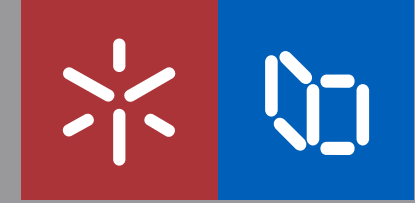


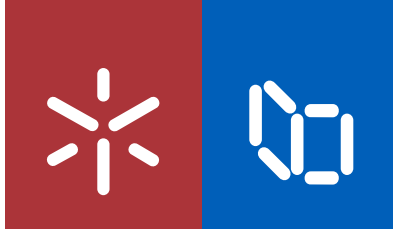


Duarte Nuno Carvalho Oliveira

**Boundedness and telicity marking in the
acquisition of German as a first, second,
and heritage language**

Universidade do Minho
Escola de Letras, Artes e Ciências Humanas





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Professora Doutora Cristina Maria Moreira Flores
e do
Professor Doutor João Veríssimo

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Braga, 20 June 2025

Statement of Integrity

I hereby declare having conducted this academic work with integrity. I confirm that I have not used plagiarism or any form of undue use of information or falsification of results along the process leading to its elaboration.

I further declare that I have fully acknowledged the Code of Ethical Conduct of the University of Minho.

Resumo

Delimitação e marcação de telicidade na aquisição de alemão como língua primeira, segunda e de herança

Nas últimas décadas, vários estudos têm demonstrado que a telicidade é uma categoria essencial no processo de aquisição da semântica verbal (Slabakova, 2001). Em alemão, alguns autores (Schulz, 2018; van Hout, 1998) sugerem uma distinção entre marcadores fortes de telicidade (e.g., partículas e adjetivos resultativos), determinados por implicação semântica, e marcadores fracos de telicidade (e.g., objetos delimitados), que podem ser cancelados pragmaticamente. Em português, a telicidade só pode ser determinada ao nível do verbo ou através da sua combinação com certos complementos (Cunha, 2013; Oliveira, 2003). No domínio discursivo, existe a propriedade da 'delimitação' (*boundedness*) que é o resultado da interação de vários mecanismos aspetuais (Depraetere, 1995). Estudos mostram que os falantes recorrem a esta propriedade para organizar temporalmente o discurso, de acordo como as propriedades tipológicas da sua língua (Bylund, 2011; von Stutterheim et al., 2003). O presente trabalho pretende colmatar a lacuna existente na investigação relativa ao estudo da aquisição destas propriedades no contraste entre o alemão e o português, tendo como objetivos principais: 1) avaliar o conhecimento dos marcadores de telicidade em alemão por vários tipos de falantes; 2) identificar as estratégias narrativas que estes falantes adotam para descrever eventos. Foram testados 129 falantes adultos de alemão, incluindo 45 falantes portugueses de alemão L2, 29 bilingues de alemão língua minoritária (ou de herança), 34 bilingues de alemão língua maioritária e 21 monolingues. Foram aplicadas duas tarefas de interpretação (Tarefa de Conjunção Frásica e Tarefa de Juízo de Verdade) e uma de produção (Tarefa de Narração de Filme) para testar estas propriedades. Os resultados revelam que os falantes não têm grandes dificuldades em interpretar os vários tipos de marcadores de telicidade. Falantes L2 têm mais dificuldade em interpretar partículas verbais, comparativamente aos adjetivos resultativos, o que sugere um efeito de transparência lexical (van Hout, 1998). A nível da produção, falantes nativos preferem narrar eventos de forma holística e usam o presente como tempo narrativo, enquanto falantes L2 adotam uma perspetiva deíctica e usam mais tempos do passado. Conclui-se que o desenvolvimento lexical dos falantes L2 é essencial para a correta interpretação dos marcadores de telicidade. As propriedades da L1 também parecem condicionar a forma como os falantes concetualizam eventos no discurso.

Palavras-chave: alemão L2; aquisição bilingue; aspeto; delimitação; telicidade

Abstract

Boundedness and telicity marking in the acquisition of German as a first, second, and heritage language

In recent decades, many studies have shown that telicity is essential in verbal semantic acquisition (Slabakova, 2001). In German, some authors (Schulz, 2018; van Hout, 1998) suggest a distinction between strong telicity markers (e.g., resultative particles and adjectives), determined via semantic implication, and weak telicity markers (e.g., bounded objects), which determine the event's aspectual value pragmatically. In Portuguese, telicity can only be determined at the verb level or through its combination with specific complements (Cunha, 2013; Oliveira, 2003). In the discourse domain, the property of 'boundedness' results from the interaction between many aspectual mechanisms (Depraetere, 1995). Studies show that speakers resort to this property to organize discourse temporally, according to their language's typological features (Bylund, 2011; von Stutterheim et al., 2003). The present work aims to fill the existing gap of the research on these properties in the contrast between German and Portuguese and has as main goals: 1) to evaluate the knowledge of telicity markers in German by various types of speakers; 2) to identify the narrative strategies employed by these speakers to describe events. 129 adult speakers of German were tested, including 45 Portuguese speakers of L2 German, 29 German minority-language (or heritage) bilinguals, 34 German majority-language bilinguals, and 21 monolinguals. To test these properties, two interpretation tasks (Sentence Conjunction Task and Truth-Value Judgment Task) and one production task (Film Retelling Task) were conducted. The results show that speakers do not have many difficulties interpreting the different types of telicity markers. L2 speakers seem to have more difficulties interpreting verb particles, compared to resultative adjectives, which suggests an effect of lexical transparency (van Hout, 1998). At the production level, native speakers prefer to narrate events holistically and use the present as narrative tense, while L2 speakers adopt a deictic perspective and make more use of past tenses. It thus appears that the lexical development of L2 speakers is essential for the correct interpretation of telicity markers. L1 properties also seem to condition the way speakers conceptualize events in discourse.

Keywords: aspect; boundedness; bilingual acquisition; L2 German; telicity

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List of Abbreviations

AoA	Age of onset of acquisition
bDP	Bounded Determiner Phrase (SCT condition)
BF	Bayes Factor
BOC	Bounded Object Construction (TVJT condition)
CLI	Cross-Linguistic Influence
EP	European Portuguese
FRT	Film Retelling Task
H ₀	Null hypothesis
H ₁	Alternative hypothesis
HL	Heritage Language
HS	Heritage Speaker
IMPF	<i>Preterito Imperfeito</i> (Portuguese imperfective past)
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language / L2 speakers (experimental group)
MAJ	German majority-language bilinguals (experimental group)
MIN	German minority-language bilinguals (experimental group)
MON	German monolinguals (experimental group)
PERF	<i>Preterito Perfeito</i> (Portuguese perfective past)
PPP	Partitive Prepositional Phrase (SCT filler condition)
PRF	<i>Perfekt</i> (German compound past)
PRT	<i>Präteritum</i> (German simple past)
PRS	<i>Präsens</i> (German simple present)
PVC	Particle Verb Construction (TVJT condition)
ResA	Resultative Adjective (SCT condition)
ResP	Resultative Particle (SCT condition)
SCT	Sentence Conjunction Task
SVC	Simple Verb Construction (TVJT condition)
TSit	Time of Situation
TT	Topic Time
TU	Time of Utterance

TVJT	Truth-Value Judgment Task
UOC	Unbounded Object Construction (TVJT condition)

