# L2 Portuguese @ Lancaster (L2P@L 2023)

## 1. Schedule

**Day 1: Thursday, July 13, 2023**

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<td>Chao Zhou and Guilherme D. Garcia: <em>Gradient word-final weight effects in Portuguese acquisition by Mandarin-speaking learners</em></td>
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<td>Marisa Cruz and Chao Zhou: <em>Is rhythm relevant in the perception of L2 Portuguese?</em></td>
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<td>Ana Madeira, Alexandra Fiéis and Joana Teixeira: <em>Null objects in L2 European Portuguese</em></td>
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<td>Ana Espírito Santo, Nélia Alexandre and Silvia Perpiñán: <em>Does resumption transfer from native language in L2 acquisition?</em></td>
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<td>Paul O'Neill: <em>Variation in Brazilian Portuguese and its challenges for teaching</em></td>
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Oksana Afitska and Miriam Buendía-Castro:  
How children write about science: a comparison between English native and non-native speaking children

Isabel Margarida Duarte and Fátima Silva:  
Exploring the potential of audio-visual material in language MOOCs: A case study of a Portuguese academic language course

Gladis Massini-Cagliari:  
Insights from phonology for teaching pronunciation to learners of Portuguese as additional language

15.30 Coffee break

Keynote session, chaired by Doğuş Öksüz

16.00 Dana Gablasova:  
How can corpora help to investigate development in L2 pragmatic ability?

17.00 Closing remarks & bus transfer to conference dinner

18.00 Conference dinner at The Highwayman (registration required) 🍽️

Day 2: Friday, July 14, 2023

Keynote session, chaired by Sophie Bennett

9.30 Anabela Rato:  
Predicting L2 speech learning: An overview of the use of cross-linguistic similarity measures in L2 phonology research

10.30 Coffee break

Session 4, chaired by Yun-Wei (Kelly) Lee

10.45 Yuxin (Cindy) Ge, João Fernandes, Kirsty Hanson, Anabela Rato, Susana Correia and Patrick Rebuschat:  
Does perception training facilitate word learning? Evidence from L2 Portuguese

Adelina Castelo, Chao Zhou and Clara Amorim:  
Acquisition of Portuguese mid vowels by Chinese Mandarin native speakers: Some data on perception

Gabriela Tavares, Andrea Deme and Susana Correia:  
Segmental or suprasegmental, which comes first in L2 acquisition? Evidence from L2 European Portuguese

11.45 Coffee break

Session 5, chaired by Miriam Buendía

12.00 Silvia Araújo, Cristina Flores and Otília Sousa:
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|        | *Francisco Miguel Valada, Bastien De Clercq, Van Nhi Tran, Susana Correia and Alex Housen:*  
|        | The effects and the effectiveness of different types of instruction on the acquisition of L2 phonology: A meta-analysis |
|        | *Hunter Brakovec and Isabelle Darcy:*  
|        | Learners with greater orthographic awareness have more precise lexical encoding of Portuguese vowel contrasts |
|        | *Xinyan Wang, Adélina Castelo and Chao Zhou:*  
|        | Preliminary results on the acquisition of Portuguese voicing assimilation in coda fricative by Chinese learners |
| 15.00  | Coffee break                                                                     |
| 15.30  | **Keynote session, chaired by Patrick Rebuschat**                                |
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2. Abstracts

Thursday, July 13, 2023

Miquel Llompart: Encoding challenging second-language phonological contrasts in the lexicon: speaker- and word-specific contributors to success

Learning a second language (L2) involves acquiring phones that are not part of the native phonological inventory. Especially problematic for learners are scenarios in which two phones that are contrastive in the L2 are perceptually mapped onto the same native language (L1) category (e.g., English /e/ and /æ/ for native speakers of German). To truly be able to make use of these ‘difficult’ contrasts during speech perception, learners need to achieve two interrelated goals. First, they have learn to reliably categorize the L2 phones as two distinct non-native phonetic categories. Second, these phonetic categories need to be robustly encoded into the phonological representations of the L2 lexical items that contain them (i.e., lexical encoding) to increase the likelihood of an effective lexical retrieval.

Crucially, the relationship between the two steps outlined above is not well understood. Most research on the topic seems to build on the assumption that improvements in perceptual categorization automatically lead to better lexical encoding and, in turn, to higher efficiency in spoken-word recognition. However, the few studies that have indeed looked into this relationship at the level of the individual have rendered mixed results, outlining a link that appears not to be as strong nor as consistent as expected. A possible explanation for the mismatches observed is that lexical encoding may be more dependent on the characteristics of one’s L2 lexicon, and the place that individual words occupy within it, than previously thought.

In this talk, I present the results of some of my most recent research suggesting that the lexical encoding of difficult L2 phonological contrasts is indeed modulated by one’s lexical knowledge and the lexical characteristics of individual words. In the first place, I discuss how accurate perceptual categorization is necessary but not sufficient for target-like lexical encoding and how vocabulary size is likely to be a key determinant of one’s ultimate success. Crucially, a new set of data suggests that this holds for populations with L1-L2 configurations of high as well as of low lexical and orthographic similarity. Secondly, I hypothesize that improvements in lexical encoding occur in a piecemeal manner and may be facilitated by the learning of clusters of similar-sounding words containing the target non-native phones. The implications of these findings for research on L2 phonological learning will be discussed.

Susana Correia, Yuxin (Cindy) Ge, João Dinis Fernandes, Anabela Rato, Magdalena Kachlicka, Kazuya Saito, and Patrick Rebuschat: Effects of perceptual training and cognitive aptitudes in the development of non-native speech perception abilities: Evidence from L2 Portuguese

This proof-of-concept study investigated the effects of short-term perceptual training on the development of non-native discrimination abilities and the potentially mediating role of cognitive factors. The study is part of larger project on the role of production and perception in L2 speech learning.

