talen, namelijk het Nederlands en het Zweeds, vanuit een didactisch perspectief met focus op derdetaalverwerving.

De positiewerkwoorden vervullen dezelfde functie en worden gelijkaardig gebruikt in het Nederlands en het Zweeds. Gebaseerd op cognitieve linguïstiek hebben deze werkwoorden drie functies: 1) menselijke positie, 2) aanwezigheid/locatie, 3) metaforische betekenis (De Knop & Perrez 2014), vgl.

- (1) De vrouw *zit* op de stoel (menselijke positie)
- (2) Het boek *staat* in de boekenkast (locatie)
- (3) De verantwoordelijkheid *ligt* bij jou (metaforische betekenis)

In deze voorbeelden (die ook grammaticale zinnen in het Zweeds vormen) wordt de concrete, menselijke positie met *zitten* in (1) aangegeven en in (2) en (3) met *staan* en *liggen* uitgebreid tot het aangeven van algemene locatie/bestaan van iets of iemand, wat ook vaak met het werkwoord *zijn* wordt uitgedrukt. Het is algemeen bekend dat deze werkwoorden een struikelblok vormen (voorbeeld 2 en 3) voor taalleerders van het Nederlands en het Duits met een Romaanse L1 omdat positiewerkwoorden in de Romaanse talen deze functie niet vullen (Lemmens & Perrez 2010; De knop & Perrez 2014; De knop 2015). Toch kunnen de Nederlandse positiewerkwoorden een struikelblok vormen bij taalleerders met een Germaanse L1 (in dit geval het Zweeds). De taalleerders produceren frequent zinnen met *zijn* waarin een positiewerkwoord meer idiomatisch is, zoals in *Mijn beurs is in de tas* i.p.v. *Mijn beurs zit in de tas* (in het Zweeds wordt hier *ligga* 'liggen' gebruikt). Bij het achterhalen van mogelijke factoren die hier een rol spelen worden drie actuele transfer-hypothesen in het kader van het onderzoeksgebied derdetaalverwerving voor volwassenen geanalyseerd: Cumulative-Enhancement Model (Flynn, Foley & Vinnitskaya 2004), The Typological Primacy Model (Rothman 2010) en L2 status factor (Hammarberg 2001, Bardel & Falk 2007, 2012, Bonacker 2006). Hieruit blijkt dat transfer uit allebei L1 en L2 kan voorkomen bij het leren van een L3. De conclusie kan worden getrokken dat het bevorderen van positieve transfer uit het Zweeds (L1) belangrijk is bij het leren van positiewerkwoorden in het Nederlands(L3) omdat deze talen verwant zijn en dat transfer uit het Engels of Romaanse talen (L2) tot negatieve transfer kan leiden. Onderzoek laat verder zien dat metalinguïstische kennis van L1 positieve transfer uit dezelfde L1 in een L3 kan bevorderen (Falk, Lindqvist & Bardel 2013). Vanuit een didactisch perspectief blijkt het hierdoor van belang om de functie van Nederlandse en Zweedse positiewerkwoorden expliciet in het onderwijs te behandelen. Positiewerkwoorden worden nauwelijks of beknopt in grammatica's en lesmethodes behandeld en in deze presentatie zal daarom ook de functie van deze werkwoorden aan bod komen.

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## Germanic Linguistic Lexicography: English and Dutch National Traditions

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Recently, there has been an increase of interest in studies focusing on development of national lexicographies in their historical aspect. A number of researchers have shown that genesis of lexicographic tradition starts from compiling primitive word lists and proceed to creation of monumental dictionaries on historical principles (Considine, 2010; Cowie, 2009; Mugglestone, 2000; Schoonheim, 2006; Pijenburg, 2006; Tollenaere, 1977). This paper presents a comparative study of English and Dutch lexicographic paradigms. The aim of this paper is to establish the main stages in the evolution of English and Dutch dictionary making process and to reveal common and nationally specific features of it.

English and Dutch practical lexicographies are an inalienable part of general European lexicography which is possible to divide into three periods: 1) predictionary period (up to the 15<sup>th</sup> c.); 2) early dictionary period (15<sup>th</sup> c. – 17<sup>th</sup> c.); 3) period of developed lexicography (from 18<sup>th</sup> c. – to the present). The first two stages are characterised by utilitarian approach to dictionary compiling. During the period of developed lexicography the basic theoretical fundamentals have been formulated and general dictionaries of the national languages have begun to appear.

A survey of English and Dutch lexicographies through the ages demonstrates that their origin was not connected with the peculiar properties of the vernaculars, but it is explained by the presence of the international language of medieval European civilization – Latin, which was the language of culture, science, religion and international communication. Latin was the principal intermedium of international communication until the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and it was the main element of any dictionary. However, in connection with the gradual reinforcement of the role of national languages, the compilation of bilingual dictionaries in modern European languages became predominant. The whole 16<sup>th</sup> century is characterised by emergence, development and improvement of bilingual dictionaries in national Western European languages. The main intension of English and Dutch lexicographies up to the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century is to help in foreign language acquisition, in particular, Latin and then new Western European languages. In addition to the bilingual dictionaries, attempts were made to write first monolingual English and Dutch dictionaries. Further development of English and Dutch lexicographies of the 18<sup>th</sup> century can be described as a constant accretion of everyday words registered in a dictionary macrostructure. The 19<sup>th</sup> century is characterized by scientific approach to historical lexicography due to the introduction of scientific linguistics that changed dramatically the study of language. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century work on monumental historical dictionary of English started (*A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, which later became known as *Oxford English Dictionary*) Great Britain. At the same time in Netherlands was initiated a national Dutch dictionary (*Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal*). Modern state of English and Dutch lexicography is characterized by variety of dictionary genres both in paper and electronic versions.

The findings, presented in the paper, reveal peculiarities of English and Dutch linguistic lexicographies in their historical development.

## The mental representation of gender in Dutch and German adults and children

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Is a winner, a smoker, or a therapist male, female or neither? It is known that different world languages attach different gender values to nouns. De Backer and Cuypere (2012) have shown that in German and Dutch, masculine personal nouns (e.g. smoker, winner, therapist) can be used either generically (i.e. referring to both women and men) or specifically (i.e., referring to only men). However, for German, generic use of masculine personal nouns has been reported to be strongly male-biased (Klein, 1988; Stahlberg et al., 2001) even for stereotypical role nouns (Gygax et al. 2008). As for Dutch, masculine and neutralising terms are said to be increasingly used in reference to both women and men (Gerritsen, 2002). Do these socio-linguistic differences affect how gender is represented mentally in speakers of German and Dutch? Moreover, when does the male-bias arise in German speaking children? It has been shown that in other gender-marked languages like Spanish, from the age of 8 children tend to be strongly influenced by grammatical gender in the assignment of gender and proper names of entities (Flaherty, 2001).

