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Event conceptualization and verbalization in very advanced learners of Dutch

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Abstract

Previous research has shown that the presence of the grammatical feature [progressive] has influence on endpoint encoding in motion events. Speakers of languages with a grammaticalized progressive form tend to present events as ongoing, without mentioning endpoints while speakers of languages without this form tend to present these events holistically, including an endpoint. Studies on L2 speakers show that conceptualization patterns acquired through an L1 are highly resistant to reorganization. The aim of this study is to investigate if it is possible for very advanced learners of Dutch to restructure their L1-specific pattern of event conceptualization. 14 German learners of Dutch, 10 Italian learners of Dutch and 5 native speakers of Dutch were involved in this study. The participants were asked to provide oral L1 and L2 descriptions (the native speakers only did the task in Dutch) of video clips depicting motion events with different degrees of endpoint orientation. In addition, the L2 participants took a vocabulary test which was used as an indirect measure of language proficiency. The results showed a significant difference between Italian and German participants in endpoint encoding in the L2 task. No significant differences were found between the Dutch and Italian and the Dutch and the German participants. Moreover, there was no effect of vocabulary score on endpoint encoding. A strong correlation was found between endpoint encoding in the L1 and the L2 task. A qualitative analysis showed a tendency by the German participants to mention more than one route segment, the Italian participants showed a tendency to not mention any route segments. The results seem to indicate that even very advanced learners of Dutch still rely on their L1-specific conceptualization patterns. Furthermore, the correlation between the endpoint frequency on the L1 and the L2 task strongly suggests that the participants have a single system of conceptualization patterns.

Keywords: motion events, SLA, conceptual restructuring, Dutch, Italian, German

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1. Introduction

Does a language influence your thought? It is known that languages differ; some languages have obligatory grammatical categories for expressing e.g. visibility to the speaker, location, progressivity while other languages do not have to express these aspects obligatorily. A speaker of Turkish, when expressing an event, has to choose between two past tense inflections, one for witnessed and one for non-witnessed events:

(1) Köpek kaç-ıyor-du
    dog   run-PROG-WITNESSED.PAST
    'The dog was running'

(2) Çocuk düş-müş
    boy   fakk-NONWITNESSED.PAST
    'The boy (apparently) fell'

In the first sentence the speaker has witnessed the running dog with his/her own eyes while in the second sentence the speaker has not seen the boy falling. According to Boas (1911), these obligatory grammatical categories force the speaker to express certain aspects. However, Boas states that speakers have the 'complete concept' in mind and only select these specific aspects when expressing the event verbally. Contrary to Boas, Slobin (1996) does not believe that a speaker of a certain language has a 'complete mental image' when looking at an event or a picture of an event, that is the speaker does not have all aspects in mind that could grammatically be expressed in all the languages of the world. A speaker of Turkish, according to Slobin, focuses on the aspects that he is obliged to express grammatically, i.e. if the event is witnessed, while a speaker of English will not pay attention to this aspect (and will subsequently not remember if the event he saw was witnessed or not). Slobin has invented the term 'thinking-for-speaking' this way of thinking is "a special form of thought that is mobilized for communication" (Slobin, 1996; p. 76) and language-specific. Slobin states that: "languages that we learn in childhood are not neutral coding systems of an objective reality. Rather, each one is a subjective orientation to the world of human experience, and this orientation affects the ways in which we think while we are speaking" (Slobin, 1991; p. 23).

There has been a long discussion on the relationship between language and thought. Several disciplines such as philosophy, anthropology and linguistics have been interested in the question how language influences thought or vice versa. The idea that the language we speak affects the way we think is called the *linguistic relativity hypothesis,* which states that a

person's language influences how they experience or think about the world (Swoyer, 2011). Two names that are often mentioned in relation to this hypothesis are Edward Sapir and his student Benjamin Lee Whorf, who stated that thought is deeply structured by the structure of the language a person speaks:

> "No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached" (Sapir, 1929, pp. 209)

Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf are often claimed to support the strong version of the linguistic relativity hypothesis which is also called *linguistic determinism*. This strong version states that language determines thought and that linguistic categories determine cognitive categories; language is inseparable from thought. However, Whorf states that:

> "… users of markedly different grammars are pointed by their grammars toward different types of observations and different evaluations of externally similar acts of observation, and hence are not equivalent as observers but must arrive at somewhat different views of the world." (Whorf, 1956, pp. 213-214)

This claim corresponds more to the weak version of the hypothesis which states that language and linguistic categories influence (but do not determine) thought. In the 1960s up to the 1980s the universalist approach has gained more and more ground, and the linguistic relativity hypothesis was often seen as outdated. Only recently the interest in this hypothesis was renewed and new studies have been conducted to test the hypothesis (Talmy, 1989; Slobin, 1991; Bowerman, 1996; Boroditsky, 2001).

The studies related to the linguistic relativity hypothesis now also focus on bilingualism and second language acquisition (henceforward: SLA) and this hypothesis poses some interesting issues for the field of SLA, namely *If a first language influences your thought, does a second language influence your thought in a similar way?* and: *If 'Thinking-for-Speaking' is language-specific, is it possible to restructure this 'Thinking-for-Speaking' as an adult learner when speaking another language?* The aim of the current study is to investigate the conceptualization and expression of motion events in adult second language learners (L1 German or Italian; L2 Dutch), and the main research question is whether these late learners are able to restructure their L1-specific conceptualization patterns. This study does therefore not focus on how another language changes the way people think but on how it changes **linguistic** cognition.

2. Previous research

After Sapir and Whorf there have only been a few studies in the last century to focus on cognition in second language learners (e.g. Lenneberg and Roberts, 1956; Bloom, 1981). It is only recently that there has been a renewed interest in SLA and linguistic relativity. Since the late 1990s a whole new field emerged in which bilingual cognition and second language learner cognition was investigated. It was in these years that a long term research project in Heidelberg started, which focused on cross-linguistic differences in text production (von Stutterheim, 1999; von Stutterheim & Klein, 2002). The main findings of the first studies in this project were that there are clear cross-linguistic differences in information structure in narratives between German and English monolinguals (von Stutterheim and Carroll, 2002). Speakers of German tend to present events holistically, i.e. as bounded events which include an endpoint, while speakers of English decompose events into different phases, i.e. they construe events as ongoing and thus unbounded. An explanation that was given for these findings is that the grammatical feature [±ASPECT] influences preferred patterns of conceptualization. After the first Heidelberg study more research has been conducted into the conceptualization of motion events in both L1 and L2 speakers with different language backgrounds. The findings from the studies on single motion events are consistent with the study from von Stutterheim and Carroll (2002), i.e. the presence or absence of grammatical aspect (i.e. progressive, imperfective, perfective aspect) in a certain language influences the marking of endpoints in motion events. The study from von Stutterheim (2003), involved 20 L1 speakers of MS Arabic, 20 L1 speakers of English, 20 L1 speakers of Spanish and 20 L1 speakers of German. The researchers hypothesized that speakers from aspect-dominant languages (MS Arabic, English and Spanish) tend to take an ongoing perspective which implies that they are less prone to mentioning endpoints. The study also included 30 L2 speakers of whom 15 L1 speakers of German and L2 speakers of English and 15 L1 speakers of English and L2 speakers of German. The L2 speakers were all very advanced learners who made no formal errors in the L2. The material used for this study were short video clips of everyday situations depicting goal-oriented motion events. There were three types of clips[1]:

> (a) Critical items that showed locomotions in which a possible endpoint was not reached, the video clip showed the initial or intermediate phase of the event and the endpoint was not reached but could be inferred. The main hypothesis from this study was that "speakers of

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[1] Carroll, M. (ms). Phasen ET: Goal oriented motion events. *University of Heidelberg*

different languages would display differences in the inclusion of the possible endpoint". (Schmiedtová et al., 2011).

(b) Control items that showed locomotion in which the possible endpoint was reached, it was expected that all the participants would mention the endpoints in these items.

(c) Filler items that showed activities with no inferable endpoint or static scenes.

The results showed that there was indeed a significant difference between the endpoint marking of German L1 speakers (a language without grammatical aspect) and MS Arabic, Spanish and English L1 speakers (languages with a grammaticalized progressive form). In the critical items, the L1 speakers of German mentioned significantly more endpoints. To illustrate, one of the critical items depicted two women walking down a path at the end of which there is a big house, the two women did not reach the house in the video clip. In this item most English speakers said: *Two women are walking down a path,* i.e. they presented the event as ongoing, while most German speakers said: *Zwei Frauen laufen zu einem Haus* 'Two woman are walking towards a house' in which a possible endpoint of the event is expressed and in which the event is presented as bounded.

The second language learners in this study maintained their L1 conceptualization pattern, i.e. the German learners of English mentioned much more endpoints than the English monolinguals in the critical items and the English learners of German almost did not mention endpoints in the same items. However, the German speakers of English mentioned endpoints to a lesser extent than the German monolinguals which implies some restructuring is possible. In the same study speech onset times (SOTs) were measured and the results showed that German L1 speakers have longer SOTs which implies that they wait longer before starting to talk (i.e. they wait for a possible endpoint). In von Stutterheim and Carroll (2006) the same experiment was repeated (Norwegian was added as an extra non-aspect language). In addition to endpoint encoding, eye-tracking was used to measure eye fixations on possible endpoints. It was expected that the eye fixations on possible endpoints were longer in speakers of non-aspect languages, since these participants tend to take an holistic perspective. The findings indeed seemed to indicate that speakers of non-aspect languages fixate more on possible endpoints. The authors therefore concluded that the term 'Thinking-for-Speaking' can be expanded to 'Seeing-for-Speaking'.

Schmiedtová and Sahonenko (2008) used the same video clips but their experiment included Czech, Russian and German L1 speakers and very advanced L2 German speakers with L1 Czech or Russian. Again, there was a clear distinction in endpoint frequency between

the aspect-language Russian and the non-aspect language German, and the very advanced learners of German relied on their L1-pattern of event conceptualization. However, although Czech is an aspect-language (i.e. it has perfective and imperfective aspect) the monolingual Czech speakers tend to present events holistically. The division aspect/non-aspect is thus not enough in explaining why Czech monolinguals mark endpoints to the same degree as German monolinguals. Schmiedtová and Sahonenko explain this fact as a result of the long-term language contact between Czech and German. Schmiedtová (2011) states that the aspectual system of Czech has diverged from the Russian system in that the perfective in Czech "allows for the integration of endpoints under the perspective of the deictic now that is expressed as the combination of a perfective (event marked as complete) and the present tense" (p. 165). This study shows the importance of looking at actual usage preferences across languages instead of focusing only on typological differences.

Bylund and Jarvis (2011) have looked at negative transfer of L2 (Swedish) conceptualization preferences on the L1 (Spanish) using the same video clips as in von Stutterheim (2003). The bilinguals were compared with Spanish monolinguals. The results showed that bilinguals mention endpoint to a higher degree than the Spanish monolinguals which is evidence for negative transfer. The bilinguals were thus "influenced by the Swedish-like tendency to attend to the boundedness rather than the ongoingness of events" (p. 47). These findings suggest that highly proficient bilinguals create an integrated conceptual pattern which differs from both L1 and L2 monolinguals (conceptual convergence).

The present study will focus on other language pairs than those in the studies described, namely L1 Italian-L2 Dutch and L1 German-L2 Dutch. There has been some research into event conceptualization in Italian (Carroll et al., in press; Natale, 2009) but these studies have mostly looked at the usage of progressive aspect and not at the marking of endpoints. More research has been done into Dutch (e.g. Flecken, 2011c, Carroll et al., in press), in von Stutterheim, Carroll and Klein (2009) L1 speakers of Dutch, English and German had to describe video clips that involved a change in place of a figure. The speakers of Dutch made reference to endpoints in 15,5 % of the cases while speakers of German mentioned endpoints in 74,3% of the time (English speakers mentioned endpoints in 23,3% of the time)[2]. An

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[2] It is important to note that monolingual speakers of Dutch name fewer endpoints than monolingual speakers of English. This finding is unexpected since the progressive marker in English is completely grammaticalized, while the progressive marker in Dutch is still on its way to grammaticalization.

explanation for this low incidence of endpoints in Dutch monolingual speakers is explained by the fact that the progressive in Dutch is on its way to grammaticalization[3].

