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ideological debates if they do so responsibly, free, as much as possible, of any unwarranted a priori preferences for one view or the other.

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## Switch-reference description using experiential evidence.

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In this paper, I present results from experimental data on switch-reference in the Oceanic language Whitesands (ISO: TNP), providing an evidence-based description of the system. Whitesands, like its sister languages of the southern Vanuatu subgroup, uses a switch-reference system across clauses primarily marking coreference (Lynch 1983, Lynch 2001:177, Crowley 2002:201, Hammond submitted). I present a description of the system in its most canonical form for Whitesands. I then tackle the properties of antecedents for the same subject clauses using two different experiments. I address the following questions: Does the Whitesands' system support claims that switch-reference systems are potentially sensitive to discourse topicality (Reesink 1983) or other extra-syntactic devices (Roberts 1988)? Furthermore, what is the preferred antecedent for Whitesands speakers in extended discourse?

The m- 'ER' inflection is typically used when two adjacent predicates share the same subject. The m- replaces the person agreement and tense operators in the second clause. In (1) the m- indicates coreference of the subject of the predicate with the subject of the preceding predicate. The clause m-l-eru is underspecified for person and tense when taken out of context and is thus ungrammatical as in (1').

- (1) k-l-eni ama [m-l-eru]
  3.NPST-TRIAL-say just ER-TRIAL-see
  They (TRIAL) just talked and saw.
- (1') \* m-l-eru ER-TRIAL-see

However, in the Whitesands corpus it is clear that a simple "antecedent equals subject" rule does not always hold for same

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subject clauses and that a notion of discourse topic might be a potential antecedent alternative. For example, there are topic chains that use the Echo Referent for continual reference whilst skipping immediately adjacent non-topical subjects. Further, there are forms where the prefix *m*- combines previously distinct arguments into a single argument slot.

The first experiment presented here is a production experiment where speakers had to extend natural discourse using video and audio stimuli. The items were of four types and these were controlled for alignment of grammatical relations and topicality. The results suggest that a highly topical entity can indeed trigger a coreference pattern.

The second experiment presented is a forced choice comprehension task. I investigate the relationship between same subject clauses (coreference) and antecedent types. I test what alternative constructions are considered grammatical. I conclude that the switch-reference clauses are much more likely to be aligned with a topical referent that is also the subject of the preceding clause than in other configurations tested.

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## Pragmaticalization in L2: the case of French *voilà* in a learner corpus.

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Voilà is known as a recurrent deictic marker in spoken French. Bruxelles and Traverso (2006) study the use of the marker in a professional context where architects discuss their projects in the office. As could be expected, the architects use deictic markers to highlight different features of their models. One observation made by the authors is that voilà is not restricted to deictic use alone, but carries a number of interactional functions. In a perspective of pragmaticalization (e.g. Dostie 2004, Dostie & Pusch 2007, Hansen & Rossari 2005), voilà has undergone a number of semantic changes to gain interactional functions.

In this paper we study the usage of the French marker *voilà* in spoken French by very advanced Swedish learners. It has been observed that even frequent exposure to discourse markers is not sufficient for their acquisition and appropriate use (Romero Trillo 2002). Our approach here is mainly descriptive and we use a method influenced by conversation analysis as a tool to investigate the functions of *voilà*. The Swedish learners are compared to a corpus of productions from native French speakers with identical tasks. We also apply quantitative methods to determine the 'degree of pragmaticalization' in the use of *voilà* (see Romero Trillo, 2002; Hancock 2012). By pragmaticalization in L2 we mean the development of non deictic and textual/interactional functions of *voilà*. The degree would reflect the extent to which the learners make use of the interactional functions of the markers.

Our data is a corpus of transcribed recordings, altogether with 20 speakers of French (10 non-native speakers with Swedish L1 and 10 native speakers of French), and comprises two different tasks. In the first task (The telephone conversation) the speaker has to call his boss to ask for two days off and the length is about 2 x 6000 words. The second task (the semi-informal conversation) is about 2 x 30 000 words. The subject of the latter conversation is studies, professional experience, and hobbies. The non-native speakers have lived for at least 10 years in France, where they arrived at the age of 20 to 25. They are highly integrated in the French society and are considered bilingual in French and Swedish.

We ask the following questions: To which extent is voilà pragmaticalized in the use of the non-native speakers? That