Eye movement to potential gender referents during language comprehension may provide insight into how different semantics affect online noun processing. Therefore, to investigate the questions above, we develop an eye tracking study, employing the visual world paradigm (Cooper, 1974; Allopenna, Magnuson, Tanenhaus, 1998). In this study, subjects will listen to sentences (like 'The therapist opened the door') containing masculine personal nouns while inspecting pictures of male or female referents. We predict that upon the encounter of masculine personal nouns (and also in following sentence regions), adult German speaker's will fixate male referents to a greater extent than female referents. Dutch adult's speakers' fixations will be equally distributed between male and female referents. Second, we predict that German children below the age of 8 will comply with Dutch eye movement patterns.

This study is relevant both from a scientific as a public perspective. First, we make a scientific contribution to the debate on the relation between gendered language and thought, employing a technique (eye-tracking) that has not been applied to this German-Dutch case. Moreover, to our knowledge, no language effects for gender-specific nouns have been documented for German children. Second, our results may provide sound arguments to the public debate on gendered language. In the last decade, gendered language has provoked media debates and controversy over feminism, gender neutrality and parenting worldwide (Sczesny, Formanowicz & Moser, 2016). Clearly, one of the reasons for public concerns about gendered language is the belief that language affects thought. Our study will yield grounded arguments as to what degree such beliefs are legitimate.

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## Adhortative im Sprachvergleich – zwei Hypothesen zu einem paradoxen Phänomen

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Adhortative werden oft als „Imperative der 1. Person Plural“ aufgefasst und dementsprechend als Randphänomen des Imperativs oder allgemeiner von *directives* behandelt (Xrakovskij 2001). Aufforderungen wie *Laten we een biertje gaan drinken!* oder *Gehen wir ein Bierchen trinken!* unterscheiden sich von Imperativen der 2. Person dadurch, dass der Sprecher an der Ausführung der Handlung beteiligt ist. Dabei ergibt sich ein pragmatisches Paradox, weil sich die Aufforderung unter anderem an den Sprechenden selbst richtet, obwohl dieser die Handlung veranlassen möchte und daher keiner Aufforderung bedarf.

Die erste Hypothese des Vortrags liegt in der Vermutung, dass Sprachen auf verschiedene Weise versuchen, dieses Paradox zu umgehen. Als Folge entstehen Strukturen, die sich in den germanischen Sprachen zum Teil ähneln, aber auch einzelsprachliche Besonderheiten aufweisen. Die unterschiedlichen Strukturen werden systematisch vorgestellt und sprachvergleichend im Hinblick auf ihr Potenzial zur Umgehung des Paradoxes überprüft, um eine synchrone Basis für mögliche spätere diachrone Untersuchungen zu schaffen. Dabei kommt beispielsweise die Frage auf, wie sich diese Entwicklung im Vergleich zu anderen bisher erforschten Wandelprozessen von *directives* verhält, etwa im Rahmen von *face-saving*-Strategien und Grammatikalisierung. (Mauri / Sansò 2011)

Das Niederländische kennt zwei mögliche Konstruktionen, die üblicherweise als mehr oder weniger synonym behandelt werden:

- (1) *Laten we een biertje gaan drinken!*
- (2) *Laat ons een biertje gaan drinken!*

Ein Satz wie in (1) ist auf Deutsch oder Englisch nicht möglich und auch in den skandinavischen Sprachen ausgeschlossen. Die zweite Hypothese besagt, dass das Niederländische anders als die Nachbarsprachen die Möglichkeit hat, mit den beiden Konstruktionstypen einen semantischen und pragmatischen Unterschied zu entwickeln, der zwischen einem inklusiven und einem exklusiven ‚Wir‘ trennt.

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## **Deutsche und niederländische Spitznamenbildung im Vergleich: *Päde* und *Sani* treffen *Patje* und *San***

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Spitznamen für Menschen, Orte und Gegenstände werden ständig und mit großer Kreativität vergeben. Sie bilden einen Teil der Sprache, in dem Wortschöpfungsprozesse mit großer Freiheit genutzt werden können, und geben uns damit Einblick in phonologische Präferenzen, die im bestehenden Lexikon nicht untersucht werden können (vgl. de Klerk/Bosch 1997). Die Bildung von Personenspitznamen war bislang kaum Gegenstand kontrastiver Untersuchung, und zum Deutschen liegen nur wenige Untersuchungen zur Struktur von Spitznamen vor (z. B. Kany 1992, Naumann 1976/1977). Im Rahmen des Vortrags soll der aktuellen kreativen Spitznamenbildung im deutsch-niederländischen Vergleich nachgegangen werden. Grundlage bilden deutsche und niederländische Listen von je ca. 500 Spitznamen, die im Internet aus öffentlich einsehbaren Profilen von Hobbysportlern gewonnen wurden. In solchen Steckbriefen sind sowohl Spitznamen als auch offizielle Namen (Ruf- und Familiennamen) einzusehen, so dass Rückschlüsse auf die Basis des Spitznamens gezogen werden können. Die Spitznamenlisten wurden nach Wortbildungsart (Kürzung, Suffigierung, Längung etc.), Auslaut, prosodischen Kriterien (Silbenzahl, Fuß, Silbentyp und Silbenfuge), Transparenzgrad und sozialen Kriterien (Geschlecht, Ort des Sportvereins) annotiert und verglichen ausgewertet.

Im Ergebnis zeigt sich, dass deutsche und niederländische Spitznamen zahlreiche Parallelen aufweisen: In beiden Sprachen werden Spitznamen auf Basis des Rufnamens (dt. *Päde* < *Patrick*, nl. *Ceke* < *Cedric*) oder des Familiennamens (dt. *Kohli* < *Kohlmann*, nl. *Have* < *Havelaerts*) gebildet. Die Spitznamen von Männern werden dabei häufiger auf Basis des Familiennamens gebildet als die von Frauen. Andere Spitznamen sind unabhängig vom offiziellen Namen und bestehen in appellativischem (dt. *Piepser*) oder onymischen Material (nl. *Tarzan*) oder in neuen Namensschöpfungen (z. B. dt. *Tudt*, nl. *Cesc*).

Kürzungs- und Suffigierungsprozessen aus den offiziellen Namen weisen ebenfalls Parallelen auf: In beiden Sprachen überwiegen Spitznamen in Form von trochäischen Zweisilbern, die auf offene Silbe enden, wobei die Endung *-i* die jeweils höchste Frequenz aufweist. Häufig weisen die Spitznamen ambisyllabische Konsonanzen auf (dt. *Sani* < *Sandra*, nl. *Bassie* < *Sebastiaan*). Weit seltener wird die auch bei etablierten Rufnamen (Klaus, Klaas < Nikolaus) vorzufindende Kürzung zum Einsilber genutzt (dt. *Ker* < *Kerstin*, nl. *San* < *Sandra*).