All the studies described above seem to indicate that grammatical features influence the conceptualization patterns of L1 speakers. Moreover, the results show that conceptual restructuring in a second language is very hard. The L2 speakers maintain their L1 conceptualization patterns and findings from studies on goal-oriented motion events suggest "that even for highly proficient L2 speakers, conceptual restructuring into the direction of the L2 is limited" (Schmiedtová, 2011). An exception is the finding from Bylund and Jarvis (2011), which suggests that negative conceptual transfer occurs in L2 speakers. However, their study included early bilinguals (mean AO = 9.6 years), while the other studies described above all focused on late learners. It is therefore important to make a distinction between early and late L2 learners.

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[3] See chapter 4.

3. Theoretical background

3.1 Processes of conceptualization

Levelt (1989) distinguishes between three levels of representation is his model of speech production (1989): the conceptual level (the conceptualizer), the lemma level (the formulator) and the word level (the articulator). This study is mostly concerned with the conceptual level in which content is prepared for expression. "In a communicative situation, the function of the conceptualizer consists of transforming the encyclopedic knowledge relevant to the communcative intention into a temporary conceptual structure" (Bylund & Jarvis, 2011, p. 110). The process of conceptualizing events involves two central processes according to Levelt: macroplanning and microplanning. Levelt (1999) considers the former process universal while the latter is to a certain extent language-specific. In contrast to Levelt, Jackendoff (1996) claims that the instrument for conceptualizing is specific to human species and operates language independently. He states that the conceptualizer is universal in nature and "language specific principles come into play only at the level of mapping conceptual content onto linguistic form" (von Stutterheim and Lambert, 2005; p. 204). Following Habel and Tappe (1999), von Stutterheim and Nüse (2003) differentiate between four processes in the conceptualizer: *segmentation*, *selection*, *structuring* and *linearization*.

The processes of segmentation and selection are categorized as macroplanning processes since these concern the content of verbalization. In the process of segmentation, units are extracted from a knowledge base which is not structured with respect to sequence. In this process complex dynamic situations are divided into smaller events or processes, which is also referred to with the term 'granularity'. The level of segmentation or granularity can differ, the segmentation of a situation where a man enters a house can be very fine-grained, as in *The man walks up to the door*, *He opens the door*, *And enters the house*, while the speaker could also say *The man enters the house*. In the process of segmentation the granularity of the situation is decided. In the process of selection speakers select the units they want to verbalize and the components that represent these units. The components are conceptual blocks such as entities, times, spaces and properties. The process of selection is important for this study since it is in this process that the speaker selects a possible endpoint of a goal-oriented motion event.

The processes of structuring and linearization are concerned with modeling the content from the macroplanning process with respect to structure and the order of the segments and are labeled microplanning processes. In the process of structuring the components have to be

organized with respect to frames of reference (e.g. temporal anchoring), argument roles, and informational status (topic/focus). In temporally structuring an event the conceptualizer selects an anchor point and decides how events should be related to each other. According to von Stutterheim and Klein (2002) the process of structuring is perspective driven, i.e. language-specific. The last process in the conceptualizer is linearization, the units selected for verbal representation have to be ordered in such a way that allows them to be transformed in the medium of language (Carroll et al., 2003), this process involves word ordering. The studies described in the previous chapter have shown that both macroplanning and microplanning are language-specific processes, since there are clear cross-linguistic differences in the selection of components and in the structuring of events.

Bylund and Jarvis (2011) adopt the framework of Cognitive Grammar (Langacker, 2008) to form a theoretical account for the conceptualization of events. As described above, von Stutterheim and colleagues have referred to Levelt's model in their framework, which is part of cognitive linguistics. However, they never explicitly used Cognitive Grammar (CG) as a theory that could explain their findings. In Bylund and Jarvis (2011) CG is adopted to "add theoretical contextualization and explanatory precision to the field's understanding of the principles of information organization" (p. 48). An important notion in CG is 'construal':

> "An expression's meaning is not just the conceptual content it evokes – equally important is how that content is construed . . . It is hard to resist the visual metaphor, where content is likened to a scene and construal to a particular way of viewing it . . . In viewing a scene, what we actually see depends on how closely we examine it, what we choose to look at, which elements we pay most attention to, and where we view it from." (Langacker, 2008, p. 55)

The 'viewing frame' in this theory corresponds to the language-specific perspectivation in information organization that was found in von Stutterheim (2003). A speaker can adopt a maximal or restricted viewing frame. With a maximal viewing frame an event is "seen externally and in their entirety (...) Events which are viewed with a restricted viewing frame are seen internally and in their progression" (Radden & Dirver, 2007; p. 175). These two viewing frames correspond to the notions immediate scope and maximal scope, where immediate scope includes conceptual elements that are attended to mentally at a specific point in time while the maximal scope includes all conceptual elements that the speaker is aware of but does not attend to (Langacker, 2008, p. 63). In event construal grammatical aspect plays a role in the contrast between immediate and maximal scope. In the absence of a grammatical marker for aspect the maximal scope is selected by default. In contrast, the aspectual marker progressive selects the immediate scope and thus the restricted viewing frame. The effect of the progressive is that it zooms in on the event and it thereby excludes the endpoints of the

entire bounded event. Another important notion in CG is schematization, this refers to "the process of extracting abstract commonalities from similar experiences" (Bylund & Jarvis, 2011; p. 49). The temporal viewing frames in event construal become schematized through experiences in which particular combinations of maximal and immediate scopes are used. As a result of schematization these particular scope-combinations gain the status of mental concepts or categories that affect how we categorize new events that we experience. Specific time schemas are symbolized in grammar with aspectual markers. The activation of a specific schema is constrained by probabilistic features such as frequency, salience and recurrence, and grammatical aspectual markers are good examples of frequent, salient and recurrent linguistic structures. This framework corresponds to Schmiedtová's idea (2011) of grammaticalized concepts. Speakers are inclined to attend more to those linguistic categories that are grammaticalized in the linguistic system because these categories are obligatory and therefore highly accessible. Within the framework of CG it is possible to make predictions about the accessibility of certain time schemas: speakers of languages with grammaticalized progressive aspect will be more inclined to access time schemas with immediate scope, i.e. restricted viewing frame, while speakers of languages without grammaticalized progressive aspect will most likely access time schemas with maximal scope. Moreover, speakers of languages with grammaticalized aspect will have time schemas that are more developed, more entrenched and therefore more readily activated (Bylund & Jarvis, 2011; p. 51).

3.2 Event conceptualization in L2 learners

As shown in the previous chapter most L2 learners conceptualize motion events in a pattern that corresponds to the preference in their L1. The CG framework can explain this preference by entrenchment of specific time schemas. However, in CG time schemas are entrenched through recurrence which implies that if a speaker's exposure changes the probability of accessing this particular time schema could change over time. This is, to some extent, in contrast with the findings of Carroll and von Stutterheim (2003) who conclude that patterns of event conceptualization are "highly resistant to reorganization" (p. 393). Despite this resistance to restructuring, Bylund (2009) found evidence for L2 influence on L1 event conceptualization, which implies not only that conceptual restructuring is possible but also that conceptual convergence can occur. Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) hypothesize several possibilities for L2 performance with respect to conceptualization: the co-existence of L1 and L2 conceptualization preferences, L1-based conceptual transfer, the internalization of new

conceptual distinctions, the restructuring of conceptual organization, the convergence of L1 and L2 conceptualization preferences, a shift from L1 to L2 conceptualization preferences or L1 conceptual attrition. Studies on conceptualization patterns in SLA have mostly focused on ultimate attainment rather than on restructuring, this is why evidence on L2 performance and conceptualization patterns is limited. Athanasopoulos (2009) has found evidence for partial shifting from L1 to L2 conceptualization preferences in the domains of color, object naming, and categorization. Flecken (2011a) has looked at event conceptualization in Dutch-German bilinguals and has found differences in patterns between bilingual and monolingual speakers of Dutch despite the fact that the bilinguals had acquired the progressive aspect in Dutch.

Within the framework of CG some interesting predictions can be made regarding conceptualization patterns. In CG the accessibility of time schemas is intertwined with exposure and conceptualization patterns will therefore be related to the entrenchment of the time schemas in the L1 and the exposure to event construal schemas in both the L1 and the L2. von Stutterheim (2003) found that the German learners of English were more target-like than the English learners of German. CG could explain these findings as an effect of more exposure to event-construal patterns in English by the German learners. Moreover, according to CG, speakers of German would have less developed and less entrenched time schemas since German does not have grammaticalized aspect. A subtle distinction between the two accounts (although compatible) is that CG focuses more on the regularity of the exposure of event-construal patterns while von Stutterheim emphasizes on the importance of grammaticalized aspect. Moreover, CG has more explanatory power. As stated above, the restructuring of time schemas is possible according to CG, it is nonetheless difficult to predict how much exposure is needed for the time schemas to change. However, the CG rules out the possibility that L1 and L2 conceptualization preferences co-exist in L2 learners.

Regarding explicit learning, there are two main reasons why it is difficult to learn L2 conceptualization patterns, the first reason is the opacity of differences in information structure. These differences are difficult to pinpoint because they are not transparent. The second reason is that conceptualization patterns reflect preferences rather than principles, there are no strict standards for conceptualization patterns. Although German monolinguals prefer to present events holistically, there is no principle nor linguistic restriction that prevents a German speaker from presenting an event as unbounded or ongoing.

4. Progressivity in the languages under investigation

Previous research has shown that the presence of grammatical aspect has influence on the marking of endpoints in motion events (Schmiedtová et al., 2011, von Stutterheim, 2003). Moreover, the presence or absence of progressivity in the first language influences on the conceptualization of motion events even when the verbalization of this event will be in another language. This study will look at the conceptualization of motion events of very advanced speakers of Dutch with two different language backgrounds (i.e. Italian and German). It is important to establish how these three languages differ typologically in expressing progressive aspect since this is hypothesized to influence the conceptualization of motion events. This chapter will look at the typological differences between the languages and will give a detailed explanation of what tools the three languages have to express progressivity. Before looking at the three languages under investigation the term "progressive" needs some explanation.

According to Bertinetto (2000) it is important to distinguish between the semantic notion of progressivity and the formal manifestion (i.e. the morphosyntactic device). In Romance languages progressivity is not expressed by morphosyntactic devices but by periphrastic constructions, which implies that in these languages it is optional to choose for the progressive form. This in contrast with English where the progressive marker is completely grammaticalized indicating that it is obligatory to use this device in specific contexts. There are more complications with the notion 'progressivity', namely the progressive does not always express the aspectual notion "progressivity". The progressive form in e.g. *I am leaving tomorrow* does not convey progressive meaning and this shows that form and meaning do not always correspond. Schmiedtová and Flecken (2008) describe the terminological issues even further, in line with Bertinetto (2000) they state that it is important to tear apart the categories grammatical aspect and Aktionsart, where the former represents a fully grammaticalized category (in general encoded on the verb) and the latter a semantic category. The sentence *He ate up is sandwich* can express perfectivity but the verb is not marked for perfectivity. Aktionsart is the inherent property of the verb which in this sentence is telic, i.e. expresses a natural endpoint, this in contrast with the sentence *I am eating* in which the grammaticalized morpheme *–ing* expresses progressivity.

The term 'grammaticalization' is important in this study since grammaticalized forms are hypothesized to influence event construal, where the semantic notion of progressivity does not. Hopper (2003) describes grammaticalization as a "change whereby lexical items or lexical

constructions in some linguistic contexts come to serve grammatical functions" (p. 1). Nouns and verbs can change over time into grammatical elements, and these grammatical elements have a broader meaning than their original lexical meaning. Periphrastic constructions such as the progressive marker in Dutch (*aan het*-construction; see next section) have the tendency to consolidate over time and become grammaticalized constructions.

In the following sections the languages under investigation will be discussed in terms of progressivity and the grammaticalization of progressive markers. In Table 4.1 a brief overview is given of the languages under investigation and the aspectual distinctions that exist in these languages.

Table 4.1 Languages involved and Grammaticalized Aspect

	Dutch	**German**	**Italian**
Imperfective	X	X	X
Progressive	Currently being grammaticalized	X	Almost grammaticalized
Perfective	X	X	Yes (past perfective)

4.1. Progressive aspect in Dutch

In Dutch there are several periphrastic constructions that express progressivity, the construction that is most widely used is the *aan het*-construction, which consists of a locative element *aan* 'at/on', the definite article *het* 'the' and a nominalized infinitival form of the verb (see (1) and (2)).

(1) Ik ben aan het fietsen

    I am at-the-cycle

    'I am cycling'

(2) Ik ben een sjaal aan het breien (qualitive change of an entity)

    I am a scarf at-the-knit

    'I am knitting a scarf'

Dutch has another construction that expresses progressivity, this construction involves the posture verbs *zitten/liggen/staan* 'sit/lay/stand' or the motion verb *lopen* 'walk' and the infinitive (see (3)).