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à minha mãe

INTRODUCTION

Native speakers of German are known to acquire the aspectual entailments associated with telicity markers quite early in their linguistic development (see Schulz, 2018; Van Hout, 1998, 2008a, 2008b, 2018). Studies have also shown that children acquiring German as their first language (L1) understand the aspectual relations between verbs and objects at a very early stage of their acquisitional process (see Van Hout, 1998, 2008a, 2008b). Regarding second language (L2) acquisition, it has been shown that speakers start by incorporating the aspectual principles of their L1 in their L2 (see Slabakova, 2001). In cases of typological mismatches between languages, they will be forced to accommodate their native telicity parameters to those of the L2. Many studies have posited that both native and non-native speakers of German acquire telicity along with lexical semantics and soon resort to structural cues and lexically transparent forms to interpret more complex aspectual relations (i.e., adjectival resultatives; see Richter & Van Hout, 2013). In European Portuguese (EP), there is not much research dedicated to the acquisition of both internal and external aspects (see, e.g., Bragança, 2024; Iverson & Rothman, 2008; Koike, 1991; Leiria, 1991; Rothman & Iverson, 2009). Most language acquisition studies on Romance languages tend to focus on tense-aspect morphology, not only because of its testability – i.e., overt grammatical forms are easier to analyze than complex semantic notions –, but also because Romance is known to express (outer) aspect at the sentence-level and lacks systematic derivational forms that denote aspect at the verb-phrase level (see, e.g., García del Real Marco, 2015; Salaberry & Ayoun, 2005). In this regard, German and EP are typologically distinct because German lacks verbal morphemes that can systematically distinguish between complete and incomplete (i.e., habitual, progressive) situations at a higher level of the structure.

At the discourse level, the interplay between aspectual forms and meanings, whether internal or external to the verbal predicate, can be described in terms of boundedness. Research has shown that boundedness is necessary to establish temporal relations between eventualities and move narrative time forward (see Carroll & Von Stutterheim, 2002; Depraetere, 1995; Klein, 2013). It has also been posited that different languages entail different strategies of event construal and conceptualization in discourse. Native speakers of German tend to adopt a holistic non-participating narrative strategy by resorting to the present tense to describe situations as complete units in a fact-listing manner (Von Stutterheim & Carroll, 2018; Von Stutterheim & Nüse, 2003; Von Stutterheim et al., 2003). In Spanish, for example, speakers seem to prefer a deictic narrative pattern, in which situations are usually described with past tenses, as if the speakers had participated in the action (Bylund, 2009; Bylund & Jarvis, 2011). To my knowledge,

no studies employ this approach to temporal structure in Portuguese. However, it is assumed that the typological patterns found in Spanish also hold for other Romance languages. Regardless of the target language, boundedness plays an essential role in linking situations together and enabling temporal progression, which can be determined at a higher level of the structure or inherited from each predicate's core telicity value (Von Stutterheim & Nüse, 2003; Von Stutterheim et al., 2003). Some authors argue that languages differ conceptually and not only structurally, i.e., each language has specific devices to convey different types of temporal-aspectual information, which will shape the way speakers conceptualize this information in their minds and the narrative strategies they utilize to express it (Klein, 2009; Levelt, 1992; Levinson, 1997; Slobin, 1996; Von Stutterheim et al., 2003). In L2 and early bilingual acquisition, speakers can either absorb the narrative patterns of their target language or have both systems coexist and adapt them to the appropriate communicative setting (see Daller et al., 2011; Jarvis, 2016; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002).

Given the overview presented above, the current research has three main goals: 1) examining how speakers of German with different acquisitional profiles interpret the aspectual entailments of overt telicity markers, such as resultative particles, resultative adjectives in secondary predication and quantified direct objects; 2) investigating whether they react to the linguistic environment and contextual cues in their interpretation of telicity markers, specifically whether they accept aspectual reconfigurations under certain conditions; 3) investigating how they conceptualize events at a higher level of discourse and what kind of strategies they fall back on to convey temporal-aspectual relations. A more general aim, which is related to each one of these specific goals, consists in determining whether there are differences between speakers in all these areas, i.e., whether some variation can be found when analyzing late L2 speakers in contrast to early bilingual and monolingually-raised speakers, and what that tells us about their linguistic development and conceptualization patterns. For that, I included four experimental groups of speakers, including: (i) L2 speakers of German with EP as their L1; (ii) German-Portuguese bilinguals with German as a minority language; (iii) German-Portuguese bilinguals with German as a majority language, and (iv) monolingual German speakers. The present thesis describes the studies conducted to fulfill these objectives, and its structure is summarized next.

The first chapter – *Second Language Acquisition and Bilingualism* – reviews the main concepts related to L2 and bilingual acquisition. Some terminology is explained and disambiguated, particularly the notions of “majority and minority language”, “simultaneous and successive bilingualism”, “heritage speakers”, among others. Special focus is placed on the internal and external factors underlying L2 and bilingual development, such as cross-linguistic influence (CLI), age of acquisition, context of acquisition,

and language use. Finally, some current research findings and their corresponding theoretical assumptions are presented for each of these criteria.

The second chapter – *Telicity and inner aspect* – presents an overview of some theoretical frameworks treating aspect and telicity at the lexicon-syntax-semantics interface. First, telicity is described more traditionally, focusing on verb classes and situational aspect. Then, some descriptive models that attempt to explain the compositional nature of telicity are outlined, including some long-established semantic and lexicon-based accounts and more recent functional and generative approaches. The chapter also includes a description of telicity marking in the target languages – German and EP – following the proposals of some of the outlined models and a review of the primary research on the acquisition of telicity marking across languages.

In the third chapter – *Boundedness and event conceptualization patterns* – the notion of boundedness is introduced, along with its definition and forms of expression in the context of the current research. Next, a proposal of boundedness is provided for German and EP, emphasizing the main distinctive points between these two languages. This chapter also reviews the main empirical findings of language development research on boundedness in the cognitive-conceptual domain and how it relates to event construal and conceptualization across languages.

The fourth chapter – *Aims and predictions* – summarizes more specific research objectives related to the concepts introduced in the literature review portion of this thesis. Here, the research questions pertaining to each experimental task are put forward, along with their corresponding theoretical assumptions and hypotheses.

In the fifth chapter – *Method* – the actual experimental design is described. First, the overall procedure is explained, along with a description of the participants and how they fit into the populations under study. The chapter also includes a thorough description of the experimental tasks used – two interpretation tasks and a production task – supported by tangible examples and explanations relating to the methodology used in previous studies. The final section of this chapter delivers a detailed explanation of the Bayesian methods used in the upcoming statistical analysis for each experimental task.

The sixth chapter – *Results* – reports the main results obtained from the data collected in the experimental tasks. Each task is described individually, since they also differ in statistical procedure and modeling. A descriptive analysis of the data is presented for each task. Then, the results of the Bayesian analysis are provided according to the technical specifications of each model, including descriptions of main and simple effects, interactions, and nested effects. Given the nature of the data, a non-inferential qualitative analysis is provided for the production task.

The seventh chapter – *Discussion* – includes a detailed discussion of the results obtained. Presentation is organized according to the task-specific research questions: (i) interpretation of the aspectual entailments of telicity markers, and (ii) identification of the event conceptualization patterns found in the participants' productions. Both sections analyze between-group differences and potential explanations for the observed patterns.

The final part of the thesis – *Conclusion* – presents an overview of the current thesis, according to the theoretical assumptions underlying the research aims, hypotheses, methodology, and the obtained results. A summary is provided, along with a presentation of the main limitations of this work and potential directions for future research.

1. SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND BILINGUALISM

It has been a pivotal question in language acquisition research whether first (L1) and second language (L2) speakers are fundamentally different from each other in their acquisitional process (Bley-Vroman, 1990). Even more so when we consider speakers who have been born into and/or grown up in a bilingual or multilingual setting (Montrul, 2009). In the current scientific landscape, the main factor underlying the distinction between L1 and L2 speakers is the age of onset of acquisition (AoA; see Bialystok, 1997; Hyltenstam & Abrahamsson, 2003; Singleton, 2001). People who are exposed to a given language from birth (or at a very early age) are considered L1 (or native) speakers of that language, while L2 speakers tend to start the acquisition process at a later stage in life, often a long time after they have already acquired their L1 (Slabakova, 2016). Another factor contributing to this distinction is the type of exposure each speaker type has to the target language: L1 speakers tend to have mostly naturalistic exposure to the language, meaning that they retrieve information from their social and domestic environment before they even start getting proper education, while – at least a substantial part of – L2 speakers tend to start as formal learners in an instructional setting. Moreover, L1 speakers have a potentially higher degree of contact with the language, assuming that they are living in a country or community where that language is the primary means of communication, while L2 speakers often start learning the language in their home countries and can eventually get a similar degree of exposure if they migrate to a country where that language is spoken (Gass et al., 2020; Snape & Kupisch, 2017).

The rapidly changing linguistic landscape has started to blur the lines of what is considered an L1 or L2 speaker. In some cases, children emigrate with their parents when they have already acquired their mother tongue (e.g., 11 years old) and start acquiring a different language when the linguistic system of their L1 is already quite developed. That does not mean, however, that they cannot achieve native-like proficiency in the language of the country they moved to, especially when they are required to use it for everyday communication. In the current research paradigm, children who acquire two languages early in life are considered early bilingual speakers. I classify these children as early bilinguals, regardless of whether they started acquiring the two languages simultaneously from birth ('simultaneous bilinguals') or in succession in early years of development ('successive bilinguals') (see De Houwer, 2009; Meisel, 2001, 2008, 2011b).

From a sociolinguistic perspective, bilinguals who grew up in a migration context can have one or more 'majority languages' – i.e., the socio-politically dominant language(s) of the country or community they live in, which they use in school, at work and in society in general – and a 'minority language' – i.e.,

the language of their parents and ancestors, which they mostly employ in familial and domestic settings. The latter is categorized as ‘heritage language’ (HL) in many theoretical frameworks, with its speakers being defined as ‘heritage speakers’ (HSs) (Benmamoun et al., 2013; Cummins, 2005; C. M. M. Flores, 2015; Polinsky, 2018; Rothman, 2009). Research has shown that bilingual speakers do not differ substantially from monolinguals of their majority language in terms of language ability, dominance, and proficiency (Scherger et al., 2021). However, external factors such as AoA and language exposure can contribute to individual differences at different levels of linguistic competence and cognitive processing (Flege et al., 2002; Meir, 2023). It has also been suggested that these individual differences are restricted to certain communicative contexts. For example, Bialystok et al. (2010) showed that discrepancies in receptive vocabulary knowledge between bilingual and monolingual children (from 3 to 10 years of age) are limited to words used in a domestic setting, rather than those used mostly in a school or social context. On the other hand, the competence of minority (or heritage) language speakers seems to differ slightly from that of their monolingual counterparts, but only in specific areas of linguistic knowledge and largely due to similar factors (i.e., type and quantity of exposure, context of acquisition, code-switching, among others; see Cantone, 2022; Correia & Flores, 2017; Guijarro-Fuentes & Schmitz, 2015; Paradis, 2023; Torregrossa et al., 2023; Unsworth, 2016; Valdés, 2005). Nonetheless, research has shown that these oscillations in competence and performance are not usually like the acquisitional problems that L2 speakers face and should not be a reason to consider bilingual speakers less “proficient” in their minority language.

One of the central research questions of bilingual development concerns the potential effects of the majority language on the HL’s development and organization in the speaker’s mind, and vice versa (Chondrogianni, 2023; Van Osch et al., 2022). This question derives from the widely accepted idea of the 1990s that bilinguals hold two separate linguistic systems in their brain, which can influence each other in various ways (see Meisel, 2003, 2011a, 2011b). Currently, one of the most prominent points of discussion is whether this influence is unidirectional or bidirectional and under which conditions it is activated (Kupisch, 2019). Regarding the extent to which a dominant language can influence the HL, most researchers agree that it is dependent on external factors – such as those listed above – and is restricted to particular structures or areas of linguistic knowledge (see Meir & Janssen, 2021; Rinke & Flores, 2021). However, this does not mean that bilingual speakers have different acquisitional processes than monolinguals or that their development relies on the typological nature of their spoken languages. In fact, in a study about receptive vocabulary acquisition, Bialystok et al. (2010) showed that the differences between bilinguals and monolinguals did not change with divergent language pairs. Instead,

bilinguals' development in the first years of acquisition and their overall competence as adults could be better explained by individual differences in the acquisitional setting, register of use, formal instruction, and the degree of input they receive in their HL. Some research has also posited that bilingual speakers' difficulty in acquiring specific grammatical properties of their HL does not necessarily arise from external circumstances only. Much research is committed to describing how and to what extent languages can influence each other in the bilingual brain, a process called 'cross-linguistic influence' (CLI) or 'language transfer'.

Most authors consider that HL development involves an interplay between CLI and language-external factors (Fridman et al., 2024; Meir & Janssen, 2021; Pascual y Cabo & Rothman, 2012). It is often assumed that CLI can have a negative effect on HL acquisition, particularly when the contrasting languages are typologically distinct (see, e.g., Benmamoun et al., 2013). Rinke and Flores (2021) argue that the role of the majority language may not be as substantial as it is often assumed, mainly because HSs are not fundamentally different from monolinguals in all areas of linguistic competence. In Flores et al. (2017), the authors compared two studies on German learners of EP and German-Portuguese bilinguals with EP as their HL. The first study focused on clitic placement, and the second dealt with global accent. The studies showed that HSs behave similarly to Portuguese monolinguals regarding their morphosyntactic knowledge of cliticization. Occasional deviations were tied to their extensive exposure to non-formal colloquial registers of Portuguese. Regarding accent identification, HSs were perceived as having a native-like Portuguese accent, unlike L2 speakers. All of this suggests that differences between heritage bilinguals and monolinguals result from the bilinguals' type and quantity of exposure to the HL, rather than an effect of CLI. On the other hand, some deviations in the HL grammar do not necessarily follow the patterns of the dominant language. Rinke et al. (2018) tested the use of null objects by German-Portuguese bilinguals with EP as their HL and showed an increased use of null objects by HSs, even though German grammar does not license this property. Finally, these deviations in the HL grammar may be independent of the dominant language (which can be observed by comparing the same HL in contact with different majority languages). In Rinke and Flores (2018), the authors tested the interpretation of null subjects in contexts of topic continuity, showing that both German-Portuguese and Spanish-(Catalan)-Portuguese bilingual children manifest a delay in the acquisition of this property in their HL. The authors argue that this delay occurs in very similar circumstances for both groups of bilinguals, even though Spanish and Catalan are typologically similar to Portuguese, in that they license the null subject property, while German does not.

In a study involving German-Portuguese and French-Portuguese bilingual children (6 to 16 years of age) with European Portuguese (EP) as HL, Flores et al. (2017) tested the acquisition of verbal mood in complement clauses, which is known to be particularly challenging in child acquisition and whose contexts seem to follow a specific acquisitional order (see, e.g., Jesus, 2014). The authors observed that the bilinguals' acquisition of the subjunctive was delayed, but started to stabilize after 12 years of age. As expected, this suggests that age plays an important role in the acquisition of mood. Still, speakers seem to overcome this hindrance, assuming they have continued exposure to the HL. The results of this study do not suggest that there is any influence of German or French in the acquisition of mood in EP bilinguals, and that these differences can be explained by external factors alone. Another factor that can modulate bilingual development is the communicative settings in which bilinguals use their HL. As mentioned before, heritage speakers will most likely only use their minority language at home or within a migrant community, and their lexical knowledge is dependent on the vocabulary they would use in these situations, often confined to a more colloquial register and devoid of formal instruction. In a study about the acquisition of clitic pronouns and their syntax, Rinke and Flores (2014) showed that German-Portuguese bilingual speakers (aged 14 to 43) with EP as their HL performed in a target-like manner when confronted with syntactic properties which are characteristic of informal communicative contexts (such as 'clitic climbing'); however, they had some difficulties judging the syntactic behavior of clitics that is usually associated with formal speech (i.e., the non-climbed position of the clitic is preferred). Although this variation is a matter of optionality, formal education in EP tends to favor the latter alternative as more cultured and refined. By reporting on a series of studies targeting French and Italian HSs living in Germany, Kupisch and Rothman (2018) also showed that receiving formal education in the HL leads to a level of linguistic competence consistent with that of monolingual speakers. They report that the performance of German-French bilinguals who have attended a French school in Germany is consistent with that of monolinguals in all the areas under study (i.e., gender assignment, gender agreement, adjective placement, and article use). Meanwhile, German-Italian bilinguals who did not have access to schooling in their HL had statistically lower success scores than French HSs and monolinguals, especially in their use of articles in generic noun phrases. As the authors point out, this does not show that formal education is required for bilinguals to become competent in their HL. However, it does provide them with the necessary resources to have a wider understanding of their HL and the types of constructions they have available, in both formal and informal settings.