In this study, the focus was on consonantal and vocalic segments with contrasting features that exist in Portuguese but not in the participants’ native language: coronal [±anterior] and [±low], i.e., /l/-/ʎ/, /n/-/ɲ/, and /e/-/ɛ/, /o/-/ɔ/, respectively. Seventy-six native speakers of British English without prior knowledge of Portuguese were randomly assigned to experimental (trained) and control (untrained) conditions. Participants in the experimental condition completed a pre-test, two training sessions, and a post-test. Participants in the control condition only completed the pre-test and the post-test. The pre-test consisted of an oddity discrimination task that evaluated participants’ ability to distinguish the four target segmental contrasts (/l/-/ʎ/, /n/-/ɲ/, /e/-/ɛ/, and /o/-/ɔ/). The training of the experimental group was administered twice, each on a separate day, and consisted of an oddity...
discrimination task without feedback, with two of the four learning targets (/l/-/A/ and /e/-/ɛ/), aiming to test whether learning one feature would generalize to another pair with the same contrasting feature. Finally, all participants completed a post-test including both the same items of the pre-test with trained and untrained contrasts, and novel items, also with trained and untrained contrasts, to assess generalization of learning. The target segments were embedded in pseudowords (‘CV.CV), naturally produced by three native European Portuguese speakers. In addition, participants completed a test battery to measure phonological short-term memory (digit span, Saito et al. in preparation) and auditory processing abilities (Saito & Tierney, 2022). Online data collection took place via the Gorilla experiment builder platform. Our study was preregistered on the OSF platform.

Linear mixed effects modelling revealed no significant effect of group (experimental vs control), test (pre-test vs post-test), nor a group*test interaction. That is, two perceptual training sessions without feedback were insufficient to promote learning of our targets. In the post-test, we observed a main effect of contrast (trained vs untrained items), suggesting that the untrained contrasts (/nl/, /o/-/ɔ/) were easier to discriminate than the trained contrasts (/l/-/A/ and /e/-/ɛ/), but there was no effect of familiarity (same vs novel items), test (pre-test vs post-test), nor a contrast*familiarity*test interaction. Finally, with regards to the individual difference measures, except for the backward digit span, all other tasks significantly correlated with participant performance on the post-test, confirming the role of auditory processing abilities and phonological short-term memory in L2 speech learning. The implications of this proof-of-concept study to our main project and to the research field will be discussed as well as our experience with collecting L2 speech data remotely via Gorilla.

**Chao Zhou and Guilherme D. Garcia: Gradient word-final weight effects in Portuguese acquisition by Mandarin-speaking learners**

Background: Word-level prominence in Mandarin Chinese is predicted by the durational difference between syllables, which correlates with the tone carried by the syllable (T0 < T3 < T1/T2/T4), rather than the syllable types (CV and CVN) (Qu 2013, Wu & Kenstowicz 2015). When acquiring the lexical stress of a novel weight-sensitive language, one would expect L1- Mandarin learners to transfer this durational cue and to be blind to syllable types in the early stages of their interlanguage. Surprisingly, in an experimental study, we found that both durational cues and syllable type (weight) seem to play a role in the perception of Portuguese stress by naïve L1-Mandarin listeners.

Experimental Study: Twenty-one L1-Mandarin native speakers with moderate English proficiency (mean LexTALe score 30, SD = 7.23; 0–100 scale) and no knowledge of Portuguese participated in an auditory stress identification task with disyllabic pseudo-words in Portuguese displaying final or penultimate stress (n=60). 10 stimuli had two light syllables (LL), 10 ended with a nasal coda (LHn), and 10 had a final diphthong (LHv). Since Portuguese is weight-sensitive (Garcia 2017), this study aims to test L1-Mandarin learners’ accuracy locating stress in Portuguese on the basis of syllable weight in the target language. We predicted that L1-Mandarin participants would perform better with Portuguese final stress if the final syllable were heavy (i.e., duration as an acoustic correlate of prominence; Qu 2013, Garcia 2020). Meanwhile, their identification accuracy on penultimate stress would be diminished with the presence of a final heavy syllable.

Results & Discussion: A maximal Bayesian mixed-effects regression found two interaction effects, confirming L1-Mandarin listeners’ gradual sensitivity to Portuguese syllable weight. As seen in Figure 1, the heavier the final syllable, the more accurate at locating final stress participants were (bLL:stressU= -1.21, 95% HDI [-2.05, -0.41]; bLHv:stressU= 0.63, 95% HDI [-0.01, 1.22]). These results indicate that syllable duration indeed helps L1-Mandarin listeners identify Portuguese stress (LL vs. LH), but it alone does not account for the gradual weight effect (LL < LHn < LHv) observed in the data. This is because syllable duration does not seem to reliably cue the difference between LHn and LHv in the stimuli, as shown in Figure 2. Further, this effect cannot be attributed directly to their previous linguistic knowledge: syllable type does not correlate with word-level prominence in Mandarin, as
previously mentioned. Finally, in their English L2, the final syllable is extrametrical (Hayes 1982). Thus, the question is what leads L1-Mandarin listeners to perceive stress in final LHvv syllables with higher accuracy than LHn. Our speculation is that sonority can be playing a role. It has been shown in many languages that sonority affects stress assignment (Kenstowicz 1994; McCollum 2020; cf. Shih and de Lacy 2019). It seems that sonority, which may be grounded in the perceived resonance (Clements 2009), might function as one of the universal perceptual biases that shape (L2) speech perception (e.g., Bohn 1995; Bohn & Best 2012). When acquiring a non-native language, learners show sensitivity to sonority early on and will further explore its exact role in the target language (e.g. stress assignment and phonotactics) with increased experience.

![Figure 1: Main results: accuracy (y-axis) by stress and weight profile (error bars represent bootstrapped 95% confidence intervals). Gradient weight effect in final (U) syllables positively affects accuracy.](image1)

![Figure 2: Durational difference of auditory stimuli.](image2)

Marisa Cruz and Chao Zhou: Is rhythm relevant in the perception of L2 Portuguese?

Although studies on L2 speech rhythm are still scarce, some prior production studies have shown that rhythmic patterns may change as a function of L2 proficiency (e.g., Ordin & Polyanskaya, 2014). However, such change in L2 rhythm production may not be perceptually identified by native listeners of the target language (Ordin & Polyanskaya, 2015; van Maastricht et al., 2021), questioning the relevance of speech rhythm at the interplay of prosodic cues in L2 speech.

In this study, we assessed whether native listeners of European Portuguese (EP), which displays a mixed rhythmic nature (Frota & Vigário, 2001), can perceptually detect the rhythmic difference in L2 Portuguese spoken by L1-Mandarin (syllable-timed - Lin & Wang, 2007) learners with different proficiency levels (intermediate – INT, and advanced - ADV). Although a previous production study reported that the L2 Portuguese rhythm by Chinese learners develop from more syllable-timed patterns to more target ones (Zhou et al., 2017), on the basis of the literature on L2 rhythm perception, we hypothesize that native EP listeners will not be sensitive to such rhythmic development in L2 speech.