Divergenzen erweisen sich in der Bildung von Diminutivnamen (dt. *Sabinchen*, nl. *Patje* < *Patrick*), die im Nl. häufiger auftritt und weniger stark auf Frauenspitznamen beschränkt ist als im Dt, und bei der Nutzung von Fremdsprachen, bei der im Nl. neben dem Englischen (*King*) und Portugiesischen (*Robinho*) auch das Deutsche einbezogen wird (vgl. *Der Kalte, Meister*). Die Ergebnisse werden abschließend in einem knappen Ausblick mit der Spitznamenbildung im Schwedischen und im Englischen kontrastiert.

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## **Boekdrukkunst en taalverandering**

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Volgens de gangbare opvatting in taalgeschiedenissen van het Nederlands heeft het Standaardnederlands zich aan het einde van de 16de en het begin van de 17de eeuw geleidelijk ontwikkeld uit het Hollandse dialect van de stedelijke elite, aangevuld met zuidelijke elementen uit de taal van de talrijke migranten die na de val van Antwerpen in 1585 hun heil in het Noorden hadden gezocht. Hoewel er al in de 16de eeuw pogingen tot standaardisering in de zuidelijke Nederlanden zijn geweest, zouden deze niet succesvol zijn geweest.

Uit recent onderzoek van de taal van incunabelen en postincunabelen blijkt echter dat al in het begin van de 16de eeuw de Laatmiddelnederlandse dialectkenmerken in gedrukte boeken systematisch werden vervangen door supra-regionale, Vroegnieuw nederlandse varianten. Drukkers uit de stad Antwerpen, in de 16de eeuw de belangrijkste metropool van de Lage Landen, namen het voortouw in dit vroege standaardiseringsproces.

In deze lezing zal de invloed van de uitvinding van de boekdrukkunst, een technologische innovatie die de westerse cultuurgeschiedenis fundamenteel heeft bepaald, op de standaardisatie van het geschreven Nederlands worden toegelicht.

Vormde ook in het Duitse en het Engelse taalgebied het gedrukte woord de motor voor taalverandering? M.a.w. had de introductie van de drukpers, op de overgang van de middeleeuwen naar de vroegmoderne tijd, een vergelijkbare invloed op de standaardisering van het Engels en het Duits als voor het Nederlands het geval blijkt?

## Can kids order a sandwich? On (the acquisition of) ordinal numerals in West-Germanic

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This paper compares (the acquisition of) ordinal numerals systems in English and Dutch (and, time permitting, German). Putting aside *eerste* ‘first’ (a superlative), Dutch has one irregular ordinal, morphophonologically irregular *derde* ‘third’, and two ordinal suffixes: *-de* for most ordinals under 20 and *-ste* for higher ordinals and *achtste* ‘eighth’. The ordinal system differs slightly in German but considerably in English, as reliable evidence for the English ordinal formation rule only appears from sixth on. Additionally, these languages allow analytic constructions to express ordinality, e.g. *car three*. Such forms are infrequent, but always transparently linked to their cardinal. We ask how all these ordinals are acquired and what this says about language variation and change.

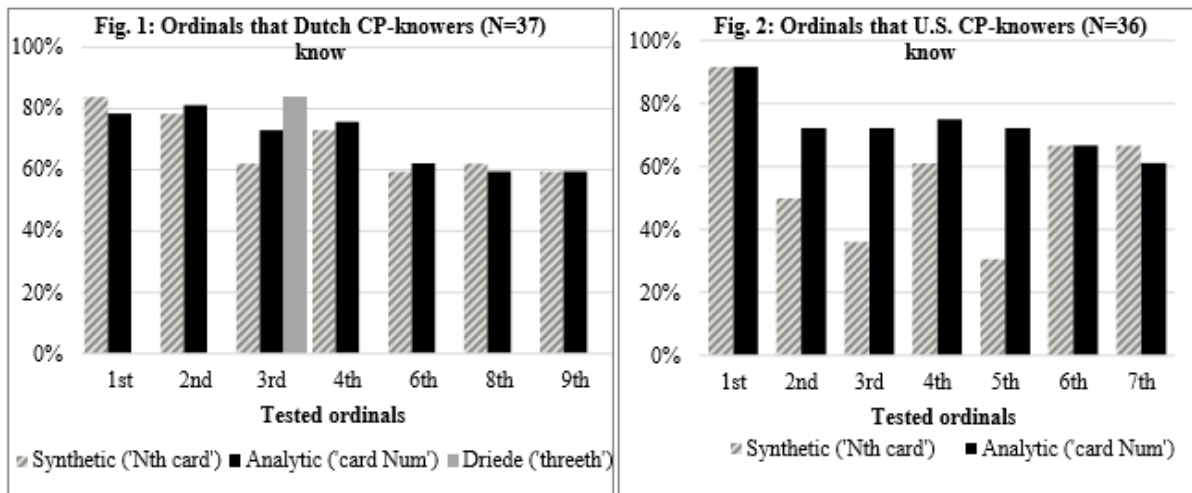
Using a Give-X comprehension task (Wynn 1992), we asked 62 Dutch (2;8–4;11) and 36 U.S. English L1-learners (3;3–5;3) to pack certain items in a suitcase, such as three t-shirts (cardinals), the fourth bear (synthetic ordinals) and *car three* (analytic ordinals). We tested one–four, six, eight, nine, their synthetic and analytic ordinal counterparts, plus the ungrammatical yet regularized form *\*driede* ‘threeth’ in Dutch, and the first seven of all three numeral types in English.

Figure 1 shows that the percentages of Dutch cardinal-knowers (N=37) who understand synthetic and analytic ordinals are similar (e.g. scores on *de vierde beer* ‘the fourth bear’ do not differ from *kabouter vier* ‘gnome four’). Ordinals for three constitute the only exception: scores on the analytic forms (*konijn drie* ‘bunny three’) and *\*driede* ‘threeth’ were similar to ordinals for two and four, whereas grammatical synthetic items (*de derde auto* ‘the third car’) were harder. Figure 2 shows that in English, too, irregular synthetic ordinals are more difficult than regular forms and bunny three-type ordinals, despite such analytic forms being uncommon, especially in English.

From this data, we conclude that ordinal acquisition favors morphophonological regularity, making English a more complex system than Dutch. Children first acquire cardinals before beginning to understand ordinality. They then acquire ordinals in a rule-based (rather than lexical) fashion. Exceptions to these rules, even ‘merely’ phonological ones like *fifth*, are acquired later. Hence, to distill the rule, children apparently collect evidence from higher ordinals before beginning to grasp their meaning, and then employ this knowledge when sufficient evidence for a rule is available (cf. Yang 2016). Moreover, comprehension difficulties on frequent irregular ordinals suggests children deduce the meaning of ordinals from their linguistic form.

These results not only shed valuable light on earlier findings regarding ordinal acquisition (cf. Colomé & Noël 2012 for French, Trabant et al. 2015 for German), they also raise questions for language variation and change. Weerman (2006) argues that the typical Van Haeringen-pattern is an effect of early and late acquisition. The sandwich we find here differs in crucial ways from prototypical sandwich patterns involving deflection. We discuss these details and speculate as to why that is, while arguing that this sandwich could not have been ordered by children alone: they needed adults to help. (Or, in this case, make things worse.)