The acquisitional process of bilinguals can indeed be explained by external factors, which may or may not interact with effects of language transfer. In principle, no typically developed child should

have significant problems acquiring a particular category in their HL, granted they have continued exposure to it. What seems to vary is the rate at which certain structures are acquired or how long it takes them to develop that part of their inner grammar. This is where external factors, such as the ones explained above, play a significant role. Suppose a heritage speaker takes a little more time acquiring a given linguistic property than would be expected from their monolingual counterparts. In that case, it either means that they have reduced contact with the HL or that this particular property is typical of real-life contexts to which the bilingual speaker is not exposed. In some cases, it can also be a particularly challenging property that requires more processing time, even for monolingual acquirers. All these factors are part of the heritage bilingual's profile and are tied to their family's attitudes towards the HL (see Schwartz, 2008; Wilson, 2021). Some parents will put a lot of emphasis on transmitting their native language to their child and ensuring that they do not lose that part of their cultural heritage, while others may steer away from it to facilitate the child's integration into their new linguistic environment.

It should be mentioned that most studies on bilingual language development do not test the same language as both a minority and a majority language, which means that our general understanding of the factors underlying bilingual competence derives from the comparisons made between HSs and monolinguals. Looking at the same language from multiple acquisitional perspectives can give us a finer look at how bilinguals behave in their HL and dominant language. In a study on word order, Sopata and Długosz (2022) tested three different groups of German-Polish bilinguals, including: 10 simultaneous bilingual children with German as their majority language; 11 simultaneous bilingual children with German as their HL, and 10 sequential bilingual children who live in Poland as speak German as their HL. The results showed that all bilingual children at primary school age – regardless of whether German is their majority or heritage language – seemed to have acquired verb and negation placement in German. However, heritage bilinguals do not completely disregard their majority language in all scenarios, meaning they resort to word order patterns typical of Polish when actively using German in a narrative setting. According to the authors, both languages are co-activated in the bilingual speaker's mind when asked to tell a story in their “weaker” language. The high degree of input in their dominant language seems to prevent them from casting it aside in tasks that demand a great deal of processing. Conversely, the lack of exposure to diverse communicative settings in their HL leads them to produce non-target-like structures.

In a different study, Kupisch et al. (2014) tested 21 German-French simultaneous bilinguals (aged 20 to 42) in their knowledge of adjective placement, gender assignment and agreement, and article use in French. The authors also tested phonological features, measured in terms of global foreign accent

and voice onset time (VOT). In general, the results showed that both groups of bilinguals – i.e., heritage speakers of French and speakers of French as a majority language – performed native-like in most morphosyntactic domains (e.g., gender assignment and agreement, article use and prepositions). There was some variation in adjective placement, albeit restricted to cases in which lexical-semantic knowledge was required. Regarding global accent identification, German heritage speakers were judged native less frequently than German majority-language speakers. There were no differences between bilinguals in terms of VOT, but heritage speakers had a longer VOT than French monolinguals in their articulation of certain plosive consonants (/t/ and /k/). The authors argue that the heritage speakers under study display a pattern of assimilation of the French phonemes to their German counterparts. In general, the most substantial deviation from native norms arose in the speakers' spontaneous productions, rather than through controlled data collection (which does not support some of the assumptions of previous research on heritage speakers; see Montrul, 2009). These differences in global accent and VOT do not suggest that heritage speakers have an “incomplete” acquisition of French – as proposed in Polinsky (2008) and Montrul (2008) –, because an “incomplete” grammar requires unsystematic discrepancies from a monolingual pattern (see Sorace, 1993). Instead, these deviances are systematic, and it is posited that heritage speakers have a “divergent” linguistic system from that of majority-language bilinguals.

The present overview encompasses some of the most distinctive points in L2 and bilingual acquisition, while accounting for the effects of both language-internal and language-external factors in linguistic development. For the purposes of this work, I will follow the trend of recent research and describe both majority-language and minority-language bilinguals as *native speakers*, to better contrast their performance with *non-native* (or L2) speakers (see Putnam et al., 2018; Rothman & Treffers-Daller, 2014; Wiese et al., 2022).

2. TELICITY AND INNER ASPECT

This chapter provides a historical overview of research related to telicity semantics and structure. I begin by addressing the issue of aspectual composition and highlighting some of the key theoretical frameworks developed in recent decades to describe aspectual phenomena and event structure. Next, I present a model-theoretical description of telicity marking in German and European Portuguese, using Ramchand's (2008) generative-constructivist approach. Lastly, I summarize the main findings of research on the acquisition of telicity marking across various languages.

2.1. First steps: inner aspect, verb classes, and compositionality

Inner (or lexical) aspect is related to the internal temporal structure of situations denoted by verbs. Ontologically, we know that a verb such as *run* describes a durative dynamic situation with a particular degree of change, while a verb like *know* describes an unchanged state. Similarly, it is known that a verb like *die* denotes completion and a change of state (i.e., it is *telic*), while a verb like *drink* does not entail a result (i.e., *atelic*). Upon observing that other linguistic elements had an influence on an event's denotation, linguists extended these notions to complex predicates, e.g., *drink a gallon* defines an endpoint, clearly marked by the definite nature of the direct object, while *drink gallons* does not. From these observations, linguists and language philosophers defined sets of aspectual verb classes, capable of describing the temporal-aspectual nature of verbal predicates. Vendler (1957) proposed the first ontological classification of verbs, grouping them in four distinct categories, according to their temporal features: *states* (durative non-dynamic situations), *activities* (durative dynamic situations), *accomplishments* (durative dynamic situations with an intrinsic endpoint), and *achievements* (non-durative dynamic situations with an intrinsic endpoint). Table 1 provides some examples of these classes.

Table 1. *Vendler's (1957) ontological verb classes.*

States	Activities	Accomplishments	Achievements
<i>know</i>	<i>run</i>	<i>run a mile</i>	<i>arrive</i>
<i>be sick</i>	<i>read</i>	<i>read the book</i>	<i>lose the wallet</i>
<i>live in Paris</i>	<i>drink water</i>	<i>drink the tea</i>	<i>reach the summit</i>

Verbal predicates are identified according to their inner aspectual structure via diagnostic tests, some of which were introduced by Vendler in his seminal work. The most traditional diagnostic to determine the aspectual class of a predicate is the adverbial modification test of the type *for X time* or *in X time*. Theoretically, predicates which can be felicitously combined with temporal adverbials of the type *for X time* denote atelic eventualities (see 1a), while adverbials of the type *in X time* combine well with telic predicates (see 1b).

1. a) The man read *for an hour*.
- b) The man read the book *in an hour*.