Following the design in Cruz (2013), an AX discrimination task was set up and performed by 12 EP native listeners (aged 19-27). L2 speech samples were first selected from a corpus by Zhou (2021),
who recorded 61 L1-Mandarin learners (30 advanced and 31 intermediate) reading the Portuguese version of “The North Wind and the Sun”. We recorded the same text by 10 EP native speakers (NAT). These speech materials were then segmented into IPs and low-pass filtered at a frequency of 400Hz. The F0 contour was flattened in order to eliminate intonational cues from the signal. EP-speaking participants were told that they would be listening to acoustically modified sentences of 3 different exotic languages: Vedda (L1 Portuguese), Waigali (L2-INT Portuguese), and Zazaki (L2-ADV Portuguese). After the familiarization phase in which they listened to 4 sentences of each group, isolated and in same/different pairs, and had to perform on 14 discrimination trials with feedback, the participants performed on 30 trials without feedback (6 same trials, 12 intermediate-native and 12 advanced-native trials) in the test phase.

A mixed-effect logistic regression confirms that Portuguese native listeners were better at discerning the rhythmic difference in the intermediate-native group than that in the advanced-native group (b=0.85, 95% CI [0.31-1.39], p=.002), see Figure 1. Contradicting prior perceptual studies, these results suggest that native listeners of the target language are sensitive to the development of L2 speech rhythm, which is indeed an important component of L2 speech prosody.

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European Portuguese (EP) and Chinese copular constructions are distinct: (i) Chinese lacks the i-level ser / stage-level estar opposition; (ii) EP requires the copular verb (1), whereas in Chinese, the presence of the copula shì depends on the category of the predicate – with APs, it is absent (2a), though a verb homonymous to shì may occur, conveying pragmatic information (2b) (Pustet 2003); with PPs, the coverb zài ‘be at’ usually occurs (3); with NPs, a context we will leave aside, shì usually occurs (similar to EP) but can be omitted.

(1) A Maria *(é/está) feliz.
   DET.F.SG Maria be-PRS.3SG happy
   ‘Mary is happy.’
(2) a. Zhāngsān Ø hěn gāoxìng.
   Zhangsan very happy
   ‘Zhangsan is very happy.’
   b. Zhāngsān shì hěn gāoxìng, dànshì méi qián.
   Zhangsan be very happy but NEG money
   ‘It is true that Zhangsan is happy, but he has no money.’

Figure 1. Proportion of correct responses per condition: Native-Advanced L2 and Native-Intermediate L2.

Nélia Alexandre, Ana Espírito Santo, Anabela Gonçalves and Jiaojiao Yao: Different methodologies, distinct results: The case of copular constructions in European Portuguese L2 by Chinese speakers
Assuming that, in L2 acquisition, speakers first map the properties of L1 into the grammar of the L2 and subsequently restructure the L2 grammar according to the new values of its functional heads (Lardiere 2008, a.o.), we expect Chinese speakers of L2 EP to omit the copula with APs but not with PPs. We also expect advanced learners to perform closer to the target grammar than intermediate learners. In this study, we consider the results of an acceptability judgment task (Espírito Santo 2022) involving 30 EP native speakers and 72 Chinese speakers of L2 EP (36 intermediate; 36 advanced), and written productions of Chinese speakers of L2 EP taken from COPLE2 (Mendes et al. 2016). In a preliminary analysis using Jamovi (Navarro & Foxcroft 2022), the data point to more difficulties in copular constructions with PP event-location predicates (EV) and AP change-of-state predicates (CoS) (Figure 1). The results of intermediate and advanced levels are comparable for all conditions, suggesting no progression effect (Figures 2, 3). Data from COPLE2 show more difficulties with APs in general than with PPs, since the copular verb is most often omitted in the first context. Therefore, distinct results from production and from judgement tasks were obtained. We will claim that the difference between EP and Chinese may lie in the value of the [V] feature of Adger & Ramchand (2003)’s Pred head, which Chinese speakers of L2 EP must acquire.

Figure 1 - Acceptability judgment results (all L2 speakers)

Figure 2 - Acceptability judgment results (L2 speakers at the intermediate level)
In recent years, generative SLA research has started to examine the role of input in grammar acquisition (Rothman/Slabakova2017), a factor that was traditionally neglected in this field. According to some authors (e.g., Dominguez/Arche2014; Slabakova2015), properties at the syntax-discourse interface, which are proposed to be the main area of permanent difficulties in L2 acquisition by the Interface Hypothesis (Sorace/Filiaci2006; Sorace2011), only cause persistent difficulties to L2 learners when the evidence in the input is not frequent and transparent and the L1 and the L2 differ. The acquisition of null objects (NO) in European Portuguese (EP) is an appropriate testing ground for this hypothesis, because: (i) they are more productive in spoken/colloquial registers than in standard EP, where clitics are the preferred pronominal option (Rinke2022); (ii) the possibility of definite NO distinguishes EP from other Romance languages, namely Spanish; and (iii) EP NO involve the syntax-discourse interface (NO require a salient and immediately accessible antecedent in the discourse or in the situational context), as well as the syntax-semantics interface (NO tend to be inanimate). These properties have been extensively investigated in L1 EP (e.g., Flores/Rinke/Sopata2020), but not in L2.

To fill this gap, this study investigates the acquisition of clitics and NO in L2 EP. Participants were 25 L1 EP speakers and 30 L1 Spanish-L2 EP adult learners (10 intermediates, 10 advanced, 10 near-natives). We tested clitics and NO using two tasks that have been proposed to tap primarily into implicit knowledge (Ellis2005): an elicited oral production task (EOPT) and a timed written acceptability judgement task (TAJT). Both tasks crossed the variables accessibility of the antecedent (immediately vs. not immediately accessible) and animacy (animate vs. inanimate).

In the EOPT, all groups produced significantly more clitics than NO across conditions and no significant effects of animacy and accessibility were found. This may be due to the fact that clitics seem to be the preferred option in EP. In the TAJT, the groups also accepted clitics significantly more than NO in all conditions. Regarding NO, the native group exhibits significant effects of animacy (acceptance of NO is higher in the inanimate condition) and accessibility (acceptance of NO is higher in the immediately accessible condition). None of the L2 groups displays these effects.