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## Satzinterne Großschreibung diachron-kontrastiv: Niederländisch – Deutsch

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Der vermeintliche Sonderweg des satzinternen Majuskelgebrauchs im Deutschen relativiert sich deutlich mit Blick auf die Diachronie anderer europäischer, besonders germanischer Orthographie- bzw. graphematischer Systeme, u.a. das englische, niederländische, dänische, isländische (z.B. BACK 1978, 1995, MAAS 2007).

Für das Deutsche kann mit den Arbeiten von BERGMANN/NERIUS (1998) und dem noch laufenden DFG-Projekt *Entwicklung der satzinternen Großschreibung im Deutschen* (vgl. SZCZEPANIAK/BARTELD 2016) auf eine insgesamt sehr gut dokumentierte Historiogenese des Majuskelgebrauchs und ihrer Determinanten zurückgegriffen werden. Sie bilden den methodischen und theoretischen Ausgangspunkt des vorliegenden Beitrags zur Diachronie des Majuskelgebrauchs im Niederländischen, die anhand ausgewählter Texte unterschiedlicher konzeptueller Schrift-/Mündlichkeit untersucht werden soll. Der Sprachvergleich soll einerseits typologische Generalisierungen ermöglichen, wie sie gemeinsame Entwicklungspfade nahelegen, z.B. die Ausbreitung der satzinternen Großschreibung entlang der Belebtheitshierarchie (vgl. zum Englischen OSSELTON 1985, zum Französischen MEISENBURG 1989). Andererseits soll der kontrastive Blickwinkel zu klären verhelfen, ob und inwieweit auch sprachstrukturelle Züge die Etablierung einer Substantivgroßschreibung (bzw. Großschreibung expandierbarer NP-Köpfe) beeinflussen (z.B. prä- vs. postnominale Attributposition, größere Wortstellungsfreiheit stark flektierender Sprachtypen). Auch außersprachliche Faktoren sollen in den Blick genommen werden, so z.B. die Rolle deutscher Buchdrucker (MAAS 2007) oder der Einfluss zeitgenössischer Grammatiker (der für das Deutsche widerlegt wurde, s. BERGMANN/NERIUS 1998).

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***Haus/Häuser – huis/huizen – house/hous[ɪz]* – On the increasing "down-grading"  
(formalization) of nominal morphology in the history of Dutch and English**

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Whereas German nouns preserved a rather complex inflectional system including three nominal genders, different declension classes and some case endings, Dutch and English developed completely different and rather simple systems. This diachronic simplification has not yet been compared in detail. In my talk I will show that the loss of allomorphs results in paradigmatic deflection creating one uniform suffix which was considered "superstable" by some morphologists such as Wurzel (1987) as it entered other declension classes (cf. plural *-s* in English). In reality, however, this is a sign of instability and weakness as it is often followed by further – even syntagmatic – deflection. Another indicator for inflectional weakness is the direction of the phonological processes between stem and suffix. I will show that the 'balance of power' can change in a further step: While in earlier times, it was the suffix which influenced the stem (regressive assimilations such as umlaut) it may be now the stem which determines the form of the suffix (progressive assimilation), cf. the distribution of the plural allomorphs {-en/-s} in Dutch and {[s/z/ɪz]} in English. If phonology or prosody decides over morphology the morphological assignment principles have been formalized, the affixes are predictable. In German, these profound "down-gradings" did not occur. Instead, the inflectional system has been re-organized in a rather complex way by even strengthening the expression of gender.

Wurzel, Wolfgang (1987): System-dependent morphological naturalness in inflection. In: Wolfgang Dressler et al. (eds.): *Leitmotifs in Natural Morphology*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia, 59-96.

## Human impersonal pronouns in Afrikaans and other Germanic languages A semantic map based on results obtained from a questionnaire-based approach

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The last decade has seen an increasing interest in human impersonal pronouns (HIPs). They have been studied quite extensively in the languages of Europe (e.g. Siewierska 2011) and in West Germanic in particular (e.g. van der Auwera et al. 2012). Afrikaans, however, has not received much attention in the literature, despite, for instance, the language's interesting relation to the so-called sandwich distribution of the 'man'-pronoun in European West Germanic: it is very much alive in German, i.e. *man*, has been lost entirely in English and appears to be on its way out in Dutch, i.e. *men* (see Weerman 2006). Afrikaans lost its ancestral *men* but is developing a new 'man'-pronoun, i.e. (*'n*) *mens* '(a) human'.

- (1) (*'n*)            *Mens mag nooit drink en bestuur nie.*  
INDEF.SG human may never drink.INF and drive.INF NEG  
'One should not drink and drive.'

The other HIPs in Afrikaans are *hulle* 'they' and *jy* 'you (singular)'. In this paper, we aim to provide the first description of their functional distribution in Present-day Afrikaans, examine what it can contribute to our understanding of HIPs in general and test the usefulness of two types of questionnaires (an acceptability test and a completion task) for the study of HIPs in languages for which few/no corpora are available. Our main research questions and some of the initial findings are discussed below:

- 1) How are the HIPs in Afrikaans distributed over the various functions identified in the two most recent semantic maps of the domain by Siewierska & Papastathi (2011) and Gast & van der Auwera (2013)?

A first look at the judgments suggests a clear distribution of labor between, on the one hand, *hulle*, i.e. universal-external and existential uses, and, on the other hand, (*'n*) *mens* and *jy*, i.e. universal-inclusive uses.

- 2) Do *'n mens* and *mens* differ in (socio)linguistic terms?

It seems as though both are acceptable in the same contexts, which means that a form-function correlation is lacking in the incipient grammaticalization of this HIP since the loss of the article is usually taken as a sign of a higher level of grammaticalization (see Giacalone Ramat & Sansò 2007). The variation in acceptability that is attested between *'n mens* and *mens* seems to be highly idiolectal. *Mens* has a slightly higher overall score among men than among women, while *'n mens* exhibit a preference for more prestigious or formal register.

- 3) Do HIPs always constitute the most common strategy for impersonalisation?

The results appear to confirm Siewierska & Papastathi's (2011) claim that HIPs are actually rarely used existentially. Unlike in the universal uses, where HIPs dominate, informants are very often found to use the indefinite pronoun *iemand* 'someone' and the indefinite noun phrase *mense* 'humans/people'.

In sum, the paper has implications for the combinability of the two existing semantic maps and the role of sociolinguistic/idiolectal variation in incipient grammaticalization. We aim to put forward a new semantic map of HIPs to also be tested for other Germanic languages, e.g. Dutch, English and German.