However, subsequent research (e.g., Dowty, 1977; Mourelatos, 1978; Walková, 2012) has observed that, although viable in many contexts, the adverbial diagnostic tests are often inaccurate in determining whether a given predicate is telic or atelic. This also concerns what authors classify as *telicity* and the terminological extent of this term across linguistic interfaces. Some authors (De Swart, 1998; Michaelis, 2004; Pustejovsky & Bouillon, 1995) argue that these incompatibilities are the result of a process of *aspectual shift* or *coercion*, in which certain adverbials (as well as other linguistic elements) may change the base aspectual value of some predicates, either ‘telicizing’ a non-delimited situation (see 2a) or making a delimited situation atelic (see 2b). For this reason, multiple diagnostic tests should be applied to test the telicity property of situations.

2. a) The man swam *in two hours*.
- b) The man read the book *for two hours*.

Although preliminary, Vendler’s approach influenced the work of later researchers and still has implications in the contemporary study of aspect and event structure¹. While the author focused primarily

¹ Many authors expanded on Vendler’s observations, which led to the introduction of new terminology, inducing a nomenclatural crisis. Regardless of the hypothesis, the term ‘states’ continues to denote homogeneous non-dynamic situations. However, the classes of dynamic situations (activities, accomplishments and achievements) acquired many different labels throughout the years, such as ‘non-states’ (Bach, 1986; Carlson, 1981), ‘occurrences’ (Mourelatos, 1978) and ‘events’ (Moens, 1987; Moens & Steedman, 1988). Some approaches (Bach, 1986; Mourelatos, 1978) use the term ‘events’ to describe only delimited dynamic situations (i.e., accomplishments and achievements). Pustejovsky (1991), for example, refers to culminated actions as ‘transitions’, given their implicated change of state. Even the specific classes get different designations: Mourelatos (1978) coins the term ‘developments’ to refer to accomplishments, while Bach (1986) calls them ‘prolongated events’, and Moens (1987) ‘culminated processes’; achievements, on the other hand, are labelled as ‘punctual occurrences’ (Mourelatos, 1978), ‘momentaneous events’ (Bach, 1986) and ‘culminations’ (Moens, 1987). As for the non-terminative dynamic situations, i.e., activities, one of the most common designations is ‘processes’ (Bach, 1986; Moens, 1987; Mourelatos, 1978; Pustejovsky, 1991). Most of these taxonomies are irrelevant for the purposes of this study, however, I will adopt a more generic terminology to avoid

on a descriptive account of verb classes, his successors doubled down on his findings to try to explain how they work at a lexical-semantic level. Dowty (1979, 1991) attempted to explain the semantic nature of aspectual classes via lexical decomposition and thematic relations. The author argued that every dynamic eventuality derives from a primitive stative predicate (*A*), which is modified by special aspectual operators (DO, CAUSE and BECOME) to produce more complex predicates. As such, an activity is semantically represented by DO(*P*), an accomplishment by DO(CAUSE(BECOME(*P*))), and an achievement by BECOME(*P*). Dowty went one step further and defended that the subject's volition (as represented by the operator DO) has a significant role in the composition of aspectual meaning, distinguishing between states and processes. This proposal has since been rejected, with subsequent authors attributing this distinction to the temporal notion of dynamicity (Brinton, 1988; Verkuyl, 1993).

Despite its undeniable contribution to modern aspectual research, many of Dowty's successors have been critical of his theoretical accounts. The hypothesis that mere lexical decomposition is enough to explain the aspectual phenomena of predicates has been rejected by numerous authors (Borer, 2005b; Levin, 2000; Rappaport Hovav, 2008; Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 1998; Rothstein, 2008; Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997), who argue that such a standpoint is reductive, at best. Proposals such as Kennedy's (2012) or Rappaport Hovav's (2008) have posited that such an ontological typology of verbs is linguistically irrelevant. Rappaport Hovav (2008) proposes that the only determining lexical properties for deriving telicity are the durative nature of the situation and its scalar change. As such, the author argues that there are inherently scalar dynamic predicates which either denote a gradual change along an implicit scale (see 3a) or an abrupt change between two poles (see 3b; cf. Beavers, 2008). On the other hand, non-scalar processes can become telic when combined with an explicitly marked scale (see 3c).

3. a) The butter *melted*.
- b) She *won* the race.
- c) The girl ate *the apple*.

Despite some authors' aversion to aspectual verb classifications, these are still widely used in many theoretical accounts. However, what Dowty's intervention brought to light was a much bigger problem that would end up becoming the focal point of modern research on aspect and telicity, i.e., that aspect

ambiguities. As such, all types of eventualities will from now on be referred to as situations, while actions with an endpoint (accomplishments and achievements) will be described as events, and activities may occasionally be called processes. These more general terms may be replaced by theory-specific denominations when appropriate (e.g., in a specific framework, we may use the term 'events' to describe all situation types, if the author does so themselves).

– telicity, more specifically – is derived compositionally. Verkuyl (1993, 2012) moved away from the more ontological approaches to aspect and argued that the compositionality of aspectual meaning is only possible on the basis of a well-defined syntactic structure. In other words, the information conveyed by a given clause is a by-product of the interaction of its grammatical constituents. For Verkuyl, this interaction can be explained by means of a compositional system of binary semantic traits, i.e., the dynamic/non-dynamic nature of the verb [$\pm$ ADD TO], and the specified/unspecified quantity of its argument(s) [$\pm$ SQA]. As an example, in sentence 4a, both *Olga* (external argument) and *a letter* (internal argument) carry the [+SQA] trait, given that they specify a given quantity, while the verb *wrote* carries the [+ADD TO] trait, which indicates dynamicity, making the full predicate telic or – in Verkuyl’s terms – ‘terminative’ (i.e., all traits are positive). Conversely, when the internal argument is unspecified, as in sentence 4b, it carries the [-SQA] trait, which turns the predicate atelic (i.e., at least one trait is negative). Therefore, the sentence will only have a terminative reading if all its constituents have positive traits (which Verkuyl defines as the *Plus-Principle*).

4. a) [$_{+SQA}$ Olga] [$_{+ADD\ TO}$ wrote] [$_{+SQA}$ *a letter*].
 b) [$_{+SQA}$ Olga] [$_{+ADD\ TO}$ wrote] [$_{-SQA}$ *letters*].

(adapted from Verkuyl, 2012: 571)

As elaborate as Verkuyl’s framework was, it had its shortcomings. One of the most conspicuous problems in his approach was that it failed to explain how some dynamic verbs could combine with specified arguments without resulting in telic or terminative readings (see Rothstein, 2016). For example, in sentence 5, both the verb and its arguments carry positive traits, but the predicate is quite evidently atelic (i.e., there is no inherent endpoint).

5. Kim *pushed the cart*.

(see Borer, 2005: 97)

This has been the central issue of many concurrent and ensuing models that drew inspiration from Verkuyl’s precursory analysis. Whether lexical-decompositional, semantic or syntactic in nature, very few proposals have managed to successfully explain how this exceptional phenomenon occurs. To better understand how these phenomena work at a lexical-grammatical level, one must delve into what research has found so far about the concept of *compositional telicity*.

2.2. The compositional nature of telicity

Verkuyl's (1993) theory on the compositionality of aspect introduced a brand-new direction in the research of aspectual properties. At this point, linguistic research had approached phenomena related to inner aspect from a mere semantic-ontological perspective, by classifying eventualities according to their specific temporal features (e.g., dynamicity, durativity, and telicity), and creating categories for different predicate classes. Verkuyl's compositional model, however, made it clear that verbal predicates needed to be studied by formally identifying the meaning relations between their constituents. The compositional branch, therefore, assumes that the aspectual meaning of a sentence derives from the sum of the meanings of its constituent elements, just as the meaning of a constituent derives from the sum of the meanings of its subconstituents, and so on. Syntactically, these relations are relatively straightforward, but in the case of aspectual information, there is no direct correspondence between a given verb and the type of argument it selects. Rothstein (2016) argues that there are three special cases in which this premise is particularly striking, namely (i) in a verb's selection of naturally occurring internal arguments, (ii) in the cooccurrence of atelic verb phrases with certain adverbial modifiers, and (iii) in the semantic nature of the external argument. In the first case, process verbs such as *read* can head telic verb phrases when the direct object has a specified quantity (see 6a). If, in turn, the object is a mass noun or a bare plural, the verb does not change its initial atelic value, and the predicate retains a non-terminative meaning (see 6b).