Based on these results, we tentatively conclude that: (i) contrary to the prediction of the Interface Hypothesis, grammar-internal properties are not always fully acquirable in an L2; (ii) at least when the L1 and the L2 differ, learners may have permanent difficulties wrt interface properties which are infrequent in the input; and (iii) input factors do not affect only the syntax-discourse interface, since grammar-internal interfaces may also be affected (contra, e.g., Slabakova2015; Sorace2014). However, we cannot exclude the possibility that participants’ low acceptance of NO in the TAJT (the task that should force the acceptance of NO if they are allowed in their grammars) may be an effect of task modality. For this reason, we are currently replicating the TAJT in spoken modality. These results will be reported in the presentation.
Whereas wh-movement has been traditionally used as a proxy to describe the nature of interlanguage grammars (Belikova & White, 2009; Hawkins & Chan, 1997; White & Juffs, 1998, a.o.), resumption has been hardly investigated (Perpiñán, 2020). This paper aims to analyse the role of resumption in the acquisition of prepositional relative clauses (RCs) in European Portuguese (EP) L2 by Chinese L1 speakers. We assume that, in EP, a language with explicit wh-movement, extractions of relativized elements from syntactic islands are considered more acceptable if a resumptive pronoun (RP) occurs (1), thus rescuing these constructions (Alexandre, 2000: 76-77). Chinese has mandatory RPs in prepositional RCs (2), not involving wh-movement, although it may be involved in gap or adjunct RCs (Aoun & Li, 2003; Pan, 2016; Wen, 2020).

(1) A pessoa, que tu partiste sem falares
DET.F.SG person REL 2SG leave-PST.2SG without talk-INF.2SG com ela, adoeceu.
with 3SG get sick-PST.3SG
‘The person that you left without talking to her got sick’. (Alexandre, 2000: 78)

(2) Wo dui tamen, hen bucuo de na-xie pengyou(men).
1SG to 3PL very NEG.bad REL DEM-Cl friends
‘The friends that I am very good to them’. (Pan, 2016: 287)

Thus, our research questions are: 1- Do Chinese-speaking learners of EP map the property of resumption in prepositional RCs from the L1 to EP L2? 2- Are Chinese-speaking learners of EP sensitive to island configuration violations, giving higher rates to syntactic islands comprising an RP? We present the outcomes of an oral production task and two online acceptability judgement tasks made by 3 groups of participants: native speakers of EP (n=30) and Chinese learners of EP L2 at intermediate (n=36) and advanced (n=36) levels. A statistical analysis using R (Bates et al. 2015) indicated that resumption does not transfer from the L1, and that the learners employ movement structures to produce and process RCs. Additionally, results showed that RPs do not rescue or ameliorate ungrammatical extractions from islands, contrary to what is traditionally assumed in grammatical theory. This finding was kept constant across participants, native and non-native. Overall, we conclude that L2 speakers can select and reassemble movement features in their non-native language and use similar processing mechanisms as native speakers to analyse island configurations.

**Paul O’Neill: Variation in Brazilian Portuguese and its challenges for teaching**

Much work in variationist Sociolinguistics accepts that orderly heterogeneity (Weinreich, Labov & Herzog 1968) is a defining property of speech communities. That is, language variation is not random or idiosyncratic but, when not grammatically governed, it is structured along social dimensions whereby linguistic variables can be indexical of some social meaning or category. These assumptions have led to what has been termed ‘monoglossic ideologies’ (Del Valle, 2000): the idea that languages have stable and focussed grammars, both in the minds of individuals and the community and that, over time, people’s linguistic behaviour tends to become homogenous (Milroy & Milroy, 1991). Such monoglossic ideologies are deeply entrenched in many societies and underpin how most foreign languages are taught in Europe.

In this talk I present evidence from linguistic experiments on Brazilian Portuguese in which forms of the imperative were elicited in different contexts of formality. The results highlight the extent of idiosyncratic variation present both within and across speakers from the same city. I argue that this variation is not abnormal from a cross-linguistic perspective although it is considered to be atypical in languages of European origin with a strong normative written tradition. I argue that such normal linguistic variation has been able to develop and flourish in Brazil due the Portuguese language’s
complex history in this country and also the way in which the Brazilian standard was devised and implemented.

My methodology differs from previous studies (Schwenter & Hoff, manuscript; Schwenter, Hoff, Christodoulelis, Pfum, & Dauphoinais, 2019) in that I look at both singular and plural forms of the imperative and speakers were given the opportunity to produce whichever form of the imperative seemed natural to them within an oral context. The results of my research show that the levels of variation present in imperative forms of Brazilian Portuguese are often greater than the options offered to speakers in online standard forced-choice cloze tasks which require informants to choose one of usually two morphological forms presented on a computer screen.

I conclude by reflecting upon the challenges which such variation presents in pedagogical settings within monoglossic cultures, e.g. teaching Brazilian Portuguese within the UK.

Oksana Afitska and Miriam Buendía-Castro: *How children write about science: a comparison between English native and non-native speaking children*

The interest in the study of phraseology has dramatically grown in recent years, especially with regards to second language learning. However, most studies in the field focus on EFL/ESL learners and on students who already have advanced language skills and who are either adults or adolescents. However, phraseological studies that focus on children are limited given the difficulty in accessing actual material produced by children. The present study investigates the use of verb collocations by English language learners (ELLs) and English native-speaking children (ENSs) in formal assessment tasks at Key Stage 2 (Years 4-5, ages 8-10) of England’s National Curriculum for Science. This research compares patterns of learners’ use of collocations with those offered by textbooks and dictionaries aimed at their age. The study aims to answer the following research questions:

1. In assessment conditions, targeting elicitation of subject specific knowledge through active production of written language, what verb collocations do ELLs and ENSs rely most on?
2. To what extent does learners’ use of verb collocations differ from that found in subject-specific dictionaries and general course book corpora aimed at their age?

The study is a part of a larger research project (EAL-Science Project, 2013-2015 & 2018-2019) that was conducted in five state primary schools over a period of two years in Yorkshire region, and over a period of one year in Lancashire region. The schools had varying densities of ELLs, ranging from 17% to 96%, and represented children from various ethnic, social and economic backgrounds, having a high proportion of Portuguese children. The data from 257 pupils studying in Years 4 and 5, in five target schools was analysed for the purposes of this study. More specifically, in order to analyse learners’ use of language (verb collocations) in Science we invited them to complete several assessment tasks. The assessment tasks were taken from the 2003–2011 National Curriculum assessment papers (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 2003–2011). The criteria for the tasks’ selection were that (1) the focus of the assessment tasks had to be on the topic of magnets - a key topic area of the national curriculum for science at KS2, and (2) the assessment tasks had to require active production of written language on the side of the learners. Within the range of thirty-two assessment tasks used in the project, four questions were dedicated to the subject of magnets, but only two had satisfied the second selection criterion. The analysis highlights that, in specialized contexts such as science classrooms, young learners mostly use general language verbs such as ‘move’, ‘touch’, ‘go or ‘be’, to describe properties of magnets. Only a very small proportion of learners used specialized verbs, such as ‘repel’ and ‘attract’ that appear in general language corpora, in science dictionaries and textbooks for their age. Moreover, this linguistic behavior was evident in both groups of learners, ELLs and ENSs. However, a big difference between the groups lied in the fact that while ENSs always produced syntactically correct sentences, ELLs experienced some problems with the correct use of prepositions.
Language MOOCs (Massive Open Online Courses) are online courses that provide learners with access to language instruction and learning resources through digital platforms. They provide access to high-quality language instruction to anyone with an internet connection, promoting global communication and understanding, and enhancing learners’ language proficiency and communication skills for different purposes (a.o. Martín-Monje & Bárcena 2014).