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## **Zweifelsfrei nicht komplikationslos: Adjektivderivation mit -frei/-vrij und -los/-loos im deutsch-niederländischen Sprachvergleich**

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Es gibt vielfältige Beispiele von deutschen adjektivischen Derivationen mit -frei bzw. -los, die ins Niederländische als entsprechende Derivationen mit -vrij bzw. -loos übersetzt werden und umgekehrt, wobei die jeweiligen nominalen Basen einander entsprechen, vgl. etwa koffeinfrei/caféinevrij und farblos/kleurloos. Daneben gibt es aber auch Fälle, die von dieser Parallelität in der Wortbildung abweichen: Zum einen können die jeweiligen Übersetzungen andere Suffix(oid)e als die Adjektive der Ausgangssprache aufweisen (schmerzfrei/pijnloos, kogelvrij/kugelsicher), vgl. Hüning (2009a). Zum anderen gibt es Übersetzungen, die nicht bzw. nicht nur durch Suffigierung gebildet werden (vorurteilsfrei/onbevooroordeeld, zweifelsfrei/onbetwifelbaar), solche, bei denen die deutschen und niederländischen Basen einander nicht entsprechen (fassungslos/sprakeloos), sowie solche, die nur als Paraphrasen realisiert werden können (gruðlos/zonder te groeten).

Unser Vortrag verfolgt das Ziel, im kontrastiven, deutsch-niederländischen Vergleich Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede in der adjektivischen Wortbildung mit -frei/-vrij und -los/-loos systematisch herauszuarbeiten. Besonderes Augenmerk gilt dabei den sogenannten semantischen Nischen (Hüning 2004, 2009b), d.h. Klassen von Adjektiven mit einer gemeinsamen Grundbedeutung bzw. einem gemeinsamen Anwendungsbereich, die in einem engen paradigmatischen Zusammenhang stehen.

Grundlage für die Untersuchung bildet ein maßgeblich aus (rückläufigen) Wörterbüchern gewonnenes Korpus von Adjektiven mit -frei, -vrij, -los und -loos, die jeweils eine nominale Basis haben, und deren Übersetzungen. Um eine in der Literatur bislang fehlende, systematische Analyse zu gewährleisten, wurde eine morphologisch-semantische Analyseverfahren auf der Basis von Äquivalenztypen (Voll-, Teil- bzw. Nulläquivalenz) entwickelt, die sich an Forschungsansätzen in der kontrastiven Phraseologie (Korhonen 2007) orientiert und sich zudem für weitere Analysen auf dem Gebiet der kontrastiven Morphologie eignet.

In allen vier untersuchten Gruppen von adjektivischen Derivationen zeigte sich – wie erwartet – eine Präferenz für volläquivalente Übersetzungen. Unterschiede zwischen den Sprachen ergaben sich zum einen in der bereits von Hüning (2009a) beobachteten systematischen Entsprechung von niederländischen vrij-Adjektiven und deutschen Adjektiven mit -sicher, die empirisch bestätigt werden konnte. Ferner ließen sich für die untersuchten deutschen adjektivischen Derivate zahlreiche paraphrasierte Übersetzungen ins Niederländische konstatieren, aber nicht umgekehrt. In meist informellen Internettextritten ließen sich allerdings auch alternative volläquivalente niederländische Übersetzungen finden, die bislang noch keinen Eingang in die gängigen zweisprachigen Wörterbücher gefunden haben. Es ist denkbar, dass diese neuen niederländischen Wortbildungen mit -vrij bzw. -loos auf Dauer die entsprechenden Paraphrasen verdrängen.

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## Reference assignment in Dutch and German Picture NPs

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Although Dutch and German are very similar in many respects in the domain of the pronominal system, there are crucial differences that we do not yet completely understand. Whereas Dutch-speaking children (as English-speaking children) show a so-called delay of principle B effect (i.e. they make mistakes in the interpretation of pronouns even at age 7), German-speaking kindergarten children already understand pronouns correctly (see Ruigendijk, 2008). Also, whereas in both English and Dutch (1a/b) both the reflexive and pronoun can refer to the subject, in German only the reflexive element ‘sich’ is accepted (1c).

- (1) a. De man<sub>i</sub> legt het boek naast zich<sub>i</sub>/hem<sub>i</sub> neer
- b. The man<sub>i</sub> puts the book next-to himself<sub>i</sub>/him<sub>i</sub>
- c. Der Mann<sub>i</sub> legt das Buch neben sich<sub>i</sub>/\*ihn<sub>i</sub>

One possible explanation for this could be that there is less ambiguity (with respect to what element can be used for what type of dependency) in the pronominal system in German, than in Dutch and English. We want to examine yet another phenomenon that may distinguish German from Dutch and English in this respect, namely the interpretation of so-called picture NPs (PNPs).

Reinhart and Reuland (1993, R&R) already suggested that ‘... judgments on NP anaphora are much less clear than the linguistic literature tends to assume.’ For standard binding theory (as in e.g. Chomsky, 1981), principle A can account for the grammaticality of (2), whereas an extra mechanism is needed to explain why a pronoun is possible here as well.

- (2) Lucie<sub>i</sub> liked a picture of herself<sub>i</sub>.

Following R&R, ‘herself’ can refer to the subject ‘Lucie’ here, since their Condition A applies to reflexive-marked syntactic predicates. Since no such predicate exists in (2), condition A does not apply (and is not violated). When a possible subject is included in the picture NP, as in (3), a syntactic predicate does exist, and hence there is a difference between (2) and (3):

- (3) \*/? Lucie<sub>i</sub> liked your picture of herself<sub>i</sub>.

But, as R&R mentioned: judgments on these NP anaphora are unclear, and moreover, there seems to be cross-linguistic variation. Lee-Schoenfeld (2008) for instance, argued that in (4) the German reflexive can refer to the matrix subject, whereas Kiss (2001) argued against this. Moreover, many of our informants did not like the pronoun to refer to the matrix subject.

- (4) Martin<sub>i</sub> hört Thorstens<sub>j</sub> Geschichten über sich<sub>i/j</sub>/ihn<sub>i/\*j</sub>

To better understand the interpretation of reflexives and pronouns in PNPs, we ran a questionnaire study in both languages (80 participants per language), see (5) for Dutch examples (p-PNP: with possessor, s-PNP: with subject), the German task consisted of direct translations.

- (5) a. p-PNP: Jan bevestigt, dat Franks boek over zichzelf/hem goed verkoopt.

b. s-PNP: Jan bevestigt, dat Frank boeken over zichzelf/hem zal verkopen.

Our results show that Dutch participants allowed for more variation regarding the possible antecedents of pronouns, whereas the German interpretation was more restricted: reflexives were interpreted to refer locally, whereas pronouns were much less accepted to refer locally. This supports our explanation that there is less ambiguity in the pronominal system in German.