(3) De baby ligt te slapen

    The baby lies to-sleep

'The baby is sleeping'

This construction is used to a much lesser extent than the *aan het*-construction. Moreover, there are some semantic constraints on using this construction since the subject has to be in the corresponding physical position. The prototypical context for the use of the *aan het*-construction is an ongoing event without a change in state (i.e. activities, e.g *to swim*, *to dance*) that occurs in the here-and-now. In motion events which involve directed motion on the part of a person or vehicle the use of the *aan het*-construction is very rare (Flecken, 2011b; p. 506). In the study from Flecken (2011b) the grammaticalization of the *aan het*- construction in Dutch is investigated by means of an acceptability judgment task. The findings indicate that the *aan het*-construction is accepted in contexts which go beyond the prototypical usage context (i.e. ongoing activities with long duration in the here and now). In Flecken (2011b), the construction is also considered acceptable in past tense contexts, and in situations involving a qualitative change of an entity (see (4) and (5)).

(4) Ik was aan het zwemmen (past tense context)

   I was at-the-swim

   'I was swimming'

(5) Ik ben een boek aan het schrijven (qualitive change of an entity)

   I am a book at-the-write

   'I am writing a book'

More evidence for the grammaticalization of the *aan het*-construction comes from the position of the prepositional phrase. In *Een jongen is gitaar aan het spelen* 'a boy is playing the guitar' the preposition *aan* is adjacent to the nominalized infinitive *het spelen* and the direct object *gitaar* precedes the prepositional phrase (Booij, 2002). The preposition is moving towards the verb which reflects the weakening of its status as a locative marker and the gaining of its status as a grammatical construction. In German the preposition in a similar construction has retained its locative status: *er ist dabei Violine zu spielen* 'he is playing the violin' in which *dabei* precedes the direct object.

Flecken (2011b) states that the progressive aspect in Dutch "seems to be at a similar stage of development as the relevant construction in Italian, but differs from the highly grammaticalized progressive aspectual marker in English" (p. 509). However, as we will see in the next section, the progressive marker in Italian seems to be further on its way in being completely grammaticalized.

4.2. Progressive/Perfective aspect in Italian

In Italian a periphrastic construction is used to express progressivity, this construction is formed by a verb form of *stare* 'stand' and a gerund form:

(6) La signora sta camminando.

    The.F women stand.3SG walk.GER

In Carrol et al. (in press) it is stated that "the concept of ongoingness in Italian is coded morphologically on the verb" like in English. In contrast, Bertinetto (2000) states that Italian differs from English in that it uses a periphrastic construction, and progressivity does not have to be marked obligatorily. Flecken (2011b) states that the Dutch progressive construction is at the same stage in the process of grammaticalization as the Italian progressive construction. There are some clear contradictions in these statements, on the one hand it is claimed that the progressive marker in Italian is coded morphologically on the verb (which would classify this construction as completely grammaticalized), while on the other hand it is stated that the progressive marker is not obligatory and still on its way to grammaticalization. In Table 4.2.1 the results are given from the study from Carroll et al. (in press) in which 20 speakers for each of the three languages involved in this study had to describe 80 single dynamic situations. The percentages of the usage of the progressive are given.

Table 4.2.1 Usage of progressive in dynamic situations in languages under investigation

Ongoingness %	Dutch (n=20)	German (n=20)	Italian (n=20)
Change in state	10.0	2.2	65.0
Activity	74.0	6.3	60.0

Table 4.2.1 shows that in situations that depict an activity Dutch speakers use the progressive form more than speakers of Italian. In contrast, in situations with a change in state (e.g. 'I am writing a book') the Italian participants used the progressive 65% of the cases while the Dutch participants only used this form 10% of the times. The German participants used the progressive very rarely in both situations.

Italian and Spanish are often seen as languages with similar inflectional systems. However, with respect to the aspectual system, and in particular the progressive, the two languages are not completely the same. According to the studies from the Heidelberg group, Spanish is an aspect-language in which aspect is fully grammaticalized. The Italian periphrastic construction *stare + gerundio* is syntactically similar to the Spanish construction, however, it

has a smaller range of contexts where it can be used. For example the Italian progressive is only used in focalized, strictly imperfective contexts. The Spanish progressive, in contrast, can also be used in durative contexts that are aspectually neutral (e.g. *Ana estuvo jugando* [Past-Progressive] *dos horas ella sola*, 'Ann was playing for two hours all by herself'' (Bertinetto, 2000)). On the other hand, the Italian progressive has a broader range than the Dutch progressive, as can be seen from the table above, and the sentences (7) and (8).

(7) Non ci sto capendo niente!

not there stand.1SG understand.GER nothing

'I'm not understanding anything!'

(8) *Ik ben er niks van aan het begrijpen

I be.1SG there nothing of at-the-understand

What results from this brief analysis is that the progressive marker in Italian is not completely grammaticalized, since it is not obligatory in specific contexts. However, the Italian progressive is in a further stage of grammaticalization than the Dutch progressive but in an earlier stage than the Spanish progressive[4].

4.3. Progressive aspect in German

German is classified as a non-aspect language in the studies from the Heidelberg group (von Stutterheim, (2003), von Stutterheim and Carroll (2006)). In German it is possible to express progressivity by lexical means. The construction used for progressivity is very similar to the Dutch construction (see (9) and (10).

(9) Eine junge Frau ist am Lernen

A young lady is at-the-learn

'A young lady is learning'

(10)   Ein paar Männer sind beim Fußballspielen

            A couple men are at-the-football-play

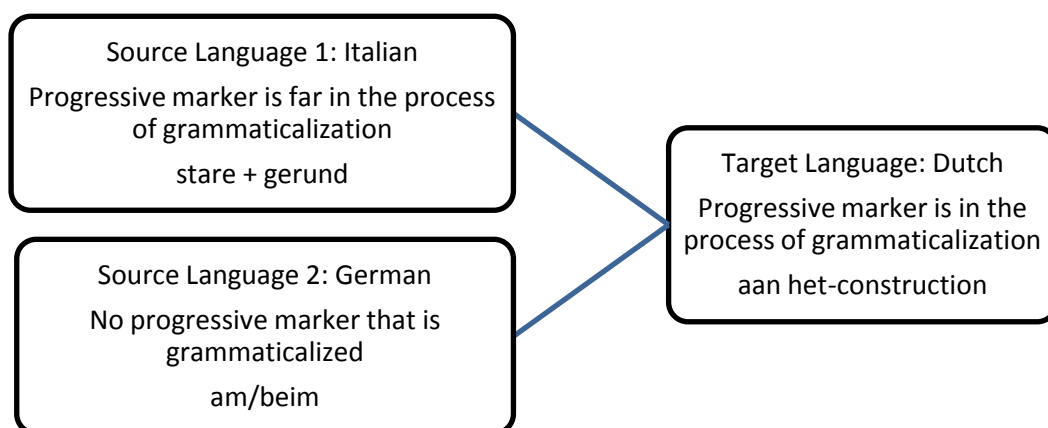   'A couple of men are playing football'

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[4] Spanish could be considered an aspect language. However, there are situations depicting ongoingness where the progressive is not obligatory in Spanish, the mere usage of imperfective tenses is in most cases acceptable.

Despite the fact that the construction in Dutch and German are cognates, the actual usage is very different. The German construction is not in the process of grammaticalization, and this is also reflected by the percentages shown in Table 4.2.1. Moreover, this progressive construction is typical of a German dialect "the Rheinische Verlaufsform" (a region close to the Dutch border) and not of Standard German. It can therefore be concluded that German is a non-aspect language.

4.4. Consequences for this study

In this chapter the typological differences regarding progressive aspect between the three languages have been discussed. Unfortunately it is not an easy task to classify languages as aspect or non-aspect languages since the presence of aspectual distinctions does not necessarily imply the actual usage. It is possible to conclude that both Italian and Dutch have a progressive marker that is in the process to complete grammaticalization. The progressive in Italian seems to be further on the way to grammaticalization because it has a wider range of contexts in which it can be used. However, no clear statement can be made regarding the stage of grammaticalization of these two markers since many uncertain factors are involved. German on the other hand is a transparent non-aspect language since it has no grammaticalized aspectual markers. In Figure 4.4.1 an overview is given of the progressive markers in the languages involved in this study.

Figure 4.4.1 Overview of investigated languages

Source Language 1: Italian
Progressive marker is far in the process of grammaticalization
stare + gerund

Source Language 2: German
No progressive marker that is grammaticalized
am/beim

Target Language: Dutch
Progressive marker is in the process of grammaticalization
aan het-construction

5. Aims of this study

The current research will look at the conceptualization and expression of goal-oriented motion events in very advanced learners of Dutch. The main focus will be on conceptual restructuring and L2 proficiency. In the previous chapters it was shown that grammatical aspect has influence on event construal. Speakers of languages with grammaticalized aspect are more inclined to adopt an immediate scope, i.e. a restricted viewing frame and are therefore less inclined to mention endpoints. Speakers of languages without grammaticalized aspect tend to adopt a maximal scope and are therefore more inclined to present the event as bounded, hence to include an endpoint. The present study will look at different language pairs than the ones involved in similar studies, namely L1 German – L2 Dutch and L1 Italian – L2 Dutch. These language pairs are interesting since they differ with regard to the grammaticalization of the progressive aspect. The main research question is:

RQ: **Is it possible for very advanced L2 learners of Dutch to restructure their L1-specific pattern of event conceptualization?**

In Carroll and von Stutterheim (2003) it is claimed that conceptualization patterns that a person has acquired through their L1 are "highly resistant to reorganization" (p. 394). However, there is some discrepancy between the findings from von Stutterheim (2003) and Schmiedtová (2011), in the former study one group showed a conceptual shift from L1 to L2 preferences, while in the latter study the participants relied on their L1 conceptualization patterns. According to Bylund (2011) the low incidence of native-like mastery in most studies on event construal might be due to the following three factors: (1) the participants in these studies were not advanced enough in the L2, (2) the participants were all late learners and maturational constraints prevented the participants from attaining L2 conceptualization patterns or (3) the participants have built an integrated conceptualization pattern that is different from both the L1 and the L2 (i.e. conceptual convergence). The present study will control for the factors (1) and (3) by including an independent proficiency test and by looking at the performance of the participants in both their L1 and their L2. The second factor does not apply because the present study only involves late learners.

This study differs from von Stutterheim (2003) in that L2 proficiency is assessed by means of a vocabulary test. In von Stutterheim (2003), the remark is made that the learners exhibited "no formal errors" in the target languages, which suggest that they were at least advanced L2 speakers. Unfortunately, no information is provided about how these 'formal

errors' were assessed, and therefore the reader cannot judge the reliability of this observation. In this study, the proficiency in the L2 is measured by means of a vocabulary test to see if variability between the participants could be explained by their L2-proficiency.

It is hypothesized that both L2 learner groups rely on their L1-specific conceptualization patterns, which implies that the German learners of Dutch tend to mention more endpoints than the Dutch monolinguals. If the periphrastic progressive construction in Dutch and Italian are in the same phase of grammaticalization, one could expect that native speakers of Italian describe the motion events in the same way as native Dutch speakers, at least with respect to endpoint frequency. However, as we have seen in the previous chapter the progressive in Italian has a broader range in possibilities so it could be argued that the Italian progressive is further on the way to full grammaticalization. If this is the case it is expected that Italian speakers are less inclined to verbalize endpoints than speakers of Dutch. This study will also look at the possible restructuring in relation to L2 proficiency, i.e. do speakers that are more proficient tend to behave more like Dutch monolinguals than the participants that are less proficient? Moreover, there will be some focus on the processes related to conceptual restructuring (as proposed by Pavlenko (2011)), i.e. what kind of conceptual restructuring is visible in the participants in this study? Is it the case that L2 speakers restructure their conceptualization patterns, and, if this is the case, does this affect their L1 specific pattern as well (negative conceptual transfer)?