An important element in any MOOC are videos, which may vary in length and purpose, being adapted to learning objectives, course content and learners’ profiles. Videos have the ability to engage learners with rich multimedia content, enhance their understanding of complex concepts, fostering the acquisition of language, pragmatic, cultural, critical thinking, and metacognitive skills. They are often interconnected with other tasks and exercises, providing learners with a comprehensive and integrated learning experience (a.o. Bonafini et al. 2014).

In our study, we analyse the videos produced for a Portuguese Academic Language MOOC created within the LMOOC4Slav Erasmus+ Project (Authors 2022), a specific type of LMOOC aiming to promote students’ development of linguistic fluency in academic contexts and access to authentic academic situations and learning tools to enhance their ability to learn how to learn (a.o. Cherchi 2022). The primary audience of the course are university students with Slavic languages as their mother tongue (L1) intending to participate in a mobility program at Portuguese university.

The primary building block of the course is the module or week. The curriculum is structured as a sequence of six modules, each consisting of multiple learning objects, and integrated with pedagogical tasks that can be completed individually or in groups. The objective is to equip students with the necessary skills to develop written and oral academic proficiency, including the ability to produce written and oral discourse genres such as exams, essays, and oral presentations, as well as to comprehend lectures in the target language. This requires a fundamental understanding of L2 grammar across various areas, including morphosyntax, phonology, semantics, lexicon, text and discourse, and pragmatics.

For the analysis, we considered the following criteria: i) type of video; ii) participants; iii) purpose; iii) content; iv) instructional potentialities; iv) development of specific learning skills; v) connection with other tasks and exercises within its scope; vi) reusability. This analysis was related to the several phases of the course creation: needs assessment, planning, production, implementation, and evaluation. The evaluation was based on the results of a questionnaire applied to the 45 students who participated in the course during its testing phase and on the teachers’ joint reflection.

In the process of teaching Portuguese as additional language, pronunciation has received very little attention in Brazil, when compared with research on teaching foreign language pronunciation to Brazilian learners (Alves et al. 2020; Kupske, Alves & Lima Jr. 2021; Silva, 2015; Bollela, 2002; to list only a few studies).

In Portugal and in other international centres, the teaching of pronunciation has received some attention (Soeiro 2010; Huback 2022), and there also exist Portuguese pronunciation manuals (Coelho & Oliveira 2014, Castelo 2021).

In Brazil, most studies on the teaching of pronunciation analyse the way specific pedagogical books address this subject (Tavares & Prado, 2019; Allegro 2014; Silveira & Rossi 2006). Allegro (2014:9) verified that “most of the pronunciation practice exercises consist of lists of words containing certain sounds for reading or repeating after the teacher.” Silveira & Rossi (2006:17) highlights the lack of didactical material for teaching pronunciation, and the inconsistencies and limitations in existing materials.
My presentation aims to highlight how insights from Brazilian Portuguese Phonology can be useful in creating language materials for teaching pronunciation, acknowledging that initially learners of additional languages are guided by the internalized phonological system of their first language (Bollela, 2002).

I present examples of phonological phenomena in Brazilian Portuguese which are difficult for English, Italian, Spanish and Japanese learners. For example, the Brazilian Portuguese rhythmic phonological process of unstressed vowel reduction, its syllable structure and the different types of vowel and diphthong nasalization. The examples illustrate the necessity of a methodology for teaching pronunciation which is grounded not only in phonetics but also phonology.

**Dana Gablasova: How can corpora help to investigate development in L2 pragmatic ability?**

Developing the understanding of the social dimension of language use is as important for successful communication as acquiring the lexico-grammatical aspects of language; whenever we use language to communicate, we convey not only the content of the message but also a complex layer of social information (Kasper & Blum-Kulka, 1993; Leech, 2016). As a result, the acquisition of pragmatic knowledge and the lexical and grammatical resources for achieving pragmatic functions are crucial components of L2 development, playing a major role in the ability to use language successfully in real-life communication.

In this presentation, I will focus on the use of corpora in the research of L2 pragmatic ability in spoken production. Corpora are increasingly becoming an important source in language learning research, with the size of the evidence, accessibility of the datasets and methods for identifying patterns in large datasets being some of the major advantages (McEnery et al, 2019). The use of corpora to study pragmatics, whether in L1 or L2 communication, does not have such a long tradition as corpus-based studies in other linguistic areas (e.g. formulaic language) (Culpeper et al, 2018). To some extent, this could be attributed to the challenges present in combining the two fields: pragmatics deals with speaker meaning in a specific context, which requires researchers to consider both the information about the speaker as well as the context of interaction in order to interpret the intended meaning of the utterance and its impact on the exchange (Leech, 2016). Corpus research, by contrast, relies on large quantities of data which are often searched and processed automatically with limited information about the nature of the interaction (McEnery & Hardie, 2011). A major challenge thus lies in operationalising pragmatic meaning in a way that can be used in corpus research (Rühlemann, 2018). In this talk, I will demonstrate how corpora can provide insights into L2 pragmatic development and use, drawing on evidence from three studies that investigated different aspects of pragmatic ability in two sets of data: the Lancaster British Council Aptis corpus and the Trinity Lancaster Corpus of spoken L2 English interaction.