## Grammatikalisierung kontrastiv. Zum Stand der Grammatikalisierung des Definitartikels im Deutschen, Englischen und Niederländischen

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Der aus einem Demonstrativ entstandene Definitartikel ist ein Charakteristikum (west)europäischer Sprachen (Heine/Kuteva 2006:97ff., van der Auwera 2011) oder „euroversial“ (Haspelmath 2001). Neben den romanischen verfügen auch die germanischen Sprachen über einen solchen Definitheitsmarker, der nicht auf gemeinsames Erbe zurückgeht (die altgerm. Sprachen sind in den frühesten Überlieferungen noch artikellos), sondern sich parallel in den Einzelsprachen herausgebildet hat. Im Sprachvergleich zeigen sich ganz ähnliche Grammatikalisierungswege: Demonstrativ >> Definitheitsmarker >> nominaler Marker. D.h. häufigste Quelle sind Demonstrativpronomen, die sich durch Reduktion ihres deiktischen Gehalts von pragmatisch definiten in semantisch definite Kontexte ausgebreitet haben. Definitartikel tendieren schließlich dazu, sich zu bloßen nominalen Markern (mit unterschiedlichen sekundären Funktionen) weiterzuentwickeln, indem sie sich auch auf semantisch indefinite Nomen (generischer Artikel) und inhärent definite Eigennamen (expletiver Artikel) ausbreiten. Den Weg vom Demonstrativ zum Definitartikel haben alle drei hier im Fokus stehenden Sprachen beschritten. Unterschiede ergeben sich bei der weiteren Entwicklung hin zum nominalen Marker. Generische Verwendungen sind nur im Dt. und Ndl. usuell, im Engl. dagegen nur in wenigen Ausnahmefällen möglich (z.B. *the Dodo is extinct*), vgl. (1):

- (1) Engl. *the dominion of man over the world / Man's dominion over the world*  
Ndl. *de dominantie van de mens over de natuur*  
Dt. *die Dominanz des Menschen über unseren Planeten*

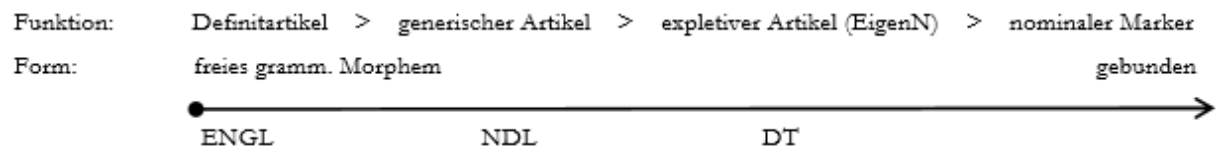
Auch vor Eigennamen ist der Artikel bereits im dt. Substandard weit verbreitet (*der Jan, die Anna*), bei Attributerweiterungen im Standard sogar obligatorisch - weitgehend schon seit dem Mhd. Im Ndl. steht der Artikel heute nur bei attribuierten Eigennamen, fehlt aber auch hier z.T. noch in festen Ausdrücken (*Zwarte Piet, Donker Amsterdam*), d.h. es handelt sich offenbar um eine jüngere Entwicklung. Bei unattribuierten Personennamen fehlt der Artikel, in einigen Dialekten erscheint hier das Subjektpronomen der 3.Sg. (*hij Pol, zij Marie*). Im Engl. ist der Definitartikel vor Eigennamen selbst mit Attribut ungrammatisch, vgl. (2)

- (2) Engl. *little John*  
*sunny France*  
Ndl. *de kleine Jan (aber: Zwarte Piet)*  
*het zonnige Frankrijk (aber Donker Amsterdam)*  
Dt. *der kleine Jan*  
*das sonnige Frankreich*

Im Unterschied zum Engl., wo der Definitartikel seine ursprüngliche Domäne als Definitheitsmarker kaum überschritten hat, kann der Artikel im Dt. nicht nur generisch gebraucht werden, sondern steht auch häufig mit Eigennamen und hat vielfältige syntaktische (linkes Klammerelement) und morphologische (Kasus-, Numerus- und Genusanzeige) Funktionen übernommen. In Kombination mit Präpositionen tritt er auch schon formal gebunden auf (nhd. *an dem > am*). Im Engl. ist der Artikel dagegen nur schwach grammatikalisiert, oft wird auf alternative Strategien zurückgegriffen. Bei Körperteilen

erscheint bspw. – wie auch noch im Ahd. (*siniu ougen*, Otfrid) – im Engl. zumeist das Possessivpronomen anstelle des Artikels (engl. *he closed his eyes* vs. nhd. *er schloss die Augen*).

Damit ergibt sich folgendes Gesamtbild (vgl. auch Implikationsskala nach Lyons 1999:336f.):



Im Vortrag soll, ausgehend von der heutigen Situation, die formale und funktionale Entwicklung des Definitartikels im Dt., Ndl. und Engl. nachgezeichnet und die Zwischenetappen auf dem Weg vom Definitheitsmarker hin zum nominalen Marker beleuchtet werden.

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## **Analog of the way-construction in German and Dutch: another Germanic sandwich?**

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The English *way*-construction has been studied quite thoroughly in the last decades, especially from the theoretical perspective of Construction Grammar (see Goldberg 1995, 1996; Jackendoff 1990). It is present in a sentence like

(1) *The hikers clawed their way to the mountain top.*

It exhibits the form [SUBJ<sub>i</sub> [V [POSS<sub>i</sub> *way*] [OBL]]] and expresses that the subject moves along a path towards a goal with some difficulty. Although the *way*-construction is semantically related to the so-called ‘fake object resultative’ (e.g. *He talked himself hoarse*), Goldberg (among others, see also Christie 2011) argues that the two constructions have to be kept apart, in spite of the fact that they both have resultative meaning. For one thing, the *way*-construction typically implies the existence of difficulties that have to be overcome, which the fake object resultative doesn’t.

The English-*way* construction has its analogs in Dutch and German. Verhagen (2002, 2003), for instance, shows that there is a Dutch reflexive *weg*-construction with comparable semantics (see example 2). A similar claim is made by Van Egmond (2006), who also points to the existence of a second analog of the *way*-construction in Dutch. This second construction (termed TLC, Transition-to-Location-Construction) contains a reflexive pronoun as well, but not the noun *weg* (see example 3).

(2) *Hij zwom zich een weg uit de gevangenis.*  
He swam his way out of jail.

(3) *Hij zwom zich naar zilver.*  
He swam his way to silver.

In contrast to the Dutch *weg*-construction illustrated in (2), the TLC is argued not to evoke the notion of a path and to be incompatible with non-telic interpretations (which the *weg*-construction is said to allow (Van Egmond 2008).

With respect to German, then, some authors claim it also has a construction with the noun *Weg* comparable to the ones in English and Dutch. A noteworthy example (discussed in Van Egmond 2006) is (4):

(4) *Mann pinkelte sich den Weg aus Lawine.*  
‘Man pissed his way out of avalanche’

However, this claim does not seem to be supported by corpus evidence, as we will show in our talk on the basis of present-day corpus data: the *Weg*-construction in German is marginal, if it exists at all. Instead, a reflexive construction without the noun *Weg* (termed ‘reflexive motion construction’ in Perek & Hilpert (2014)) seems to function as an analog of the English and Dutch *way*-constructions, as in 4’.