6. Method

6.1. Participants

Eighteen L1 Italian – L2 Dutch second language learners and fifteen L1 German – L2 Dutch second language learners participated in this study as well as five native speakers of Dutch (controls). The L2 participants were selected on their very advanced level of Dutch. Eight of the eighteen Italian participants and one of the fifteen German participants were excluded from this study since their level of Dutch proficiency was not advanced enough (tested with an independent vocabulary test). These participants are not included in the analysis. All participants learned Dutch after their puberty (after age 16) and the age of onset (AO) of L2 acquisition coincided with their age of arrival (AA) in the Netherlands, thus all participants learned Dutch in the Netherlands. All participants had completed upper-secondary school and the majority also had academic degrees. In the L1 German group the AO ranged from 20 to 40 years (mean= 26,2) and length of residence (LoR) ranged from 4 to 50 years (mean= 20,1). The largest part of the participants in this group was female (F=10, M=4). In the L1 Italian group the AO ranged from 17 to 26 (mean= 21,3) and LoR ranged from 5 to 38 years (mean= 24,1). The majority of the participants in this group was female (F=7, M=3). Besides the two L2 learners groups a small Dutch monolingual group (n= 5) was included as a control group. This group consisted of five university students (F=4, M=1); the mean age of this group was 25. In Table 6.1.1 the information of the L2 participants is summarized.

Table 6.1.1 Attributes of the Italian and German participants

	L1	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Length of Residence (in years)	Italian	10	24,1	10,6
	German	14	20,1	11,7
Age of Onset (in years)	Italian	10	21,3	2,6
	German	14	26,2	6,7
Vocabulary scores (max. 60)	Italian	10	37,5	8,9
	German	14	43,6	7,4

6.2. Material

6.2.1. Video clips

A set of video clips depicting goal oriented motion events was used to study endpoint encoding in the three groups. The video clips in this study were the same as the video clips

used in the study from Bylund and Jarvis (2011), and were filmed and compiled by the research team of M. Carroll and C. von Stutterheim at the University of Heidelberg. The video clips were kindly made available by M. Flecken. There are three types of video clips (i.e. critical items, control items and filler items), and the critical items are subdivided into three categories:

Three types of video clips:
  (1) Critical (n=15): video clips that showed an entity (e.g. a vehicle or a person) moving along a trajectory at the end of which there was a possible endpoint which was not reached. Subdivided in: Endpoint evident (n=6), Endpoint less evident (n=3) and Endpoint not evident (n=6).
  (2) Control (n=5): video clips that showed loco-motions in which the movement reached the endpoint, the events in these video clips were "bounded events" (von Stutterheim and Nüse, 2003; p. 19)
  (3) Fillers (n=14): video clips that showed activities with no inferable endpoint or static scenes with no observable change

To illustrate an example for each of the categories is given: (1) A girl is walking down the road towards a parked car, the girl does not reach the car in the video clip (critical item: *Evident*); (2) A lady enters a shop, the goal is reached in the video clip (control item); (3) A girl is sitting at a table and is doing her make-up (filler item). Two lists were made containing both 34 video clips: an L1-list and a Dutch-list. Each list contained 15 critical items, 5 control items and 14 filler items (see appendix A for the two item-lists and a description of the critical and the control items). In the two lists the items partly overlapped to see if the participants responded in a similar way in the two languages and partly differed to avoid direct translation from the first task to the second task, moreover the two lists differed to some extent to avoid possible understanding of the purpose of the study by the participants. Both lists were randomized by an online program[5]. In the experiment the clips were presented one by one in the order of the randomized list (i.e., clip order was the same for all participants) and with an 8-second-pause in between. The participants were allowed to talk during the pause but this could not interfere with the presentation of the next clip. In the trial session this aspect was trained. This procedure corresponds with the study from von Stutterheim (2003), von Stutterheim and Carroll (2006) and Schmiedtová and Sahonenko (2008).

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[5] http://www.random.org/lists/

6.2.2. Vocabulary test

Vocabulary knowledge in Dutch was measured with a productive vocabulary test (see appendix B for the complete test), the same test as the one used in Mulder and Hulstijn (2011). The test was a paper-and-pencil task and consisted of 60 items, the test is composed by a meaningful sentence for every item in which the target word is omitted except for the first letter. The participants had to fill in a semantically appropriate word. The score on the vocabulary test was used as an independent (and indirect) measure of speaking proficiency; moreover the vocabulary score was used as a threshold for participation. Participants that scored lower than 25 (42% correct) on the vocabulary test were not included in this study. In Mulder and Hulstijn (2011) the Dutch monolinguals scored on average 68% correct (41 items correct) with a standard deviation of 15% (mean score minus 1SD is 32 items correct). The participants in this study were allowed to score somewhat below the average minus one SD of the Dutch monolinguals since they were second language learners. However, the participants that scored very low were excluded since it does not make sense to study conceptual restructuring in participants that are clearly not advanced learners. It should be noted that if variability in endpoint marking occurs between the participants the vocabulary score is introduced as a covariate to explain individual differences. A vocabulary test was chosen as a measure of language proficiency since it is claimed to be "one of the most salient components of linguistic ability" (Hulstijn, 2010; p. 189). Moreover, De Jong et al. (2011) studied the componential structure of L2 speaking proficiency and found that vocabulary knowledge and the ability to produce correct sentence intonation were the best predictors of speaking proficiency[6].

To control for experimenter bias, the test was scored twice, the first time with extreme leniency, the second time applying a very strict scoring method. In both the scoring methods there was an extreme leniency towards spelling errors since the argument of this study is on oral production and not on writing skills, therefore an item was scored as correct if the most likely pronunciation of the erroneous spelling was the same as the correct answer. In the lenient method the doubtful cases were scored as correct while in the strict method these were scored as incorrect. The scoring criteria for both scoring methods were written down to check the accuracy of the vocabulary score twice. In some cases a score of 0.5 was given for answers that were not the most correct in that specific context but possible. The correlation

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[6] However, as already mentioned above, language proficiency has a componential structure and it is therefore not expected that the score on the vocabulary test directly reflects language proficiency. The score is only an indication and should be interpreted with caution.

between the scoring methods was calculated and the result showed a very strong correlation (r = .996, p = .00; n = 24). In the analysis in which vocabulary score is introduced as a covariate, the lenient scoring was used. The internal consistency of the test was measured for both the German L1 and the Italian L1 group and the two groups together. The results showed that Cronbach's alpha was high (α =.882; n = 24) for the Italian and German participants together. Thus, the internal consistency of the vocabulary test is good.

6.3. Procedure

All participants were individually tested in a quiet room. The participants were first asked to fill in a form with some general questions on their language use (see appendix B). After this questionnaire the participants were tested on their vocabulary knowledge with a paper-and-pencil task (see previous section). The vocabulary test took approximately 30 minutes but since there were no time restrictions some participants needed up to 50 minutes. Subsequently the video clips were shown (see section 6.2.1), half of the participants first had to describe the video clips in their L1 and the other half in Dutch. The participants that first had to describe the video clips in their L1 were thus shown the L1-list of video clips first while the participants that had do describe the video clips in Dutch were first shown the Dutch list. Instructions were given beforehand in the target language (i.e. in Dutch or in the L1) and the participants all did a trial session in which five test items were given. The participants were asked to watch the video clips and answer the question "*What is happening?*" as soon as they realized what was happening in the clips (see appendix D for full instructions in target language[7]). If necessary, the experimenter commented on the participant's descriptions in the trial session (e.g. if he or she explained the scene in too much detail). The participant then watched the 34 video clips and the descriptions were recorded using a voice recorder. After the first part (i.e. description in Dutch or L1) instructions were given in the target language of the second part, and the next set of video clips was shown. The total duration of the vocabulary test and the video-clip task was approximately one hour per participant.

6.4. Transcription and coding

All recordings were transcribed by the experimenter and then coded following the coding scheme from the Heidelberg project (Flecken, 2012). There are nine coding categories for

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[7] It should be noted that the question 'What is happening?' in all the target languages did not include a progressive form but a simple present form.

motion events: infinite clauses/clauses without verbs, location, path, endpoint direction, endpoint goal, endpoint reached, motion events without route segments and remainder. In Table 6.4.1 the coding categories are described and examples for every category are given.

Table 6.4.1 Coding categories in the video-clip description task

Category	Code	Description	Example (in Dutch)
Infinite clause or clauses without verbs	(-)	Sentences without an inflected verb are coded as (-)	*Een auto op het platteland.* 'A car on the countryside'
Location	Loc	Sentences with an inflected motion verb that are localized in space.	*Een bus rijdt op een landweggetje.* 'A bus drives on a country road'
Path	Path	Sentences with an inflected motion verb in which reference is made to the path that the moving entity traverses	*Een vrouw loopt door een park.* 'A women walks through the park.'
Endpoint direction	EP-DIR	Sentences with an inflected motion verb in which the direction of the movement is given (plus endpoint)	*Twee vrouwen die op een gebouw aflopen.* 'Two women who are walking towards a building'
Endpoint goal	EP	Sentences with an inflected motion verb in which the endpoint is mentioned	*Twee meisjes die naar een kerk lopen.* 'Two girls who walk to the church'
Endpoint reached	EP-R	Sentences with an inflected motion verb in which the endpoint is mentioned and reached	*Een vrouw die een winkel binnengaat.* 'A woman who enters a store'
Motion events without route segments	0	Sentences with an inflected motion verb in which no other elements are expressed	*Een man die loopt.* 'A man that walks'
Remainder	REM	(1)Sentences in which the source of the movement is mentioned/ (2) sentences without motion verbs/ (3) nominalized sentences	(1) *Een vrouw komt uit de kerk.* 'A women comes out of the church' (2) *Een vrouw gaat boodschappen doen.* 'A women goes shopping' (3) *Een rijdende auto.* 'A driving car'

The three categories endpoint direction, endpoint goal and endpoint reached are all coded as endpoint mentioned, thus in the quantitative analysis the fifteen critical items (subdivided into the three categories) and the five control items are coded as endpoint mentioned or endpoint not mentioned regardless of the type of endpoint encoding. In the qualitative analysis the different categories will be used to investigate the differences between the three groups in type of segment mentioned.

A random part (≈ 35%) of the transcriptions was coded by two independent observers who were not informed on the purpose of this study. They were given written instructions in which the nine coding categories were described and a few Dutch and English examples were given. One of the observers was asked to code four of the German participants (this was a Dutch student enrolled in the German program at UvA) and the other observer coded four of the Italian participants (this was a Dutch student graduated in Italian at UvA). Both observers also coded two Dutch participants. An inter-rater reliability analysis using the Kappa statistic was performed to determine consistency among raters, The inter-rater reliability for the rater that coded the German participants was found to be Kappa = .91 ($p <.0.001$; n = 200), the inter-rater reliability for the rater that coded the Italian participants was found to be Kappa = .89 ($p < 0.001$; n = 200). Following the interpretation table of Landis and Koch (1977) both observers showed almost perfect agreement with the investigator.

7. Results

In this section, performance of the Italian, German and Dutch participants in the video-clip tasks will be analyzed. First it was calculated if the order of presentation (i.e. L1 task or L2 task first) had influence on the EP frequency. An independent *t*-test showed no significant effect of order of presentation (*p* = .462). The group comparisons were conducted with both parametric and non-parametric tests because the numbers of participants in each language group was rather small. The results of the parametric and non-parametric tests were almost identical. Therefore, the results of only the parametric tests (*t* test; ANOVA) are reported in this section. Besides the quantitative analysis of the results described in this chapter, the results from the qualitative analysis are given. In the qualitative analysis it is described which segments the participants of the three groups expressed and in which items the progressive form was used.

7.1 Group comparisons on attribute data (covariates)

When comparing the attribute data of the German and the Italian group, it was observed that the Italian participants had stayed, on average, four years longer in the Netherlands than the German participants but this difference was not significant. The Italian participants were, on average, five years younger than the German participants when arriving in the Netherlands. This difference was significant (*t* (22) = -2.203; *p* = .038). The German participants scored, on average, higher than the Italian participants on the vocabulary test (38 versus 44), but the difference was not significant. The vocabulary score in the Italian participants ranged from 25 to 50,5, in the German participants the score ranged from 29 to 52.

7.2 Quantitative analysis of video-clip responses

7.2.1 Reponses in Dutch

In this section the results from the quantitative analysis will be given. First the L2 descriptions of the two L2 groups will compared with the descriptions of the Dutch monolinguals. Subsequently, the results from the German and Italian group in their L1 will be presented. Finally, the correlation between the L1 and the L2 scores will be given. As stated in the previous chapter, the quantitative analysis will only look at the number of endpoints mentioned and not at the type of endpoint or other segment mentioned. In Table 7.1 the mean scores on the fifteen critical items is given for the three groups.