**Friday, July 14, 2023**

**Anabela Rato: Predicting L2 speech learning: An overview of the use of cross-linguistic similarity measures in L2 phonology research**

It is widely acknowledged that second language speech (L2) acquisition is a challenge to adult learners. Certain non-native speech sounds that do not exist or are not phonologically distinctive in the native language (L1) tend to be more difficult to perceptually differentiate and to produce accurately than others even after years of experience with the L2. Adult L2 learners are therefore frequently characterized as having not only foreign accent but also “accented” perception (Strange, 1995). Theoretical models of L2 speech acquisition (e.g., PAM: Best, 1995; Best & Tyler, 2007; SLM: Flege, 1995; Flege & Bohn, 2020; L2LP: Escudero & Boersma, 2004; Escudero, 2005) hypothesize that degree of perceived phonetic similarity between the L1 and L2 phonological systems predicts the relative ease/difficulty in L2 speech learning.
This presentation examines the use of L1-L2 acoustic comparisons and perceptual similarity paradigms in L2 speech perception and production research through an overview of studies, whose target language pairings include European Portuguese as either the target language or the L1. The talk concludes with a discussion of the benefits and challenges of using these cross-linguistic phonetic similarity measures in L2 speech learning.

Yuxin (Cindy) Ge, João Fernandes, Kirsty Hanson, Anabela Rato, Susana Correia and Patrick Rebuschat: Does perception training facilitate word learning? Evidence from L2 Portuguese

Adults often encounter difficulty perceiving and processing sounds of a second language (L2). This causes problems not only at the perceptual level but also at the lexical level. In natural language, minimally contrasting words are widespread (e.g., hund vs bunt in German; sono vs sonho in Portuguese), and acquiring these words relies on sensitivity to the target L2 contrasts (here, the /h-b/ and /n-ɲ/ contrasts, respectively). There has been extensive work exploring perception training of L2 contrasts (Cheng et al., 2019; Sakai & Moorman, 2017), yet limited research has investigated the effect of perception training on the acquisition of words that contain non-native contrasts. Here, we report the results of a study that directly addresses this question by comparing whether and how different types of perception training affect L2 Portuguese word learning.

In the study, we designed a cross-situational word learning task (Monaghan et al., 2019; Ge et al., under review) that involved consonantal and vocalic segmental contrasts that exist in Portuguese but not in the participants’ native language (i.e., English): /l/-/ʎ/, /n/-/ɲ/, and /e/-/ɛ/, /o/-/ɔ/. The experiment consisted of an implicit, statistical learning task with no feedback or instructions, and it required learners to keep track of the word-referent mappings over multiple trials. In each trial, participants saw pictures of two referent objects, heard one spoken word, and had to select the referent for the spoken word. The critical design was that in some learning trials, the two referent objects were associated with minimal pair words (e.g., tinu vs tiɲu), and hence participants had to be able to distinguish the non-native contrast in order to make the correct selection. Based on previous research (Escudero et al., 2022; Ge et al., under review; Tuninetti et al., 2020), English-native participants were expected to have greater difficulty in the minimal pair trials than in the non-minimal pair trials (e.g., tinu vs posu). In addition to the word learning task, we provided perception training on the four Portuguese contrasts before the word learning task to explore if the perception training facilitates word learning. Sixty-eight native speakers of English were randomly assigned to three groups: oddity discrimination training, AX discrimination training, or no training. In oddity discrimination training, participants heard three spoken words in a trial and indicated which one was different (or all the same). In AX discrimination training, participants heard two words in each trial and decided if the two were the same or different. For both training groups, feedback was provided (correct or incorrect), and participants had to repeat the same trial if they selected the incorrect answer. Following four perception training sessions over two days, participants completed the cross-situational word learning task. The no-training group only completed the word-learning task. The results show that the three groups did not differ significantly in word learning performance as all groups had difficulty with the minimal pair trials, though the two training groups improved significantly in perceptual discrimination. This indicates that L2 learners’ difficulty with words that contain non-native contrasts is not merely perceptual, but could arise from the lack of phonological representations of unfamiliar sounds.

Adelina Castelo, Chao Zhou and Clara Amorim: Acquisition of Portuguese mid vowels by Chinese Mandarin native speakers: Some data on perception

Prior research reveals that, when acquiring European Portuguese (EP), L1-Mandarin learners with beginning (Castelo & Freitas, 2019) and more advanced proficiency levels (Duan, 2021) neutralise the distinction between /e/ and /ɛ/ to the low vowel in their L2-Portuguese production. Given that
major L2 speech learning models (Best & Tyler, 2007; Escudero & Boersma, 2004; Flege, 1995) assume a tight link between L2 speech perception and production, we speculate that the observed production difficulty can be ascribed to misperception: the two target vowels are perceptually assimilated to an L1 category.

In this work, we explicitly tested this perception-based account by assessing how L1- Mandarin learners perceptually categorise EP /e/ and /ɛ/. 70 L1-Mandarin learners, whose Portuguese proficiency level was measured by LextPT (Zhou & Li, 2021), performed a forced-choice identification task. The test stimuli are 36 disyllabic paroxytone pseudowords with target vowels always in stressed position (12 CVCV items × 3 talkers).

The perceptual results show that L1-Mandarin learners fail to discriminate between the two EP vowels, as shown in Figure 1. In stark contrast to previous production studies (Castelo & Freitas, 2019; Duan, 2021), where the vowel distinction is somehow preserved (otherwise the confusability would have been bidirectional as well), the current results suggest that the two speech modalities may not develop in tandem in L2 speech learning. Moreover, a mixed-effects logistic regression does not find an effect of L2 proficiency on learners’ perceptual performance. No evidence thus indicates that the observed perceptual difficulty will be mitigated with an increase in L2-Portuguese proficiency.

**Gabriela Tavares, Andrea Deme and Susana Correia:** Segmental or suprasegmental, which comes first in L2 acquisition? Evidence from L2 European Portuguese

In the last decade, attention has been given to effectiveness of perceptual training in the acquisition of L2 segmental and suprasegmental features. However, little has been done in investigating the interaction between segmental and suprasegmental properties in L2 phonological acquisition. The present study aims at investigating the hierarchy in the acquisition of word stress and vowels by Hungarian learners of L2 European Portuguese (EP), as EP presents an interesting relation between segmental and suprasegmental features, with vowel reduction in unstressed position.

Previous studies demonstrated that Hungarian listeners show difficulties in the categorization of specific EP vowels (Tavares et al., 2022), as well as stress ‘deafness’ (Peperkamp et al., 2010). For this study, forty-two Hungarian learners initiating an EP course were recruited, reporting little or no previous contact with EP. Participants were divided in two groups: group ExpV (n = 20) was trained in EP vocalic contrasts, in a monosyllabic context (e.g., [zɐ]/[zɛ]), while group ExpS (n = 22) was trained with trisyllabic nonwords contrasting in stress location, cued by segmental duration (e.g., [ˈzituli]/[ziˈtuli] and [ziˈtuli]/[zituˈli]). Training programs consisted of six fifteen-minutes sessions, completed within 6 weeks. All participants completed the same pre-test, consisting of an oddity discrimination task for vowel and stress contrasts. Post-test consisted of a repetition of the pre-test, followed by a generalization test with novel nonwords produced by novel speakers.