- 6. a) Peter read the book / a book / a lot of books in two weeks.
- b) Peter read books for two weeks.

As mentioned, however, the specificity of the internal argument does not always hold any relevance to the telicity value of the full predicate. Processual verbs like *push* or *observe* do not generate any aspectual shifts when combined with specified direct objects and always head atelic verb phrases (see 7).

- 7. a) Joan *observed* the bird / a bird / a lot of birds for hours / #in an hour.
- b) Joan *observed* birds for hours / #in an hour.

Some authors (Dowty, 1991; Krifka, 1992, 1998) attributed this phenomenon to the thematic role of the internal argument and its gradational relation to the described event. Coined by Dowty (1991), the so-called *incremental theme* characterizes a non-agentive object that is in a gradual (or incremental) relation to the event, i.e., each subpart of the represented event corresponds to a subpart of the entity denoted by the object. In the predicate *mow the lawn*, for example, each measure of the event of mowing matches a subpart of the lawn. Only when the whole lawn is mown can we effectively say that the event is completed. On the other hand, when we *push the cart*, no subpart of the cart sustains any kind of change throughout the duration of the event, i.e., the situation itself does not convey any inherent result. Hence, if the relation between the verb and the object is not semantically incremental, the verb phrase will inherit the atelicity of its head verb. Nevertheless, this proposal does not explain why some transitive verbs never select an incremental theme as their internal argument (e.g., ‘Mary watched the ducks *for hours*’).

The second case concerns the aspectual value of certain adverbial modifiers, which can add a specified goal to the event denoted by a verb or predicate. An initially atelic predicate can become telic if combined with a directional prepositional phrase (e.g., *to the margin*; see 8a) or a noun phrase of spatial measure (e.g., *into the garage*; see 8b). This constitutes a prevalent form of event delimitation in many languages (see Rothstein, 2016).

8. a) Mary ran *to the margin* / five kilometers in 30 minutes / #for 30 minutes.
- b) Mary pushed the car *into the garage* in 10 minutes / #for 30 minutes.

The third case contemplates the semantic nature of the external argument. A vague or unspecified subject can result in the atelic reading of a verb phrase headed by a naturally telic verb (or an achievement verb, in Vendler’s terms). In example 9, the verbs *die* and *arrive* inherently denote a change of state. However, subject deprives them of their presupposed completion by turning the event into a prolonged collective eventuality (in some cases, an adjoining clause is required to avoid decontextualization; see temporal clauses in 9).

9. a) *People* died for years before the government decided to act.
- b) *Tourists* arrived for hours, as trains were delayed.

The observed phenomena show that the lexical-semantic features of the verb alone cannot determine the (a)telicity value of a predicate. They indicate that telicity is indeed compositional and, therefore,

dependent on several different factors. This section will describe a few theoretical approaches to compositional telicity, and how it behaves at the interfaces of lexicon, semantics, syntax and pragmatics.

2.2.1. Semantic approaches

As mentioned in the previous sections, modern research on the semantic aspects of telicity was heavily influenced by Dowty's (1979) theory of lexical decomposition and Verkuyl's (1993, 2012) aspect construal approach. In the 1990s, Parsons (1990) was one of the first scholars to introduce the concept of 'subevent structure' and to present concrete formal-semantic evidence that events hold a complex composition at the propositional level. The author resorts to the ambiguity of specific modifiers to illustrate the internal structure of eventualities. For example, locative adverbial modifiers seem to result in ambiguous interpretations in some contexts, given that they can modify either the 'causing' subevent or the 'caused' subevent of the whole situation. In example 10, the locative *behind the museum* may be expressing either Mary's or the kite's spatial location. If an event had no internal structure, such an ambiguous interpretation of the sentence would not be possible.

10. Mary flew her kite behind the museum.

(Parsons, 1990: 118)

This view is expanded in Pustejovsky (1991), in which the author attempts to explain an event's formal structure using aspectual verb classes. Moving away from the Vendlerian typology, he defines three main situation types, i.e., states, processes (atelic events) and transitions (telic events), which can incorporate and interact with each other. Following the seminal work of McCawley (1968) and Lakoff (1970), Pustejovsky defines states (*S*) as single eventualities with no relation to any other event (e.g., *be sick, love, know*); processes (*P*), on the other hand, show a sequence of subevents (from e_i to e_n) that identify the same semantic expression (e.g., *run, push, swim*), while transitions (*T*) describe events that identify a semantic expression and are estimated with regard to their inherent binary oppositions (e.g., *open*, change from 'closed' to 'open'). According to the author, telic events entail the existence of a process subevent that gives rise to a resulting state, therefore containing both a process and a state in its denotation.

Some authors (e.g., Champollion, 2017; Krifka, 1992, 1998; Rothstein, 2008) challenged the assumption that mere lexical decomposition and subevent structure would be enough to determine the

origin of complex aspectual phenomena, and that a thorough approach would have to take specific semantic concepts into account. Krifka (1998) made use of the ‘part structure approach’ (Link, 1983) to represent the temporal-semantic relations between verbs and their arguments. The author assumes that – similarly to the nominal domain – the event domain constitutes a mereology, which is based on part-whole relations. This approach assumes that predicates can be divided into *cumulative* (i.e., atelic) and *quantized* (i.e., telic), according to the semantic type of the objects they select. As such, nominal classes such as bare plurals (e.g., *apples, books*) and mass nouns (e.g., *water, iron*) are cumulative, while specified countable nouns (e.g., *the book, three apples, a glass of water*) are quantized. A complex predicate that includes a cumulative or quantized argument will, therefore, describe a situation that is also cumulative or quantized, respectively. Note how the examples in 11 illustrate this principle.

- 11. a) Clara wrote e-mails *for 5 minutes*.
- b) Clara wrote e-mails *for 2 minutes*.
- c) Clara wrote the e-mail *in 5 minutes*.
- d) Clara wrote the e-mail *in 2 minutes*.

In the examples, 11a implies 11b, because the bare plural *e-mails* is cumulative, i.e., if x is *e-mails* and y is *e-mails*, then the sum of x and y is also *e-mails*. If Clara wrote e-mails for five minutes, we assume that she also wrote e-mails for shorter periods within that interval. On the other hand, 11c contradicts 11d, because no one can infer that Clara wrote the e-mail in two minutes after specifying that she took five minutes to write said e-mail. Thus, if x is the e-mail, there cannot be a y which is also the e-mail. This analysis is an expansion on Carlson's (1981) quantificational theory, in which portions of a given event are described as events of the same type (cf. ‘partitivity’). In other words, a telic verb phrase, such as *write the e-mail*, describes a heterogeneous event with no integral subparts that simultaneously correspond to events of writing an e-mail – i.e., only the whole event satisfies the verb phrase. On the other hand, in an atelic verb phrase, such as *write e-mails*, a subevent of writing e-mails can be summed with another one to produce an expanded event of writing e-mails.