Table 7.2.1 Endpoints mentioned in critical items (in Dutch) (Max = 15)

Group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Italian	10	3,90	1,45
German	14	6,43	2,47
Dutch	5	4,80	1,79
Total	29	5,31	2,29

What can be gleaned from this table, is that, as expected, the German participants mention more endpoints than the Italian and the Dutch participants. A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) showed a significant main effect for Group ($F(2,26)= 4,523$; $p = .021$). Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test showed a significant difference between the Italian and German group ($p = .017$). There were no significant differences between the Dutch and the Italian, and the Dutch and the German group. In Figure 7.2.1 the results from the three groups are given in a graph.
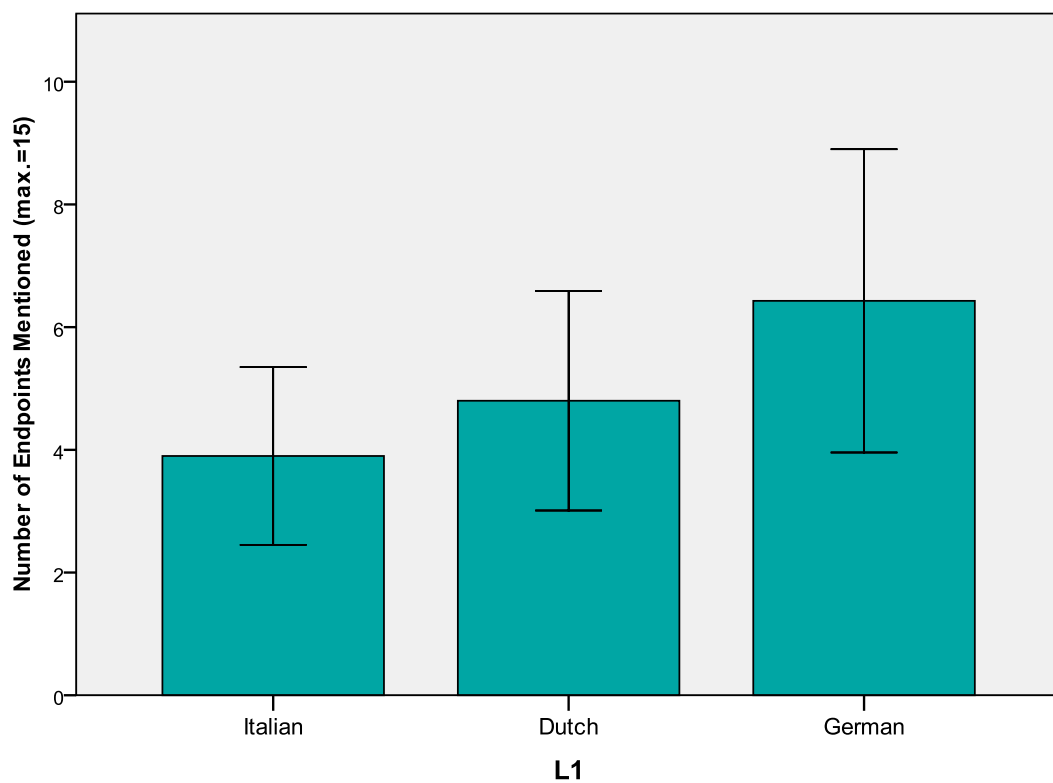

Figure 7.2.1 Endpoints mentioned in critical Dutch items by participants'L1

The graph above illustrates that the hypothesized differences between the three groups were confirmed, i.e. the Italian group mentioned endpoints to a lesser extent than the Dutch group

which, in return, mentioned endpoints to a lesser extent than the German group. However, only the Italian and German group differed significantly.

When the critical items are subdivided in the three subcategories (Evident (n=6), Less evident (n=3), Not Evident (n=6)) the differences between the groups disappear. Only for the first category (i.e. *Evident*) there is a significant difference between the German and the Italian group (t (22)= -2,840; p = .010). In the categories *Less evident* and *Not evident* there are no significant differences between the three groups.

An analysis of covariance was conducted to explore the effect of the vocabulary score, length of residence (LoR) and age of onset (AO) on mentioning endpoints in the L2 critical items. This was done four times: first with the dependent variable *Critical Item* (n=15) and then separately for the three subcategories *Evident*, *Less Evident* and *Not Evident*. Only with the dependent variable Critical Item there was a significant main effect (F(4)=3,184; p= .037); however, the covariate vocabulary score, LoR and AO made this effect disappear. Taking the variables L1, vocabulary score, LoR and AO together, this model explained 54,4 % of the variance (SS_m=54,43). In the analyses of covariance in which the subcategories were used as dependent variables, no main group effects were found.

It is hypothesized that the participants that have a high vocabulary score are more proficient than the participants with a low vocabulary score, it is therefore expected that the German participants with a high vocabulary score mention less endpoints than the participants with a low vocabulary score, i.e. they respond more like the Dutch monolinguals. The correlation between vocabulary score and endpoint encoding was calculated for the German participants and no significant correlation was found. Moreover, LoR and AO did not correlate with endpoint encoding in the German participants. In the Italian participants it is expected that the participants with a high vocabulary score mention more endpoints than the participants with a low vocabulary score. A significant correlation was found between the vocabulary score and the items from the subcategory *Less Evident* (r = .667; p = .031), this implies that the Italian participants with a high vocabulary score mentioned more endpoints in these items. No correlation was found between the vocabulary score and the other subcategories. Moreover, no correlation was found between AO or the LoR and endpoint encoding in the Italian participants.

In Table 7.2.2 the mean scores on the control items are given for the three groups. To explore if the three groups scored similarly on the control items (n=5), a one-way ANOVA was conducted. The ANOVA showed an unexpected significant main effect for group (F(2,26) = 5,032; p = .014). A post-hoc analysis using the Student-Newman-Keuls criterion showed a

significant difference between the German group and the Dutch group. The differences between the Italian and German and the Italian and Dutch group were not significant.

Table 7.2.2 Endpoints mentioned in control items (in Dutch)

Group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Italian	10	3,7	1,16
German	14	4,4	0,65
Dutch	5	3,0	1,00

The results of the responses given in the L2 have now been compared to the monolingual results. One of the more meaningful findings that emerges from this part is the significant difference between the German and Italian group in mentioning endpoints in the critical items. An unexpected result was found in the control items: the Dutch group mentioned significantly fewer endpoints in these items than the German group.

7.2.2. Responses given in Italian or German

Table 7.2.3 shows the mean number of endpoints mentioned by the Italian and German groups in their L1 in the 15 critical items. Again the German group mentioned more endpoints than the Italian, this difference is however not significant.

Table 7.2.3 Endpoints mentioned in Critical item (in L1) (Max = 15)

Group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Italian	10	4,0	1,49
German	14	6,4	3,69

In Table 7.2.4 the mean scores on the three subcategories for the two groups are given; moreover, the mean scores on the control items are given.

Table 7.2.4 Mean scores on the three subcategories and control items (in L1), by Group

	L1	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Evident	Italian	10	2,6	0,97
(max=6)	German	14	3,6	1,65
Less Evident	Italian	10	0,7	0,67
(max=3)	German	14	1,4	1,02
Not Evident	Italian	10	0,7	1,06
(max=6)	German	14	1,4	1,69
Control items	Italian	10	3,6	1,26
(max=5)	German	14	4,9	0,36

As can be seen from the table above, the German group mentioned on average more endpoints than the Italian group. An independent sample t test showed no significant differences for the three categories *Evident*, *Less Evident* and *Not Evident*. Unexpectedly, a significant difference between the two groups was found in the control items (t (22) = -3.548; p = .002).

A Pearson's product moment correlation was used to determine the relationship between the endpoint encoding on the L2 task and the endpoint encoding on the L1 task. In the following table (7.2.5) the correlation between the scores on the L1 and the L2 task are given for the three subcategories.

Table 7.2.5 Correlations between the scores of the Italian and German participants (n = 24) on the L1 and the L2-task, by Language and Degree of evidence

		L1 Evident	L1 Less Evident	L1 Not Evident
L2 Evident	Pearson Correlation	,546[**]	,534[**]	,540[**]
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,006	,007	,006
	N	24	24	24
L2 Less Evident	Pearson Correlation	,694[**]	,648[**]	,244
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,001	,251
	N	24	24	24
L2 Not Evident	Pearson Correlation	,501[**]	,459[*]	,741[**]
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,013	,024	,000
	N	24	24	24

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

It can be seen from the data presented in Table 7.2.5 that there are moderately strong correlations between the scores on the L2 task and the L1 task. These significant correlations imply that the participants behaved similarly on the L2 and the L1 task, i.e. they mentioned endpoints to a similar extent in both the L1 and the L2.

7.3 Qualitative analysis

7.3.1 Segments expressed in critical and control items

In this section a qualitative interpretation of the results will be given, giving more insight into the actual differences in conceptualization patterns of the three groups than the quantitative analyses. The main focus of this section will be on the performance of the three groups in Dutch. In appendix E the results per group per item are given, and the percentages of the occurrences of the types of segments expressed are given per item. The codes for the

categories described in the previous chapter will be used in this section (i.e. Path, Loc, EP-Dir, EP, EP-R, (-), REM and (0)).

What results from the three tables in appendix E, is that there are three items on which the three groups show a similar distribution of the segments mentioned: (1) Evident- *A boy walking towards a playground* (2) Control- *A woman entering a shop* (3) Control- *A car parking in a garage*. In the first of these items, almost all participants expressed an EP (90% of the Italian participants, 79% of the German participants, and 80% of the Dutch participants):

(1) Een kind loopt [naar een speeltuintje] (German participant)

                       EP

     'A child walks to the playground'

In the second of these items, almost all participants expressed an EP-R (60% of the Italian participants, 71% of the German participants, and 80% of the Dutch participants):

(2) Een vrouw loopt   [de natuurwinkel binnen] (Italian participant)

                         EP-R

     'A woman enters a store'

In the last of these items, almost all participants mentioned an EP-R (90% of the Italian participants, 86% of the German participants, 100% of the Dutch participants).

(3) Er parkeert iemand een auto [in een parkeergarage] (Dutch participant)

                         EP-R

     'Someone parks a car in a garage'

It is interesting to note that only 2 of the 5 control items belong to the consistent items, a finding that explains the significant difference between groups in the control items. On the other hand one of the critical items does belong to the consistent items.

The data in the three tables (appendix E) indicate an important difference between the German group on the one side and the Italian and the Dutch group on the other side. The German participants have a tendency to mention more than one segment in the description of motion events. In fact, of all the items (critical + control items) the German participants mention more than one segment in 27% of the cases, the Dutch participants mention more than one segment in 10% of the cases and the Italian participants only in 8,5% of the cases.

Moreover, some of the German participants mention three segments (see (4) and (5)), something that does not occur in the Dutch or the Italian participants. The German participants mention three endpoints in both the L1 and in Dutch (these sentences are uttered by two different participants).

(4) Er rijdt een auto over een provinciale weg richting dorp in winters landschap.

A car drives   [along a road]   [towards a village]   [in a winter landscape]

              Path   EP-DIR   Loc

(5) Ein Auto fährt am Waldrand entlang auf einer Strasse richtung Dorf.

A car drives   [alongside the edge of the forest]   [on a road]   [towards a village]

              Path   Loc   EP-DIR

Another important difference that results from the table is the category (0) (i.e. motion event without route segments), which is a category that is frequently used by the Italian participants (in 13,5% of all the cases), but not with the Dutch or German participants (in respectively 5% and 2% of all the cases). Moreover, the majority of the (0) coded sentences of the Dutch participants is with the control item in which a woman enters a train station. The particularity of this item is that the woman carries a suitcase and this is often expressed by the Dutch participants, the participants do therefore not mention any route segments but do mention an attributive segment. If this item is not included in the calculation of the (0) coded sentences the Dutch percentage drops to 1%.

Several segment-types are coded as REM, namely segments that express the source of the movement, sentences with nominalized clauses and sentences without motion verbs. What is interesting to note is that the Dutch monolinguals never produce sentences that are coded as REM and only one of the German participants mentions the source of the movement in one of the critical items. In contrast, the Italian participants have more sentences coded as REM or REM + other segment (in total 13, i.e. 6,5%), in two of the thirteen items the source of the movement is expressed, while in the other ten items a verb is expressed that does not belong to the category motion verb (see (6) and (7)).

(6) Een vrouw gaat boodschappen doen.

'A woman goes shopping'

(7) Iemand haast zich om de trein te halen.

'Someone is hurrying to catch the train'

In the item in which a boy is walking behind a house (towards a bicycle) two of the Italian participants seem to express endpoints which are not real endpoints, and which are in fact coded as REM (see (8) and (9)).