A linear mixed effect analysis was conducted comparing error rates from the pre-test, post-test, and generalization test. A significant Training × InterventionGroup interaction effect was found (F(5, 210) = 3.34; p < .005), with pairwise comparisons showing that post-test scores were significantly higher than pre-test scores only in the stress discrimination trials from group ExpS (p < .001). No significant differences were found between the scores of the pre-test and the generalization test, in either of the groups.

The results suggest that, in the first 10 weeks of exposure to EP, Hungarian learners were able to improve in stress but not in vowel discrimination. Two possible explanations can be provided. First, since vowel length is contrastive in the learners’ L1, it may have led to more easiness in improving discrimination marked mainly by durational contrasts. Second, results suggest that, similar to L1 acquisition (Post & Payne, 2018), suprasegmental features are first acquired in L2. The fact that neither group showed improvement that could be detected in the generalization trials indicates that a six-session training may not be sufficient to develop abstract representations, transferable to novel items.
Retelling tasks are used to measure children’s general comprehension and production skills. Written retelling is also employed to analyze writing and narrative skills (Crossley & Kim, 2022), which are modulated by children’s language proficiency and literacy development (Gagarina et al. 2016). The present study analyzes written retelling narratives produced by two groups of Portuguese-speaking school-age children: monolingual (L1) and heritage speakers. Our main goal is to assess the children’s written competences in terms of lexical diversity and syntactic complexity.

A corpus of 30 written texts from monolingual Portuguese children without migration background, living in the outskirts of Lisbon, is compared to a corpus of 31 texts produced by second-generation Portuguese children living in French-speaking Switzerland (10-13 years old); the latter are bilingual speakers of French and Portuguese, whose societal (and school) language is French and whose heritage language (HL) is Portuguese. The bilingual children speak Portuguese mainly at home and at the extra-curricular Portuguese HL course. For the monolingual group, Portuguese is the dominant language of the society and of schooling.

Data was collected in language classrooms, both in Portugal and in Switzerland (by HL teachers). The narratives were elicited using an audio-visual combination of a short story narration (see Author et al., 2022). In addition, for the bilingual children, a background questionnaire collected extra-linguistic variables related with language acquisition and use. The corpus has 7853 words (monolingual: 138,66; bilingual: 119,12 mean words per text). Data was processed using a python script (Roth & Wiegand, 2021). The corpus was coded for lexical diversity and density and for clause type, with the following research questions: How different are monolingual and heritage bilingual children’s written narratives in terms of lexical richness and syntactic complexity?

The results indicate a group effect on the production of subordinate clauses, with monolinguals producing higher rates of subordinate clauses. There is also a group effect on the type of subordinate clauses, with bilinguals favoring non-finite complement clauses and monolinguals producing higher rates of relative and temporal adverbial clauses. This suggests that the bilinguals produce syntactically less complex texts. In terms of lexical diversity and density no group differences are observed, indicating similar lexical repertoires of mono- and bilingual children.

We argue that child heritage speakers who attend a HL course and have continued contact with the HL at home attain robust language competences, which allows them to retell narratives similarly to monolingual children (with identical lexical richness) (e.g. Abchi et al, 2017). However, as argued in the literature, HL children may produce less complex syntactic structures, favoring coordination over subordination (in particular, finite subordination).

The purpose of this study is to develop an automatic readability assessment tool for Portuguese which is interpretable and whose performance can be qualitatively analyzed. Insights gained from this study will be used in a larger project whose ultimate purpose is to develop intelligent tools supporting learners of Portuguese as a heritage language. The corpus used for this task, dubbed c500, contains 500 Portuguese excerpts extracted from books, newspapers, and articles, and annotated by Instituto Camões based on the appropriate CEFR level (A1, A2, B1, B2, and C) of these excerpts for child and adolescent (ages 8 to 18) Portuguese heritage language learners. Subsets of this corpus were also used in this study, including a subset dubbed c114 containing 114 excerpts previously used in (Branco et al., 2014a, 2014b; Curto et al., 2015; Santos et al., 2021) and a newly created subset dubbed c386 which excludes these 114 excerpts from c500, as previous research determined they were poorly annotated (Santos et al., 2021).
Training the model on the c500 corpus using 480 diverse linguistic complexity analysis features extracted from CTAP (a web-based linguistic complexity analysis tool (Chen & Meurers, 2016) and a random forest algorithm with 5- fold cross-validation for hyperparameter fine-tuning, we achieved an accuracy of 76%, which narrowly outperforms the best-performing model on the same dataset used in (Santos et al., 2021), which took advantage of GPT-2 and attained an accuracy of 75.62%. An analysis of the most important features for the model’s predictions showed that count-based and length-based features are the most important features for the model while they may not be the most robust features and result in poor generalization over real-world samples. Subsequently, a combination of features and corpora were used for training, and it was shown that even by excluding all count-based and length-based features, it was possible to attain an accuracy of 69.23%, whose slightly lower value is compensated by the value it adds in terms of taking advantage of features more pertinent to language development. We conclude that the interpretability of this approach can yield insights which can be used to improve generalizability and robustness.

Francisco Miguel Valada, Bastien De Clercq, Van Nhi Tran, Susana Correia and Alex Housen: The effects and the effectiveness of different types of instruction on the acquisition of L2 phonology: a meta-analysis

A substantial body of empirical studies on how (well) people learn a second/foreign language, culminating in a number of impactful meta-analyses (e.g. Spada & Tomita, 2010; Lee et al., 2015), now offers compelling evidence that instruction can have an effect on how (well) people learn a second/foreign language (L2). In an attempt to fill a number of gaps in the research literature we conducted a meta-analysis of primary studies on the effects of phonological instruction and try to elucidate outstanding issues such as the magnitude of the effects of implicit vs. explicit phonological instruction on both production and perception of phonological target features, and how these effects are mediated by the relative learning difficulty of those features, as predicted by theoretical models such as PAM-L2 (Best & Tyler, 2007).