Although initially sound, Krifka's mereological approach proved problematic for many reasons. Rothstein (2008) argued against the assumption that cumulativity can accurately describe the atelicity of a verb phrase. Following Chierchia (1998), Rothstein defines cumulativity as a property of semantically plural predicates. Therefore, a nominal predicate such as *books* is cumulative because it denotes a set of pluralities, being that sums of pluralities also constitute pluralities. However, *book* is non-cumulative,

because it denotes a set of singular individuals, and sums of singularities are not singularities (for a more elaborate explanation, see Rothstein, 2008). The author showed that semantically singular verb phrases (i.e., predicates that denote sets of singular events) can also be atelic in specific contexts (see 12).

12. John and Mary discussed politicians once for many hours. They never did it again.

(Rothstein, 2016: 351)

In example 12, the verb phrase is atelic and semantically singular, because it denotes a set of singular events. However, it is not the cumulativity of the plural object that determines its atelicity, but the fact that the singular event does not have a natural delimitation, enabling its indefinite expansion as a single event. Another problem of Krifka's framework is its expansion on Dowty's (1991) notion of incrementality, which he coined 'homomorphism'. According to Rothstein (2008), only a subset of accomplishment verbs has a gradual relation to their Theme argument. Telic verb phrases like *repair the computer*, *season the soup* or *lock the door* cannot be determined by the extent of their Themes. In the verb phrase "repair the computer" (2008: 98), neither the computer's physical size nor the problem's complexity can determine the predicate's temporal extent. The event's time span is established by the time it takes until the problem is solved.

A different approach to the expression of telicity is the scalar framework of Hay et al. (1999), particularly recognized for creating an aspectual subtype known as the 'degree achievements' class (which includes verbs such as *widen*, *lengthen*, *freeze* and *melt*). This theory attempts to explain telicity by virtue of a scalar structure and the existence of a 'difference value'. Accordingly, verb phrases headed by degree achievements denote sets of events in which a given assigned value changes according to a scalar interval, which will eventually determine whether the verb phrase is telic or not (see 13a and 13b, respectively).

13. a) Kim lengthened the rope for some minutes / #in five minutes.
b) Kim lengthened the rope five inches in five minutes / #for some minutes.

(adapted from Hay et al., 1999: 130)

Even though the direct object of both 13a and 13b is a specified noun phrase (*the rope*), only 13a constitutes a telic predicate, because there is an explicit value (*five inches*) that determines the exact difference between the state of the rope in the beginning and at the end of the event. This so-called

‘difference value’ consists of a limit on the scale of change of the affected argument (Hay et al., 1999; Kennedy & Levin, 2008). Expanding on this approach, Rappaport Hovav (2008) considers ‘scalarity’ to be one of the fundamental concepts underlying telicity values. The author assumes that dynamic predicates can be inherently scalar or non-scalar. Inherently scalar dynamic predicates can be degree achievements (e.g., *lengthen*, *cool down*), which denote changes on a continuous scale, or common achievements (e.g., *win*, *recognize*), which denote a change on a two-point scale (cf. Beavers, 2008). Conversely, non-scalar dynamic predicates are the so-called processes or activities (e.g., *eat*, *run*), which can become scalar when they are explicitly associated with a “scale” (e.g., *eat an apple*, *run a mile*). According to this view, atelic predicates can be non-scalar (e.g., *drink*) or scalar with a loose or unspecified difference value (e.g., *drink water*). This view was expanded on by Kennedy (2012), which argued that events consist of ‘functions of measure of change’, in which telicity is determined by the degree of change of the internal argument. Nevertheless, the scalar proposal fails to explain why degree achievements can have an atelic reading when the head verb cooccurs with a bare plural or a mass noun (e.g., *widen roads*; cf. Rothstein, 2016: 355).

In more recent approaches, Rothstein (2008) and Landman & Rothstein (2012a, 2012b) attempted to explain inner aspectual phenomena through ‘event individuation’, by upgrading Bach’s (1986) observation that the telic-atelic distinction is somewhat parallel to the mass-count distinction in the nominal domain. According to Bach, telic predicates are analogous to count predicates and denote sets of atomic events (see 14a). In contrast, atelic predicates are analogous to mass predicates and denote sets of non-atomic events (see 14b).

- 14. a) June read the book three times last year.
- b) #Charles ran/slept three times.
- c) James ran a mile three times.

In 14a, the telic verb phrase *read the book* denotes sets of atomic events, meaning that it can be counted, as specified by its cooccurrence with the reiteration adverbial *three times*. Since verbs like *run* and *sleep* do not denote atomic events – i.e., cannot be counted – they are infelicitous with reiteration (see 14b). However, when these verbs head a telic verb phrase – whose telicity is determined by, for example, an internal argument (*a mile*) – they do denote sets of countable events (see 14c). Rothstein (2008) criticized Bach’s explanation, showing that reiteration adverbials like *three times* can indeed modify atelic predicates in specific contexts (e.g., ‘John ran for an hour *three times*’, cf. 2008: 181). The author

proposes that Bach's analogy be redefined in terms of 'event individuability', i.e., telic predicates denote sets of individuable events, and atelic predicates do not. In the verbal domain, criteria for individuability must be lexically specified. In examples 14a and 14c, the telic predicates provide explicit criteria, but typically atelic predicates require some contextual framing (see 15).

15. Normally, Charles runs every day, but this week, he ran only three times.

(Rothstein, 2016: 356)

The theoretical frameworks described here do not do justice to the abundance of studies on the compositional nature of aspect. All of them are relevant to particular fragments of natural language, but none can thoroughly identify and explain all the factors that motivate aspectual variability. It seems reasonable to assume that a comprehensive analysis of telicity must rely on the interaction of different linguistic domains, and that semantics alone cannot provide a satisfactory explanation for all aspectual phenomena. The following sections will focus on some theories of aspect at a more structural level, where new principles shed light on the grammatical behavior of telicity.

2.2.2. Lexicon-based approaches

Some authors (Hale & Keyser, 1992, 1993; Harley, 1995; Harley, 2005; Harley & Noyer, 2003) have argued that no semantic or syntactic analysis will accurately describe aspectual phenomena if it does not consider primitive lexical features. Hale and Keyser (1993) posit that the licensing of a syntactic structure is enabled by the lexical processes that happen at a primary level of grammar, the so-called 'l(exical)-syntax'. Picking up on Dowty's (1979) theoretical framework, as well as Jackendoff's (1992) conceptual structure approach, the authors propose a decompositional analysis of verbs in componential primitives, according to which word primitives are combined with lexical categories before they enter the syntactic structure. This approach derives from the denominal and deadjectival formation of verbs by incorporation processes (cf. Baker, 1988) and is of particular relevance for the analysis of denominal location verbs (e.g., *shelve* in *shelve the books*) or *locatum* verbs (e.g., *saddle* in *saddle the horse*). In terms of event structure, Hale and Keyser argue that there are four primitive lexical categories with their respective notional types: N (Noun) pertains to the notional type "entity" and is represented by *n*; A (Adjective) is associated with the type "state" and is represented by *s*; P (Preposition) corresponds to the type "interrelation" and is signified by *r*, and V (Verb) refers to the type "(dynamic) event" and is signaled

by *e*. Following traditional syntactic proposals, including Kayne's (1981) discussion on “unambiguous paths” and Larson's (1988) *Single Complement Hypothesis*, the authors argue that a limited number of lexical categories can only access an equally limited number of structural configurations. Let us take an example of a sentence like *The cook thinned the gravy*, in which a dynamic situation implies a state (*e* → *s*). The subject must necessarily appear in the specifier position of the lower verb phrase and consists of the Theme argument of the sentence, since it denotes the entity that undergoes the effected change (see Figure 1).

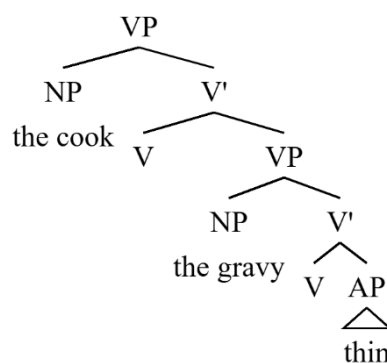


Figure 1. L-syntactic representation of *The cook thinned the gravy* (based on Hale & Keyser, 1993: 72).