(8) Een jongeman gaat naar huis.

    'A boy is going home'

(9) Een jongen gaat naar school.

    'A boy is going to school'

Even though these participants express some sort of endpoint, these are not factual endpoints since nothing in the video clip indicates that the boy is actually going home or to school, the only possible endpoint in this item is the bicycle.

The most important results that emerge from the qualitative analysis is the tendency of the German participants to mention more than one route segment in the description of the video clips and the tendency of the Italian participants to not mention route segments at all. With respect to the tendency to mention more than one route segments the Dutch participants behave more like the Italian participants since they barely mention more than one route segment and they never mention three route segments. However, unlike the Italian participants the Dutch participants hardly ever describe the motion events without mentioning route segments, in that way the Dutch participants respond more like the German participants.

7.3.2 Usage of progressive in critical and control items

In this section the usage of the progressive in motion events is described. It is expected that the German participants will not describe motion events as ongoing and it is therefore expected that they will not use the lexical items available in German to express progressivity in these items. In fact, 11 of the 14 German participants do not express progressivity. Moreover, in the L2 descriptions none of the German participants use a progressive form. There are three occurrences (i.e. 1%) in which progressivity is expressed in the L1-task by the German participants (uttered by three different participants):

(10)   Jemand läuft am Müllton vorbei, oder ist im Begriff sich auf Müllton zu zu bewegen

        'Someone walks past a container, or is starting to walk towards the container'

(11)   Da läuft jemand zu einem Gebäude und läuft gerade die Treppe hinauf.

        'Someone walks towards a building and is walking up the stairs'

(12)   Zwei Wanderer sind am wandern.

'Two hikers are walking'

In sentence (10) and (11) lexical elements are used to express progressivity, sentence (12) is an example of the "Rheinische verlaufsform" and might be the result of negative transfer from Dutch.

In Italian 6 of the 10 participants use a progressive form (or several progressive forms) in the L1-task. Of the 200 motion events in the L1 task (i.e. 20 items x 10 participants), a progressive construction is used in 7,5% of the items. Sentence (13) and (14) show examples of these progressive forms:

(13)   Una donna che sta camminando verso la fermata del autobus.
         'A woman is walking towards the bus stop'

(14)   Un signore sta salendo le scale di un palazzo.
         'A man is walking up the stairs from a building'

Two of the ten Italian participants use a progressive form in the Dutch task, see (15) and (16). However, they do not use the *aan het*-construction but other constructions that express progressivity. In sentence (15) a present participle is used, which can have a progressive interpretation (Booij, 2004). Sentence (16) is similar to (10) in that it expresses a particular phase of an event, in (10) the initial phase is described, while in (16) the end phase of the event is described.

(15)   Een mevrouw wandelend door een park
         'A woman walking in the park'

(16)   De bus staat op het punt te stoppen bij de halte
         'De bus is about to stop at the bus stop'

Surprisingly, 1 of the 5 Dutch participants uses the progressive *aan het*-construction in two motion events (see sentence (17) and (18).

(17)   Een vrouw is wat harder aan het lopen met een trolley achter d'r aan.
         'A woman is walking quickly with a trolley behind her'

(18)   Iemand is al bellend naar beneden aan het lopen langs een straat.
         'Someone is calling and walking downwards past a street'

8. Discussion

The present study was designed to determine if restructuring of L1-specific event conceptualization patterns is possible in late L2 learners. The effect of grammaticalized progressive aspect in the L1 on endpoint encoding in the L2 was investigated in German and Italian learners of Dutch. In the preceding chapter it was seen that the Italian participants were less inclined to encode endpoints in the goal-oriented motion events than the German participants. This was found both in the L1 and the L2 task, however, only in the L2 task the difference between the two groups was significant. The finding on the L2 task indicates that the Italian and German group construe events in a different way. This variation in event construal is interpreted as a result from the grammaticalization of the progressive in Italian and the absence of the grammatical feature progressive in German. The Italian participants are more inclined to zoom in on the object in motion, i.e. adopt a restricted viewing frame, and they are more inclined to do so because of the feature progressive that is being grammaticalized in their L1. The German participants are more inclined to adopt a maximal temporal scope as a result of the absence of the grammatical feature progressive in their L1. As predicted, the Dutch monolinguals encoded on average more endpoints than the Italian participants and fewer than the German participants, however these differences were not significant. Despite the fact that the German participants were on average more proficient (i.e. had a higher vocabulary score), the endpoint frequency of the Italian participants was more similar to the Dutch endpoint frequency. This is expected since Dutch and Italian both have progressive constructions that are being grammaticalized. Somewhat unexpected was the difference between the Dutch participants and the German participants on the control items. It was expected that the three groups mentioned endpoints to a similar extent in the control items. Surprisingly, the Dutch monolingual mentioned significantly fewer endpoints in these items than the German participants. This might be due to the characteristics of some of the control items, there were two control items in the Dutch task on which the participants in the three groups responded unexpectedly; the item depicting a man on a bicycle who turns into a gateway and the item depicting a woman with a suitcase who enters the train station. In the former item only at the end of the clip it becomes clear that the man is going to enter the gateway and most of the participants already responded by then, in the latter item the suitcase of the woman distracts the attention from the endpoint and for this reason several participants only mention the fact that the woman is carrying a suitcase. Future studies in which the same video clips are used should control for these differences within categories.

This study was designed especially to look for the effect of L2 proficiency on L2 endpoint encoding and differed from previous studies on endpoint encoding in that it included an independent vocabulary test that measured vocabulary knowledge as a component of second language proficiency. It was hypothesized that the participants with a high score on the vocabulary test would behave more like Dutch monolinguals, i.e. they would encode endpoints to a similar extent as the Dutch participants. However, the results of this study, as presented in the previous chapter, did not show any significant effect of vocabulary score on endpoint encoding. The ranges of scores on the vocabulary task in the two groups (29 to 52,5 for the German group and 25 to 50,5 for the Italian group) show that there are some clear differences in vocabulary knowledge within the two L2 groups. Despite these individual differences no effect on endpoint encoding is found. Moreover, no effect of length of residence or age of onset was found. In the German group there was no correlation between endpoint encoding and vocabulary score, length of residence or age of onset. In the Italian participants there was a strong correlation between vocabulary score and endpoint encoding in the critical items from the subcategory *Not Evident*. This finding indicates that Italian participants with a high vocabulary score mentioned more endpoints in these items. However, the maximum score in this category was 1 for the Italian participants, and the correlation that was found is therefore insignificant. The fact that there was no main effect of vocabulary score on endpoint encoding might be due to the small number of participants in this study. Conceptualization patterns are preferences rather than rules and this might be an explanation for the variability in endpoint encoding that was found within the three groups. The fact that the overall vocabulary score had no effect on endpoint encoding might be due to this variability and for this reason future research should include larger groups. It can also be claimed that the vocabulary knowledge as measured by this vocabulary test does not reflect the level of language proficiency of the participants.

Bylund and Jarvis (2011) found an effect of age of onset (AO) in their study, the Spanish L1-Swedish L2 bilinguals with a low AO were more inclined to encode endpoints in their L1 than the participants with a high AO. However, in their study the AO ranged from 1 to 23 years and involved early and late learners while this study only involved late learners and AO ranged from 17 to 26 years in the Italian participants and from 20 to 40 years in the German participants. There was no effect of AO in the L2 participants; this might be due to the well-established and more entrenched event-schema hierarchies they had before learning Dutch. As a result of these well-established schema-selection preferences they were less sensitive to L2 influence and thus less sensitive to conceptual restructuring.

The previous chapter showed that there was a moderately strong correlation between the endpoint encoding on the L1 task and the endpoint encoding on the L2 task. This finding indicates that the participants of both groups have similar conceptualization patterns in their L1 and their L2. This is in accordance with the predictions made by CG, which excludes the co-existence of an L1 and an L2 conceptualization pattern. Bylund and Jarvis (2011) did not test the second language learners in both their L1 and their L2 and they could therefore not answer the question if the L2-speakers maintain separate schema selection preferences in each language or whether these preferences become fused into one system. The findings of this study suggest that the L2-learners have one single system. However, on the basis of this correlation it is impossible to make any claims about conceptual restructuring since several options proposed by Jarvis and Pavlenko (2011) are possible, namely (1) L1-based conceptual transfer, (2) the convergence of L1 and L2 conceptualization preferences, (3) a shift from L1 to L2 conceptualization preferences or (4) L1 conceptual attrition. To make more specific claims about conceptual restructuring in late L2 learners it is important to compare the results of the bilinguals with, on the one side, L1 monolingual participants and, on the other side, L2 monolingual participants. In this study the two learner groups are only compared with L2 monolinguals and not with the L1 monolinguals. The results from the comparison with the monolingual group showed that there were no significant differences between the Italian and the Dutch group nor between the German and the Dutch group. However, there was a clear tendency of the German group to mention more endpoints than the Dutch participants, and this implies there was no complete shift from L1 to L2 conceptualization preferences. Moreover, the qualitative analysis showed some clear differences between the three groups in the selection of segments to express. This study did not include L1 monolinguals but other studies have been conducted in which German monolinguals were asked to describe similar goal-oriented motion events. In Schmiedtová (2011) the German monolinguals encoded endpoints in 62% of the items. The German participants in this study encoded endpoints in 43% of the critical items, which is clearly less than the monolingual participants in Schmiedtová's study. It could be hypothesized that the participants in this study are influenced by the L2 and therefore encode fewer endpoints. However, the items in Schmiedtová's study were not the same and they were not divided into the subcategories *Evident*, *Less Evident* and *Not evident*. It is therefore impossible to make a direct comparison with the findings from Schmiedtová and firm conclusions cannot be drawn.

The qualitative analysis showed some clear differences in the conceptualization patterns of the three groups, the German participants were inclined to mention more than one route

segment in the description of the critical items. Another finding that resulted from the qualitative analysis was the tendency of the Italian participants to not mention any route segments, which shows a clear contrast with the German participants, who expressed three route segments in some items. The Dutch participants expressed one single route segment in most items. In this way, they differed from both the Italian and the German group. The differences between the groups belong to the level of macrostructural planning and in particular to the process of selection. When conceptualizing the same events, the three groups select different aspects of the event as reportable segments. These findings show that, besides the different conceptualization preferences found in endpoint encoding in the three groups, there are also different tendencies in the selection of route segments. This finding supports the claim that the late learners of Dutch have not acquired the L2 conceptualization pattern.

The results on the usage of the progressive in the motion events give more insight into the grammaticalization of the progressive forms in the three languages under investigation. Speakers of Italian use the progressive construction *stare* + gerund in some of the motion events despite the fact that their task was to respond to the question '*Che cosa succede?*' with a simple present form and not '*Che cosa sta succedendo?*' with a progressive form. This shows that the progressive construction is far on its way to grammaticalization in Italian. Also because in Flecken (2011b) it is stated that the periphrastic progressive form in Italian, Dutch and French is used with the lowest rate in 'change in place' situations which involve directed motion on the part of a person or a vehicle (p. 506). Thus, of all the contexts where the progressive construction can be used, the contexts of the video clips (i.e. the critical and control items) in this study are the ones with the lowest rate of occurrence (see von Stutterheim et al., 2009 and Natale, 2009). It is interesting to note that one of the Dutch participants used the progressive *aan het*-construction in one of the control items and one of the critical items. This finding suggests that the *aan het*-construction is currently being grammaticalized. The fact that the German participants do not use any progressive forms in the Dutch description task, and only in three items of the L1-task shows that there is a clear preference to present events holistically in both German and Dutch.

One of the major limitations of the current study and previous studies on event conceptualization is the small number of participants. The fact that conceptualization patterns are preferences rather than rules results in much variability within groups. Studies in which larger participant groups are used might give a clearer picture of conceptualization patterns. Moreover, future research should include monolingual participants from both the L1 and the L2. In that way it is possible to answer the question to what extent conceptual restructuring is

possible in late learners. Long (1993) stated that in research on ultimate attainment it should be avoided to study "L2 speakers who are apparently not nativelike just to arrive at the conclusion that they are not nativelike" (in Bylund, 2009, p. 48). In this study the participants might not have been advanced enough and this can be the reason why the participants still rely on their L1-conceptualization patterns. However, this study included an independent vocabulary test to control for this problem; if individual differences within groups occurred the vocabulary score was introduced to explain the differences. It should be noted that 70% of the L2 participants in this study had a vocabulary score that was above the average score of the Dutch native speakers in the study from Mulder and Hulstijn (2011). It could thus be argued that most participants in this study were native-like. However, the participants were tested on vocabulary knowledge which is only an indirect measure of language proficiency and although it is a good predictor of language proficiency (De Jong et al., 2011) future research should also include other measures of language proficiency such as native speaker judgments. An interesting element that could be included in future research is a measurement of a non-linguistic cognitive ability. When studying conceptual transfer or conceptualization patterns it is fascinating to look at restructuring in non-linguistic domains, such as memory or eye movements. Lucy (1997) states that "without the relation to thought more generally (i.e. beyond that necessary for the act of speaking itself), linguistic relativity is merely linguistic diversity" (Lucy, 1997, p. 295).

9. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to determine if it is possible for later learners to restructure their L1-specific conceptualization patterns. The results showed that very advanced learners of Dutch still rely on their L1-specific patterns when conceptualizing events in the L2. There was a clear tendency by the German participants to mention more endpoints than both the Italian and the Dutch participants in the goal oriented motion events and to express more than one route segment. On the other hand the Italian participants mentioned on average fewer endpoints than both the Dutch and the German participants and there was a tendency to not mention any route segments. This study included the administration of a vocabulary test which was used as an indirect measure of language proficiency. It was hypothesized that the participants with a higher vocabulary score would mention endpoints to a similar extent as the Dutch monolinguals. No effect was found for vocabulary score on endpoint encoding and it is therefore impossible to draw any conclusions on the possible conceptual restructuring in very advanced learners of Dutch. However, there was a strong correlation between endpoint encoding in the L1 and the L2 task and this strongly suggests that the second language learners have a single conceptualization pattern. The findings of this study indicate that it is hard to restructure L1-specific conceptualization patterns and a complete shift from L1 to L2 preferences was not found in the participants. The present study adds new evidence to the debate on conceptual restructuring by including a measurement of conceptualization patterns in both the L1 and the L2. The findings suggest that second language learners have one single system of conceptualization patterns that is used in both L1 and the L2. Future research should include monolingual groups from both the L1 and the L2. In that way it is possible to investigate if this single system of conceptualization preferences differs from both the L1 and the L2 monolingual speakers, something that has been found in early bilinguals.

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Appendices

A. Video clips: description of items

Critical items	List	Item name	Description
EP evident	L2-list	100_walking.playground.oneP	A little boy is walking along a path (towards a playground)
	L2-list	149_walk_greencar_v2	A girls is walking down the road (towards a parked car)
	L2-list	171_bus_busstop_3	A bus is driving on a road (towards the busstop)
	L2 and L1-list	104_walking.house.twoP	Two girls are walking along a path (towards a house)
	L2 and L1-list	160_walk_phonebooth	A woman is walking on a square (towards a phonebooth)
	L2 and L1-list	155_walk_redcar	A man is walking in a parking lot (towards a car)
	L1-list	181_walk_container	A woman is walking across a parking lot (towards a container)
	L1-list	158_walk_stairs-building	A man is walking on a parking lot (towards the stairs of a building)
	L1-list	141_walk_bluecar	A man is walking down a road (towards a parked car)
EP less evident	L2-list	167_walk_church	A girl is crossing a square (and walking towards a church)
	L2-list	162_walk_bench	A woman is walking in a park (towards a bench)
	L2 and L1-list	169_car_village_3	A car is driving down the road (towards a village)
	L1-list	140_walk_busstop	A woman is walking on the side of the road (towards a busstop)
	L1-list	165_walk_park-building	A woman is walking in the park (towards a park-building)
EP not evident	L2-list	145_car_village_v2	A car is driving down the road (towards a village)
	L2-list	139_walk_nuni	A girl is walking in a hall (towards a corridor)
	L2-list	185_bus_village	A bus is driving down the road (towards a village)
	L2 and L1-list	153_walk_bicycle_v2	A boy is walking behind a house (towards a bicycle)
	L2 and L1-list	159_walk_gate	A man is walking down the street (towards a gate)
	L2 and L1-list	186_car_monastery	A car is driving up the hill (towards a monastery)
	L1-list	168_car_village_2	A car is driving down a road (towards a village)
	L1-list	146_car_church	A car is driving down a road (towards a village with church)
	L1-list	184_walk_village	An elderly couple is walking (towards a village)

Control items	List	Item name	Description
EP Reached	L2-list	20_bicycle.gate	A man on a bicycle is turning into a gateway
	L2 and L1-list	81_trainstation	A girl is entering the station
	L2 and L1-list	85_entering.shop	A woman is entering a supermarket
	L2 and L1-list	90_walking.churchoor	A man is walking into a church
	L2 and L1-list	80_garage.long	A car is driving into a garage
	L1-list	89_walking.playground.oneP	A child is going through a gate into a playground

Item lists

	DUTCH-list	L1-list
EP evident	1. Boy walking towards playground	1. Woman walking towards container
	2. Woman walking towards green car	2. Man walking towards building
	3. Bus arriving at busstop	3. Man walking towards green car
	4. Two women walking towards house	4. Two women walking towards house
	5. Woman walking towards phonebooth	5. Woman walking towards phonebooth
	6. Man walking towards red car	6. Man walking towards red car
EP less evident	7. Woman walking towards a church	7. Woman walking towards busstop
	8. Woman walking towards a bench	8. Woman walking towards building
	9. Car driving towards a village	9. Car driving towards village
EP not evident	10. Car driving towards a village2	10 Car driving towards village2
	11. Woman walking towards a hall	11. Car driving towards church
	12. Bus driving towards a village	12. Bus driving towards a village
	13. Boy walking towards a bicycle	13. Boy walking towards a bicycle
	14. Man walking towards a gate	14. Man walking towards a gate
	15. Car driving towards monastery	15. Car driving towards monastery
EP reached	16. Woman entering train station	16. Woman entering train station
	17. Woman entering shop	17. Woman entering shop
	18. Boy entering church	18. Boy entering church
	19. Car entering garage	19. Car entering garage
	20. Man biking into a gate	20. Child walking towards playground
Filler (caus.eff)	21. Woman making necklace	21. Girl building tower with cubes
	22. Girl building a tower with cards	22. Girl decorating a cake
	23. Man making a paper airplane	23. Woman cutting paper
	24. Boy playing with balloon	24. Woman knitting a scarf
	25. Woman cutting cucumber	25. Woman cutting cucumber
Filler (micmac)	26. Woman typing a letter	26. Boys playing tennis
	27. Man putting paper in shredder	27. Woman tidying office
	28. Boys playing soccer	28. Women playing cards
	29. Woman playing flute	29. Woman cooking
	30. Girl doing make-up	30. Girl doing make-up
Filler (static)	31. Boat on the water	31. Tablet dissolving in water
	32. Cigarette in ashtray	32. Printer at work
	33. Candle burning	33. Girl playing piano
	34. Girl relaxing on a bench	34. Girl relaxing on a bench

B. Vocabulary Test

N.B. This test was kindly made available by Professor Hulstijn. Use of this test, or parts of it, is prohibited without permission of Professor Hulstijn.

Deel 1
In de meeste zinnen hieronder is een woord weggelaten. Op de open plekken moet je een geschikt woord invullen, waarvan de betekenis goed in de zin past. Om je te helpen wordt het begin van het woord al gegeven.

Voorbeeld:
In een uur van Amsterdam naar Parijs fietsen? Dat kan niet, dat is o*nmogelijk*_____.

1. Als een arts zijn werk goed doet en competent is, noem je hem een b_____ arts.

2. Hij was zijn sleutels kwijt. Om ze te vinden haalde hij zijn hele kamer ov_____.

3. Het woord 'neo-impressionisme' kan je met ('neo-impressionisme') of zonder ('neoimpressionisme') st_____ schrijven.

4. Er waren eerst verschillende toespraken van anderen. Daarna hield de minister een r_____ over zijn beleid.

5. Een t_____ is iemand die voorwerpen en constructies maakt van hout.

6. Veel mensen zijn bang 's nachts alleen door een donker bos te lopen, ze vinden dat be_____

7. Het wordt meestal onbeleefd gevonden om te smakken en te b_____ tijdens het eten.

8. Met een anti-griep vaccin kan men zich wa_____ tegen de griep.

9. Als je op grond van feiten probeert te voorspellen hoe zich iets in de toekomst gaat ontwikkelen, dan maak je een pro_____.

10. Deze diploma's zijn niet helemaal hetzelfde, maar ze geven wel toegang tot dezelfde opleidingen. Ze worden dus als ge_____ (maar niet als gelijk) geaccepteerd.

11. Deze auto is heel zuinig. Hij verbrandt maar 3 liter benzine per 100 km. Men kan ook zeggen dat hij 3 liter per 100 km v_____.

12. De planten staan bij het raam op de ve_____.

13. We hebben tijdens de vergadering veel problemen opgelost. Ook zijn we op veel nieuwe ideeën gekomen. Het was een heel con_____ vergadering.

14. Stroop en honing noem je zoet beleg, ham en kaas noem je ha_____ beleg.

15. Als je tegen hem Nederlands spreekt, moet je alles heel goed uitspreken, je moet dus heel langzaam praten en duidelijk ar_____.

16. De komst van de fabriek in dit dorp heeft 100 nieuwe banen kunnen g_____

17. Is het h_____ ? Is het echt waar?

18. Zijn vraag was heel vriendelijk bedoeld, je moet het niet als kritiek opv_____.

19. Na de eerste helft van de voetbalwedstrijd was de tu_____ 2:1 voor Ajax.

20. Je hebt gisteren de hele avond cocktails zitten drinken, logisch dat je nu ko_____ hebt.

21. Als je meubels bij IKEA koopt, kun je ze naar je huis laten brengen. Binnen 2 dagen vindt de l_____ plaats.

22. Kleine kinderen moeten leren dat je, als je naar de wc bent geweest, de wc moet do_____

23. Volgende week gaat de film in première. Ik heb de aan_____ in de krant gelezen.

24. Als je niet bang bent om je leven te riskeren om anderen te redden, dan zullen mensen je m_____ vinden.

25. Als iemand door een ongeluk dood gaat, noemt men dat een f_____ ongeluk.

26. Het hondje rende de hele tijd achter de bal aan, het was heel sp_____.

27. Er zijn twee manieren om in de tuin te komen, binnendoor of bu_____.

28. Als je niet weet hoe je ergens naartoe moet lopen, kun je eerst op een pl_____ kijken.

29. Dit medicijn is niet om in te nemen, het is niet bedoeld voor i_____ gebruik.

30. De beschermende lak over een schilderij of over hout heet v_____.

31. Een schrijver krijgt vaak in plaats van een salaris een h_____ voor zijn werk.

32. Een ridder op een paard vecht in een toernooi niet met zijn zwaard maar met een l_____.

33. Een koning heet ook een mo_____.

34. Als een persoon of zaak niet thuishoort in het betrokken tijdvak, heet dat een a_____.

35. Een ander woord voor je ergens van verzekeren is je ergens van v_____.

36. Een lied in een opera heet een a_____.

37. Het zoeken naar eten door bijvoorbeeld vogels heet f_____.

38. De tegenstander in een debat heet een o_____.

39. Antropologen moeten een zekere afstand of d_____ hebben tegenover de cultuur die ze onderzoeken.

40. Een ander woord voor de plantengroei in een bepaald gebied is v_____.

41. Als iemand in staat is tegenstand te bieden is het een w_____ persoon.

42. Als iets ontbreekt of als er een gebrek is noem je dat een m_____.

43. Geplooide versiering op kleding heet r_____.

44. Iemand die in zichzelf gekeerd is en niet makkelijk zijn gevoelens uit noem je i_____.

45. Vandalen spuiten met spuitbussen gr_____ op muren en treinen.

46. Een ander woord voor buitenlands is ui_____.

47. Een kunstmatige heuvel die gemaakt is om bij hoog water een droge plek te hebben heet een t_____.

48. Een renbaan voor paarden is een h_____.

49. Een uiting waarin eenzelfde begrip dubbel is uitgedrukt, bv. in 'oude grijsaard' heet een p_____.

50. De uittrekbare trap naar de zolder heet een v_____.

51. Het spannende hoogtepunt op het einde van bijvoorbeeld een toneelstuk of sportwedstrijd heet de a_____.

52. De Japanse kunst van papiervouwen heet o_____.

53. Als bijvoorbeeld een beslissing willekeurig is, kan je ook zeggen dat de beslissing
ar_____ is.

54. Een toon die niet past en vals klinkt (in de moderne klassiek muziek heel gebruikelijk)
heet een d_____.

55. Een keelontsteking heet ook wel an_____.

56. Het zeil aan de voorkant van de zeilboot heet de f_____.

57. Op een schilderij is een doodshoofd vaak het symbool of z_____ van de
vergankelijkheid.

58. Als iets raadselachtig is, of een verborgen betekenis heeft, noem je het
cr_____.

59. Als iemand door een vereniging oneervol als lid wordt geschrapt, dan
r_____ de vereniging hem.

60. Iemand die anders denkt over politiek of godsdienst dan de gevestigde orde is een
d_____.

Bedankt!