We extracted 943 references from two databases (Web of Science and Scopus) and previous meta-analyses. 173 studies published between 1997 and 2022 were selected for more detailed coding. Using a set of five inclusion criteria targeting design and methodological characteristics (with pretest and posttest, control group, instructional treatment sessions, target segmental features, and statistical information to calculate effect sizes), 59 primary studies were included in a network meta-analysis to answer the following primary research question: to what extent does phonological instruction affect the acquisition of phonemic categories in an L2? Subsequently, we address four secondary research questions: (1) how is the impact of instruction moderated by the learning difficulty of the phonological target features?; (2) how is the impact of instruction on phonological acquisition moderated by type of instruction (implicit vs. explicit)?; (3) how does the impact of instruction depend on the type of modality (perception vs. production)?; (4) what is the interaction between type of instruction and target feature difficulty?

We discuss construct definitions, operationalisations, and coding of the independent and dependent variables, discuss the results of the meta-analysis as well as general methodological trends, strengths and shortcomings in research on phonological instruction as they emerge from our survey.

Hunter Brakovec and Isabelle Darcy: Learners with greater orthographic awareness have more precise lexical encoding of portuguese vowel contrasts

Non-native speakers often have difficulty accurately encoding sound contrasts in lexical entries (Cutler et al., 2006). Lexical storage may still be fuzzy even when learners can accurately perceive the difference between sounds (Darcy et al., 2013). Previous novel-word learning studies suggest that orthography may improve learners’ lexical encoding; however, findings are mixed (Hayes-Harb
We explore the potential effect of (traditional) learners’ attention to orthography on lexical encoding, rarely examined previously. In Brazilian Portuguese (BP), mid-vowels (/e~ɛ, o~ɔ/) can be close or open, and they pose difficulties for English learners of BP in perception and production (Díaz-Granado, 2010). Some words carry an accent mark (férias /ɛ/ ‘vacation’; êxito /e/ ‘result’), reliably indicating vowel quality (close: ; open: ), but for unmarked words (), vowel quality is not transparent (festa /ɛ/ ‘party’; maleta /e/ ‘suitcase’). If accent marks help learners encode words with the expected vowel quality at the time of learning, learners’ lexical encoding accuracy will be higher on marked than unmarked words, but only for those who pay attention to the accents.

We tested 40 participants (20 native BP speakers; 20 L2 learners) on a speeded auditory lexical decision task (LD) and obtained measures of perceptual discrimination (AX task) and orthographic awareness (OA; accent mark identification). LD-stimuli were familiar words (/fɛsta/) and non-words with a switched mid-vowel (Target Contrast, */fɛsta/). Control conditions contained unrelated real words (distractor) and non-words (Unrelated Contrast, */fɛspa/). 50% of selected words carry an accent (‘marked’); the others are ‘unmarked’. No spelling information was displayed during the LD task; OA tasks were administered later. If an effect is due to OA of accent marks, learners with higher OA should display more accurate lexical encoding on words with accent marks than those without, whereas learners with lower OA may show no effect of marking. We preregistered the study on OSF and will make the data and analysis accessible.

Both groups discriminated between open and close vowels (Fig.1). In LD, learners had difficulty rejecting non-words with the opposite vowel (Fig.2). There was no overall effect of marking – but an interaction between OA group and marking: the “high-awareness” learners were more accurate for marked than unmarked items (Fig.3). We discuss these results in terms of pedagogical implications.
Xinyan Wang, Adelina Castelo and Chao Zhou: Preliminary results on the acquisition of Portuguese voicing assimilation in coda fricative by Chinese learners

In the phonological system of European Portuguese (EP), there is a process of voicing assimilation in the fricative in Coda position, which is produced as [ʒ] before a voiced consonant and as [ʃ] before a voiceless consonant (Mateus & Andrade, 2000). There are already studies on the segmental acquisition of fricatives among the native speakers of Mandarin Chinese (MC) who learn Portuguese as a second language (L2) (e.g. Ci, 2021). However, to the best of our knowledge, there is no study on the acquisition of this EP assimilation process of among MC native speakers. Consequently, evaluating the process application in the production of these learners can contribute to a better understanding of their phonological acquisition in EP and to a reflection on different models of phonology acquisition of an L2 (e.g. Best & Tyler, 2007; Flege, 1995).

Therefore, the present work aims to observe the voicing specification in the fricative in Coda position, in controlled speech produced by MC native speakers who are learners of EP. Ten EP native speakers and thirty Chinese learners of EP participated in a reading task. The stimuli consist of 40 pseudowords and 20 distractors. All items were disyllabic words with the format CVC.CV, including five groups of 8 pseudowords each according to the manner of articulation of the second syllable consonant: voiceless fricative, voiced fricative, voiceless oral stop, voiced oral stop, nasal stop. Participants were recorded reading each item within a carrier the sentence “Digo XX novamente.” (“I say XX again.”).

The results show that, as expected, the native speakers applied voicing assimilation systematically; by contrast, the Chinese learners predominantly produced voiceless fricatives, regardless of the voicing of the following consonant. There might be an effect of the manner of the following consonant, as many learners use almost exclusively the voiceless consonant in all contexts while some tend to employ the voiced one only before a nasal consonant. These results suggest that the success in learning the fricative voicing (Ci, 2021) does not guarantee the acquisition of a phonological process implying such voicing alternation. After a detailed presentation of the results, the implications of these are analyzed in terms of phonological acquisition and didactic implementation.

João Veríssimo: Selectivity and variability in L2 morphological processing

Two broad perspectives have been advanced to account for differences between native (L1) and non-native (L2) speakers in ultimate attainment and processing. In one view, such differences are fundamental and possibly selective, with particular parts of the language system becoming harder for late learners to acquire in a native-like way—possibly due to maturation. In another view, L1-L2 contrasts are attributable to general factors such as slower processing speed or amount of exposure, and thus can be expected to be more gradient and variable in nature, as well as more general in scope.

In this talk, I will present results from multiple generalisation and priming experiments in various languages (German, Portuguese, Hebrew), in which we have examined the representation and processing of L2 morphology, with an emphasis on between- and within-participant variability.

Our results indicate that differences between L1 and L2 speakers show remarkable selectivity and are restricted to specific parts of the morphological system. Inflection and conjugation classes are the most affected domains in L2, and they show substantial between- and within-participant variability. In contrast, word-formation and the use of morpho-phonological analogy both exhibit marks of native-likeness, even when the L2 was acquired later in life.

Although the selectivity of L1-L2 differences is in line with maturational explanations, the gradience and variability of the effects may be better explained by exposure-based accounts. We conclude that a successful account of L2 grammar and processing requires models that can accommodate gradient levels of non-native-likeness and morphological structure, while nevertheless capturing the internal differentiation of the language system.