(4’) *Mann pinkelte sich aus einer Lawine.*



In our talk, we will argue that there is indeed an independent reflexive construction in German, i.e. a reflexive construction with a (non-compositional) meaning comparable to that of the English *way*-construction. The concrete identification of this particular construction is difficult, however, in view of the large inventory of reflexive constructions in German in general to which this construction bears considerable resemblances. As such, the German analog of the *way*-construction is less isolated from other reflexive constructions than its Dutch counterpart, the latter standing apart more clearly and bearing more semantic resemblance to Dutch (fake) reflexive resultative constructions expressing excess (*'Hij lachte zich een bult'*, see Capelle 2014). We thus witness another Germanic sandwich – a well-established (non-reflexive) *way*-construction in English, two (reflexive) constructions in Dutch (with or without the noun *weg*), one reflexive construction in German (without the noun *Weg*), the diachronic and synchronic origins of which we will explore in our talk.

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## **Die Stern, der Nacht, das Park? Investigating the influence of Northern and Southern Dutch gender distinctions on gender assignments in L2 German.**

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As Van Haeringen noted, the two-way gender distinction between common and neuter puts Standard Dutch and most Northern varieties snugly in between non-gendered English and German, with its three-way masculine/feminine/neuter distinction. To German-speaking learners of Dutch, however, Dutch common-gender seems to be compatible with their native masculine and feminine categories inasmuch as they tend to assume that Dutch words with German masculine or feminine cognates will be common-gender (e.g., *de park*) and that those with neuter cognates will be neuter in Dutch, too (*het boot*) (Lemhöfer et al. 2008, 2010). To Dutch learners of German, the mapping of their two-gender system onto the L2 three-gender system may be less straightforward as common gender needs to be ‘split’ into masculine and feminine, but this hasn’t been investigated until now.

However, many substandard Southern varieties of Dutch have retained a three-way distinction in adnominal gender marking (masculine *ne nacht* vs. feminine *een ster*). Compared to speakers of Northern Dutch, speakers of these varieties have, in theory, access to an additional guiding principle for assigning gender to the L2 German counterparts of L1 Dutch common-gender nouns: their grammatical gender in the L1 substandard.

To investigate whether the Standard/Northern Dutch common vs. neuter and the Southern Dutch masculine vs. feminine vs. neuter distinctions affect gender assignments in L2 German, 175 speakers of Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch of various German proficiency levels were asked to assign grammatical gender to 44 German monosyllabic inanimate nouns whose Dutch cognates varied with respect to their gender.

The results reveal a strong effect of Dutch common vs. neuter gender on German gender assignments: if a German word has a neuter Dutch cognate, it’s usually considered neuter as well by Dutch and Belgian learners (i.e., *das Park*); otherwise it’s usually considered masculine or feminine. The additional Southern masculine/feminine, however, had at best a very weak influence: Belgian respondents didn’t respond, for instance, *der Nacht* more often than Dutch respondents.

Apart from discussing the design and results of this study at greater length, I will also speculate as to why no greater influence from Southern Dutch gender was found – after all, the Southern three-way gender distinction is arguably a better fit to the L2 German gender system than is the Standard/Northern two-way system. Such possible reasons include the lack of metalinguistic knowledge about the masculine/feminine distinction (cf. Falk et al. 2015) and the fairly inconsistent mapping of adnominal and pronominal gender among speakers of Southern Dutch (De Vogelaer & De Sutter 2011). By the time of the conference, a closer investigation of these factors should be underway.

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## The weakening of strong preterites in West-Germanic: an interdisciplinary approach

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From the earliest attested stages on, Germanic languages have at their disposal two competing strategies for building preterites. One strategy, exemplified by *sing-song*, is called the strong inflection. It relies on root apophony (ablaut), and is a reanalysis and extension of an earlier Indo-European aspectual system (Prokosch 1939; Lass 1990). The other strategy, exemplified by *work-worked*, is called the weak inflection. It does not use apophony, but suffixation, and finds its origin in the morphologisation of a Indo-European stem *\*dheh<sub>1</sub>/\*dhoh<sub>1</sub>* ('do') added to the verb, eventually turning into a dental suffix (Ball 1968; Tops 1974; Bailey 1997; Hill 2010), though other sources have contributed as well (Heath 1998; Ringe 2007; Hill 2010).

Setting the emergence of a third strategy later in Germanic, namely the analytic perfect (exemplified in Afrikaans *werk – het gewerk*, lit. 'has worked') aside, it has often been observed that despite occasional shifts in the opposite direction, Germanic displays a long-term drift in which the weak inflection takes the upper hand at the expense of the strong inflection, although the strong inflection remains remarkably resilient, and still has not fully succumbed to the overall weakening trend (Van Haeringen 1940). Recent years have seen publications in which this 'weakening' drift is cast in quantitative terms. Lieberman et al. (2007) notice that in English, the weakening of the verbs follows a constant rate through time, is only dependent on the frequency of the verb, and neatly scales proportionally to the square root of the frequency of verbs. However, Carroll et al. (2012) replicated the study for German and found no such constant rate, hence casting doubt on the universality of the mathematical regularity that seemed to govern the weakening.

In our talk, we replicate the Lieberman et al. and the Carroll study for Dutch, allowing a comparison between the three languages in the Van Haeringen (1956) tradition. Our results confirm Carroll et al. (2012)'s critique on the constant rate.

Carroll et al. suggested that underlying the differences between English and German are demographic factors, but they left it to future research to actually dig deeper into the demographic history. In our talk, we pick up this thread and couple the weakening with historical demography. Our results indicate that the differences between these three big West-Germanic languages indeed seem related to population effects. Evidence is drawn from grammars and historical demographic databases. We further support our claims with agent-based computer simulation, extending earlier work by Pijpops et al. (2015).

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## The Morphological Evolution of the Genitive Case in West Germanic Languages: a diachronic analysis in cross-linguistic perspective

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In the last decades, a great number of studies have been conducted on the historical development of the 's-construction (Allen 2008; Rosenbach 2004, Rosenbach, Stein & Vezzosi 2001, *inter alia*), its present usage and its variation with its correspondent analytical pattern, i.e. *of*-genitive, on the base of different methods and within different theories (cf. Rosenbach 2014 and literature cited therein). Much less interest has been shown in the usage and the development of genitive markers in the other West Germanic languages – exceptions are Scott (2014), Weerman and de Wit (1999).