C. Questionaire on use of Dutch and L1

Taalgebruik Nederlands Thuis

Vul in:
Uw voornaam: ….
Uw Achternaam: …
Uw leeftijd: ….
Hoelang woont u al in Nederland?: ………

1. Ik lees …   (kies één of meerdere opties)

   Zet een kruisje in de juiste kolom. Als u dagelijks de krant leest, zet dan een kruisje achter krant in de kolom 'dagelijks'.

	Niet of nauwelijks	dagelijks	wekelijks	maandelijks	jaarlijks
De krant…					
Boeken…					
Tijdschriften…					
Websites over nieuws/hobby's					

   Anders: ik lees vooral…. ……………………………..

2. Ik lees graag voor mijn plezier.

   Kies: Ja / Nee

3. Ik vind taalspelletjes leuk (kruiswoordpuzzels, etc.)

   Kies: Ja / Nee

4. Ik schrijf zelf regelmatig teksten (voor een krantje, een website, etc.)

   Kies: Ja / Nee

5. Hoe vaak spreekt u Nederlands thuis?

   - Niet of Nauwelijks (0- 3 uur per week)
   - Af en toe (3-10 uur per week)
   - Regelmatig (10-15 uur per week)
   - Vaak (15-25 uur per week)
   - Bijna altijd of altijd (meer dan 25 uur per week)

Taalgebruik Nederlands op uw werk

Als u geen werk (meer) heeft, dan mag u overal 'niet of nauwelijks invullen.

6. Wat leest u voor uw werk/studie?

Zet een kruisje in de juiste kolom

	Niet of nauwelijks	Dagelijks	wekelijks	maandelijks	jaarlijks
E-mails					
Verslagen, notulen, memo's etc.					
Vakteksten					

7. Wat schrijft u voor uw werk/studie?

Zet een kruisje in de juiste kolom

	Niet of nauwelijks	Dagelijks	wekelijks	maandelijks	jaarlijks
E-mails					
Verslagen, notulen, memo's etc.					
Vakteksten					

8. Hoe vaak spreekt u Nederlands op uw werk?

- o Niet of Nauwelijks (0- 3 uur per week)
- o Af en toe (3-10 uur per week)
- o Regelmatig (10-15 uur per week)
- o Vaak (15-25 uur per week)
- o Bijna altijd of altijd (meer dan 25 uur per week)

Taalgebruik Duits/Italiaans Thuis

9. Hoe vaak spreekt u Duits/Italiaans thuis?

- o Niet of Nauwelijks (0- 3 uur per week)
- o Af en toe (3-10 uur per week)
- o Regelmatig (10-15 uur per week)
- o Vaak (15-25 uur per week)
- o Bijna altijd of altijd (meer dan 25 uur per week)

Taalgebruik Duits/Italiaans Werk

10. Hoe vaak spreekt u Duits/Italiaans op uw werk?

- o Niet of Nauwelijks (0- 3 uur per week)
- o Af en toe (3-10 uur per week)
- o Regelmatig (10-15 uur per week)
- o Vaak (15-25 uur per week)
- o Bijna altijd of altijd (meer dan 25 uur per week)

D. Instructions for the video clip description task

Descrizione del compito

Vedrà un set di video clip, 34 in totale, che mostrano azioni di ogni giorno non connesse fra di loro. Ogni scena è preceduta da uno schermo nero con un focus. Per favore , si concentri su questo focus, dopo il quale immediatamente passeremo alla scena successiva.

Compito

Il suo compito sarà quello di dire   *Cosa succede?*
Può iniziare la descrizione appena ha capito ciò che sta accadendo.
Non è neccessario descrivere la scena nei dettagli (ad es. il cielo è blu). Concentrati solo su quello che succede.

Il compito dura all'incirca 10 minuti.

Beschrijving van taak

U zult een set videoclips te zien krijgen, 34 in totaal, die alledaagse acties weergeven en niet met elkaar verbonden zijn.
Elke scene wordt voorafgegaan door een zwart scherm met focus punt.
Kijk alstublieft naar dit focuspunt want direct daarna wordt de volgende scene afgespeeld.

Taak
U taak is om te vertellen *Wat gebeurt er?*
U kunt beginnen met praten zodra u doorheeft wat er gebeurt.
De scene hoeft niet in detail te worden beschreven (bijv. De lucht is blauw). Concentreer op wat er gebeurt.

De taak duurt ongeveer 10 minuten.

Aufgabenbeschreibung
Sie werden eine Reihe von Videoclips sehen, zusammen 34, die tägliche Aktionen zeigen, die nicht miteinander verbunden sind.
Jeder Szene geht ein schwarzer Schirm mit einem Focus voraus.
Bitte, konzentrieren Sie sich auf diesen Focus, danach wechseln wir zu folgender Szene über.

Aufgabe
Ihre Aufgabe ist es zu sagen, *was passiert?*.
Sie können die Beschreibung anfangen, sobald Sie verstanden haben was passiert.
Es ist nicht notwendig auf Einzelheiten einzugehen (z.B. der Himmel ist Blau).
Konzentrieren Sie sich nur auf das, was passiert.

Die Aufgabe dauert zirka 10 Minuten

E. Route segments expressed in Dutch task by respectively Dutch, Italian and German participants

DUTCH	EP-DIR	EP	EP-R	Path/EP	Path/Ep-Dir	Path/EP-r	Loc/EP-Dir	Loc/EP	Path/Loc	Path	Loc	Rem	(-)	0
1. walking.playground.one	1 (20%)	4 (80%)												
2. walk_greencar_v2.m2v	2 (40%)	1 (20%)						1 (20%)		1(20%)				
3. bus_busstop_3.m2v		3(60%)								1 (20%	1(20%)			
4. walking.house.twoP	1(20%)	2(40%)								2(40%)				
5. walk_phonebooth.m2v	1(20%)	1(20%)		1(20%)						1(20%)	1(20%)			
6.walk_redcar.m2v		1 (20%)								2 (40%)	2 (40%)			
7. walk_church.m2v	1 (20%)				1(20%)					2 (40%)	1(20%)			
8. walk_bench.m2v				1(20%)			1(20%)			3 (60%)				
9. car_village_3.m2v									1(20%)	2(40%)	2(40%)			
10. car_village_v2.m2v									1(20%)	4 (80%)				
11. walk_nuni.m2v										4(80%)	1(20%)			
12. bus_village										4(80%)			1(20%)	
13.walk_bicycle_v2.m2v		1(20%)								2(40%)	2(40%)			
14. walk_gate.m2v										4(80%)	1(20%)			
15. car_monastery					1(20%)					4(80%)				
16. trainstation											1(20%)			4(80%)
17. entering.shop		1(20%)	4(80%)											
18. walking.churchoor			3(60%)						1(20%)	1(20%)				
19. garage.long			5(100%)											
20. bicycle.gate			1(20%)		1(20%)					2(40%)				1(20%)

ITALIAN	EP-DIR	EP	EP-R	Path/Ep-R	Path/EP-Dir	Loc/Ep-R	Loc/EP-Dir	Loc/EP	EP/EP-Dir	Rem/Loc	Path/Loc	Path	Loc	Rem	(-)	0
1. walking.playground		9(90%)														1(10%)
2. walk_greencar_v2	1(10%)	7(70%)				1(10%)						1(10%)				
3. bus_busstop_3	1(10%)	2(20%)										1(10%)		1(10%)		5(50%)
4. walking.house.twoP	1(10%)	2(20%)									1(10%)	1(10%	4(40%)			1(10%)
5. walk_phonebooth	2(20%)	2(20%)										3(30%)	1(10%)	1(10%)		1(10%)
6. walk_redcar.m2v								1(10%)		1(10%)		2(20%)	6(60%)			
7. walk_church.m2v											1(10%)	3(30%)	3(0%)			3(30%)
8. walk_bench.m2v				1(10%)		2(20%)		1(10%)				2(20%)	3(30%)		1(10%)	
9. car_village_3.m2v		1(10%)	1(10%)								1(10%)	2(20%)	2(20%)			3(30%)
10. car_village_v2.m2v			1(10%)									3(30%)	2(20%)		2(20%)	2(20%)
11. walk_nuni.m2v												3(30%)	3(30%)		2(20%)	2(20%)
12. bus_village			2(20%)									5(50%)	1(10%)		1(10%)	1(10%)
13. walk_bicycle_v2												4(40%)	2(20%)	2(20%)		2(20%)
14. walk_gate.m2v	1(10%)											4(40%)	2(20%)			3(30%)
15. car_monastery		1(10%)	1(10%)								1(10%)	2(20%)	3(30%)		2(20%)	
16. trainstation		5(50%)	1(10%)											2(20%)		2(20%)
17. entering.shop		2(20%)	6(60%)								1(10%)				1(10%)	
18. walking.churchoor		1(10%)	5(50%)	1(10%)					1(10%)			1(10%)			1(10%)	
19. garage.long		1(10%)	9(90%)													
20. bicycle.gate			2(20%)	2(20%)		1(10%)						1(10%)	1(10%)	1(10%)	1(10%)	1(10%)

GERMAN	EP-DIR	EP	EP-R	Path/Ep-R	Path/EP	Path/Ep-Dir	Loc/EP-Dir	Loc/EP	Ep/EP-R	Path/loc/Ep	Path/loc/Ep-dir	Path/Loc	Path	Loc	Rem	(-)	0
1. walking.playground	1(7,1%)	11(78,6%)					2(14,3%)										
2. walk_greencar	2(14,3%)	2(14,3%)				2(14,3%)	2(14,3%)					2(14,3%)	2(14,3%)	1(7,1%)			1(7,1%)
3. bus_busstop	2(14,3%)	8(57,1%)	1(7,1%)					1(7,1%)					1(7,1%)	1(7,1%)			
4.walking.house.two	4(28,6%)	1(7,1%)			1(7,1%)		3(21,4%)						1(7,1%)	3(21,4%)			1(7,1%)
5.walk_phonebooth	3(21,4%)	2(14,3%)			1(7,1%)	3(21,4%)						1(7,1%)	2(14,3%)	2(14,3%)			
6. walk_redcar	1(7,1%)	1(7,1%)					1(7,1%)	2(14,3%)				1(7,1%)	2(14,3%)	4(28,6%)		2(14,3%)	
7. walk_church	2(14,3%)				1(7,1%)		2(14,3%)					1(7,1%)	4(28,6%)	2(14,3%)		1(7,1%)	1(7,1%)
8. walk_bench	1(7,1%)				1(7,1%)	3(21,4%)		4(28,6%)					4(28,6%)	1(7,1%)			
9. car_village_3			1(7,1%)			1(7,1%)					1(7,1%)	2(14,3%)	6(42,8%)	3(21,4%)			
10.car_village_v2						1(7,1%)						2(14,3%)	1(7,1%)	7(50%)		3(21,4%)	
11.walk_nuni.m2v							1(7,1%)	1(7,1%)		1(7,1%)		1(7,1%)	5(35,7%)	3(21,4%)		2(14,3%)	
12.bus_village			1(7,1%)			1(7,1%)	1(7,1%)			1(7,1%)		3(21,4%)	1(7,1%)	5(35,7%)			1(7,1%)
13.walk_bicycle	1(7.1%)					1(7,1%)							9(64,3%)	3(21,4%)			
14.walk_gate		1(7,1%)				1(7,1%)				1(7,1%)		3(21,4%)	1(7,1%)	6(42,8%)	1(7,1%)		
15.car_monastery						1(7,1%)	2(14,3%)					2(14,3%)	5(35,7%)	3(21,4%)			1(7,1%)
16.trainstation		7(50%)	7(50%)														
17.entering.shop		3(21,4%)	10(71,4%)	1(7,1%)													
18.walking.churchdoor		1(7,1%)	4(28,6%)	7(50%)					1(7,1%)				1(7,1%)				
19.garage.long			12(85,7%)	2(14,3%)													
20. bicycle.gate			5(35,7%)	2(14,3%)				1(7,1%)					3(21,4%)	2(14,3%)			1(7,1%)