The genitive marking systems in West Germanic languages indeed show significant similarities (cf. Carstairs 1987 and Scott 2010): German and Dutch are following similar pathways in replacing the old concordial genitive with other more analytic constructions and in retaining an invariable 's-genitive mainly in pre-head position, basically restricted to proper names or kinship terms (Scott 2012, Di Meola 2004 and the references mentioned there); English, which fully lost morphological case system, still has a remnant of the genitive, i.e. the 's-construction which also prefers having animate possessors (at least diachronically cf. Rosenbach 2002), but differs from its German and Dutch counterparts in that it has an undoubtedly clitic-like status. Even if recent studies argue that also in German the -s form can be attached to possessors which consist of more than one word, such as *Otto von Habsburgs Großvater* (Plank 1992), the language whose genitive system is closer to English is apparently Afrikaans: the particle *se*, derived from the resumptive pronoun of the Dutch construction *Jan z'n fiets* (lit. "Jan his bicycle", that is "Jan's bicycle"), functions as a free genitive marker combining with different semantic classes of possessors in different syntactic configurations much like the English 's-construction :

*die man se kinders*

"the man's children"

*die vrouens se kinders*

"the women's children"

*die man wat ek giester gesien het se huis*

"the man who I saw yestarday's house"

*hierdie huis is my ma s'n*

"this house is my mother's"

In the present paper we would like to concentrate on the cross-linguistic comparison among West Germanic languages, in particular Dutch and English, and Afrikaans and, on the base of corpus data, analyse the development of the morphological genitive case in relation with its diachronically new competing construction, i.e. the so called his-genitive (or *z'n*-construction), in order to see whether and to what extent the factors governing genitive variation in English (such as animacy, definiteness, topicality/givenness, syntactic weight/length, rhythmic alternation, together with the type of semantic relation between the possessor and the thing possessed) are at stake also in the other languages and play roles in the actual genitive marking system.

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## Plural address pronouns in Dutch and German

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Clyne et al. (2009: 80) refer to the German plural pronoun *ihr* as ‘an intermediate form to express plurality or collectivity in mixed groups, where different interlocutors exchange T and V, and even among groups of V users.’ Haeseryn et al. (1997: 240) make a similar claim for the Dutch plural pronoun *jullie*:

[h]et [is] niet ongebruikelijk om tegenover iemand die men niet tutoyeert, toch het voornaamwoord *jullie* te bezigen als men ‘de toegesprokene en en degenen met wie hij [sic] op een of andere manier verbonden is’ bedoelt. Er moet dan wel echter wel een zekere mate van ‘vertrouwelijkheid’ tussen de gesprekspartners bestaan.<sup>1</sup>

These claims suggest that the familiar 2<sup>nd</sup>-person plural pronouns of Dutch and German are deployed in similar ways in similar circumstances. Clyne et al. (2009: 97) mention for example ‘a common practice ... for professors and lecturers to call their students *ihr* as a group but *Sie* individually.’ In a study of Dutch email correspondence Vismans (in prep.) suggests that *jullie* ‘is at the same time less familiar than *je* and *jij*, and at the same time more familiar than *u*’ and therefore that it ‘can be regarded as a transitional ploy between *u* and full-blown tutoyement’.

A full-scale comparison between the Dutch and German uses of the familiar 2<sup>nd</sup>-person plural pronoun has never been carried out. However, a preliminary study (Shahtaheri 2016) of their use in online fora has highlighted significant differences. This paper builds on this preliminary study by further corpus research.

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<sup>1</sup> ‘It is not unusual to use the personal pronoun *jullie* towards someone with whom one is not on first name terms when referring to “the addressee and those with whom he [sic] has some kind of relationship”. However, in that case there needs to be some kind of ‘familiarity’ between the interlocutors.’ It is noteworthy that the earlier version of Haeseryn et al. (1997), Geerts et al. (1984), uses exactly the same formulation when describing this use of *jullie*.



## Taalvariatie en taalverwerving. Een onmogelijk huwelijk?

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[Presentation in Dutch]

Pluricentric languages, i.e. languages with several norm varieties, often in different national settings, have been a topic in linguistics since Michael Clyne coined the term in 1984. Recent research focuses on what pluricentricity means in the context of *research* on non-dominant varieties (Muhr and Marley 2015, 7). The focus of this talk is on what this pluricentricity means in the context of teaching those languages, in casu Dutch. Dutch is widely recognised as a pluricentric language since it is being spoken in the Netherlands (dominating variety), in Flanders (Belgium) and Suriname (non-dominating varieties). Teaching pluricentric language might ask for a specific Language Awareness. Teacher Language Awareness (TLA) is described as an essential professional attribute for all teachers, allowing them to see more options and that thus has to be an essential component in the teacher's 'tool kit' (Svalberg en Askham 2014, 123). An explicit positioning and contrasting with concurring terms, especially in German (Sprachbewusstheit, Sprechbewusstsein und Sprachaufmerksamkeit) and English linguistics (Knowledge about Language, KAL and Critical Language Awareness, CLA) will provide a solid theoretical basis (Van Essen 2008, Svalberg 2016). In the second part of the talk, the focus will shift to the application of Teacher Language Awareness, relying on data collected in field work during a qualitative research project in which 22 university teachers of Dutch as a Foreign Language were engaged in a peer-to-peer semi structured narrative interview (2015-2016). Questions as to what extent teachers are aware of the (implications of) variation are raised. A new light will be shed on the impact of self-reflection on teaching pluricentric languages by teachers, and the role of Teacher Language Awareness.

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## Conversie naar V in West-Germaanse talen

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Ons soort talen heeft (in meer of mindere mate) conversie: een woord van een bepaalde syntactische categorie kan, zonder vormverandering (dus zonder suffigering, prefigering, infigering, klankverandering) soms gebruikt worden als lid van een andere categorie. Zo heeft het Nederlands het denominale werkwoord *voetballen* (maar het Duits heeft *Fußball spielen*) en het Engels het denominale werkwoord (*to*) *focus*.

Volgens de negentiende-eeuwse dominee-frisist Rinze Posthumus is conversie van N en A naar V in het Fries uitzonderlijk productief (cf. Hoekstra 1998). In onze lezing willen we

1. Nagaan of dit klopte en mogelijk nog steeds klopt;
2. De Friese productiviteit van conversie naar V vergelijken met die in andere West-Germaanse talen en zien of we iets kunnen vinden dat lijkt op een Van Haeringen-patroon;
3. Zoeken naar een verklaring voor de gevonden verschillen tussen de talen.

Voor 1 zullen we nader in moeten gaan op de vraag hoe “conversie” precies gedefinieerd moet worden, en zullen we voor een kwantitatief antwoord te rade gaan bij corpora, woordenboeken en grammatica’s zoals het Taalportaal. Wat betreft 2 weten we alvast dat conversie naar V in het Nederlands maar beperkt productief is (cf. Smessaert 2015); Marchand (1969: 364) noemt conversie in het Engels in vergelijking met andere talen relatief productief. Voor 3 kunnen we eveneens beginnen bij Marchand, die (363) Jespersen aanhaalt die de opkomst van conversie toeschrijft aan het verlies van uitgangen, dat wil zeggen deflectie; Marchand beargumenteert evenwel ook dat dat onmogelijk het hele verhaal kan zijn.

C.B. van Haeringen, *Nederlands tussen Duits en Engels*, Den Haag, Servire, 1956.

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