Contrary to the studies described so far, this approach postulates that the verb's aspectual properties determine the participants in that event and their semantic relation to the verb itself. Following research (Harley, 1995; Harley, 2005) rendered this premise moot, by showing that argument structure is not determined by the telicity value of the predicate, but rather the other way around. In Harley's (2005) l-syntactic model of event structure, which focused on the special case of denominal verbs, it was argued that telicity could only be achieved in denominal predicates if the noun underlying the denominal verb was able to ‘measure out’² the eventuality denoted by that verb (see 16a and 16b). As such, denominal verbs with inherently non-delimited roots (e.g., mass nouns) elicit atelic interpretations (see 16c and 16d).

16. a) The mare foaled in two hours / #for two hours .
 b) The mare bore a foal in two hours / #for two hours.

² The notion of ‘measuring out’ is extensively used in the literature (e.g., Jackendoff, 1996; Tenny, 1994), being similar to the previously described notions of ‘incrementality’ and ‘homomorphism’ put forward by Dowty (1991) and Krifka (1992, 1998), which describe the semantic relationship between a verb and its direct object in accomplishment-like predicates.

- c) The baby drooled for two hours / #in two hours.
- d) The baby made drool for two hours / #in two hours.

(adapted from Harley, 2005: 47)

If we assume that N incorporates in V, the aspectual properties of the expression *bear a foal* must be like the aspectual properties of the verb *foal* (see 16a and 16b), and the aspectual properties of the verb *drool* must correspond to those of *make drool* (see 16c and 16d). The examples confirm this assumption, since both *foal* and *bear a foal* denote telic events, while *drool* and *make drool* denote atelic events. To explain why certain quantified objects cannot measure out an event (as in *push the cart* or *kick the wall*), Harley suggests that these objects fill a derived object position at the surface structure, which does not license a homomorphic relation to the verb (see Figure 2).

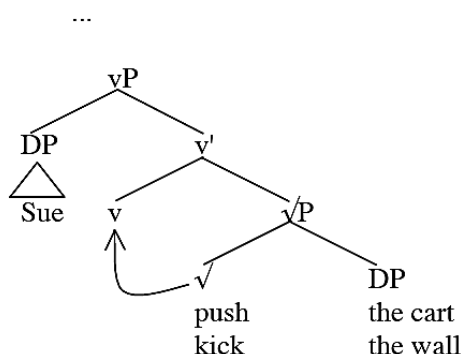


Figure 2. L-syntactic representation of *Sue pushed the cart / kicked the wall* (Harley, 2005: 52).

The structural position that licenses an incremental relation between the object and the event (v 's sister) is not occupied by the determiner phrase that checks the accusative case, but rather by $\sqrt{P}$, which reflects the root's aspectual properties. The author argues, therefore, that the surface objects of these verbs do not delimit the event because of their underlying position in the phrasal structure. The following section will examine more functional approaches to telicity and event structure.

2.2.3. Functional-constructionist approaches

Before the late 1980s, little to no attention was paid to the role of aspectual categories in syntactic description. Carol Tenny was one of the first syntacticians to argue that syntax and semantics should not operate independently and to propose an interface account of inner aspect (Tenny, 1987; 1994). The author defines two syntactically relevant aspectual properties: 'delimitedness' (like the telic-atelic

distinction) and ‘affectedness’ (related to the argument’s change of state). According to Tenny, the property of *delimitedness* can be lexicalized in several different ways, e.g., (i) in delimitative verb particles whose semantic properties delimit the event described by a verb phrase (e.g., *think through a problem*; Tenny, 1994: 149), and (ii) in resultative constructions that describe a change of state or a given effect the event has on the object (e.g., *grind the corn fine*; see Tenny, 1994: 151). On the other hand, *affectedness* refers to the change of state that the event enacts on the internal argument. For Tenny (1987), only the internal argument can *measure out* and delimit an event (see “Incremental Theme”; Dowty, 1991; Hinrichs, 1985; Krifka, 1992). For Dowty (1991), however, even the external argument can be an Incremental Theme in specific contexts (see 17).

17. *The crowd* exited the auditorium (in 21 minutes).

(Dowty, 1991: 570)

Tenny's (1994) framework assumes that the aspectual properties of internal arguments can explain many syntactic phenomena, such as the unergative-unaccusative distinction, locative alternation, the behavior of some psychological verbs, and delimiting adverbials. Inergative verbs can be distinguished from unaccusative verbs, for example, in that inergative verbs always select an argument that participates in a volitive action (e.g., *dance*), while unaccusative verbs select an affected argument that suffers some kind of change (e.g., *freeze*). The event's telicity can be attested by its cooccurrence with some adverbials, such as *halfway* (see 18a). Locative alternation also depends on the aspectual features of the Theme and Goal arguments selected by the verb; example 18b implies that the floor was exhaustively covered with (potential) portions of disinfectant, while 18c implies that the disinfectant was completely used on (parts of) the floor. Verbs denoting psychological states usually select an Experiencer and a Theme argument, which can alternate their syntactic function in the sentence. When the Theme is the subject, the selected verb is causative and describes a change of state (see 18d), but when the subject is the Experiencer, the verb is not causative, nor does it describe any change of state (see 18e). Lastly, delimiting adverbials measure out the event according to the semantic properties of the internal argument (see 18f), and they cannot modify external arguments (see 18g).

18. a) The lake froze *halfway*.

(Tenny, 1994: 63)

b) Mary sprayed the floor with Lysol.

c) Mary sprayed *Lysol*/on the floor.

(Tenny, 1994: 185)

d) The truth *frightened* John.

e) John feared the truth.

(Tenny, 1994: 65)

f) The movie frightened the children *to death*.

g) *The children feared the movie to death.

(Tenny, 1994: 66)

In a subsequent approach, Travis (1991) attempted to explain the syntactic relevance of aspectual phenomena using functional projections. By analyzing agglutinative languages, like Tagalog, Hindi, and Irish, the author proposes that there is a functional aspectual category (AspP, 'Aspect Phrase') projected between two verb phrases, and that derived objects move to the specifier (Spec) position of that functional head. According to this account, there is a strong correlation between telicity and the position of derived objects in the syntactic structure. Following Pustejovsky's (1991) event structure approach, Travis argues that telic events (or transitions), such as *build a house*, project a higher verb phrase that represents the causal subevent of building a house. In comparison, the lower verb phrase depicts the resulting state *the house is built*. The author justifies the pertinence of this analysis using ambiguity diagnostic tests with the adverb *almost*, which can modify the event's preparatory process and consequent state (see 19).

19. Victor *almost* built the house.

a) Interpretation 1: He almost started building the house.

b) Interpretation 2: He almost finished building the house.

Travis (1994) introduces a second functional aspectual category that supposedly occurs between the verb phrase and the tense phrase (TP), which she coins 'Event Phrase' (EventP or EP). According to the author, EventP binds the Event argument of the verb (Event as a thematic role, as proposed by Higginbotham, 1985). Therefore, both AspP and EventP select a verb phrase and bind an argument (in the thematic role of Event) in the head of V. Functionally, AspP influences the event's telicity, while EventP has scope over the event in its entirety. In a more recent approach, Travis (2010) expanded the projection hypothesis by introducing a further aspectual phrase, 'Outer Aspect Phrase' (OAspP) that takes scope

over EventP. While AspP marks the event's delimitation (inner aspect), OAspP specifies grammatical (or outer) aspect³. Consequently, the full structure consists of two VP shells: the higher verb phrase introduces the external argument – which obtains a causal meaning – while the lower verb phrase introduces the Theme argument and the event's culmination point (see Figure 3).

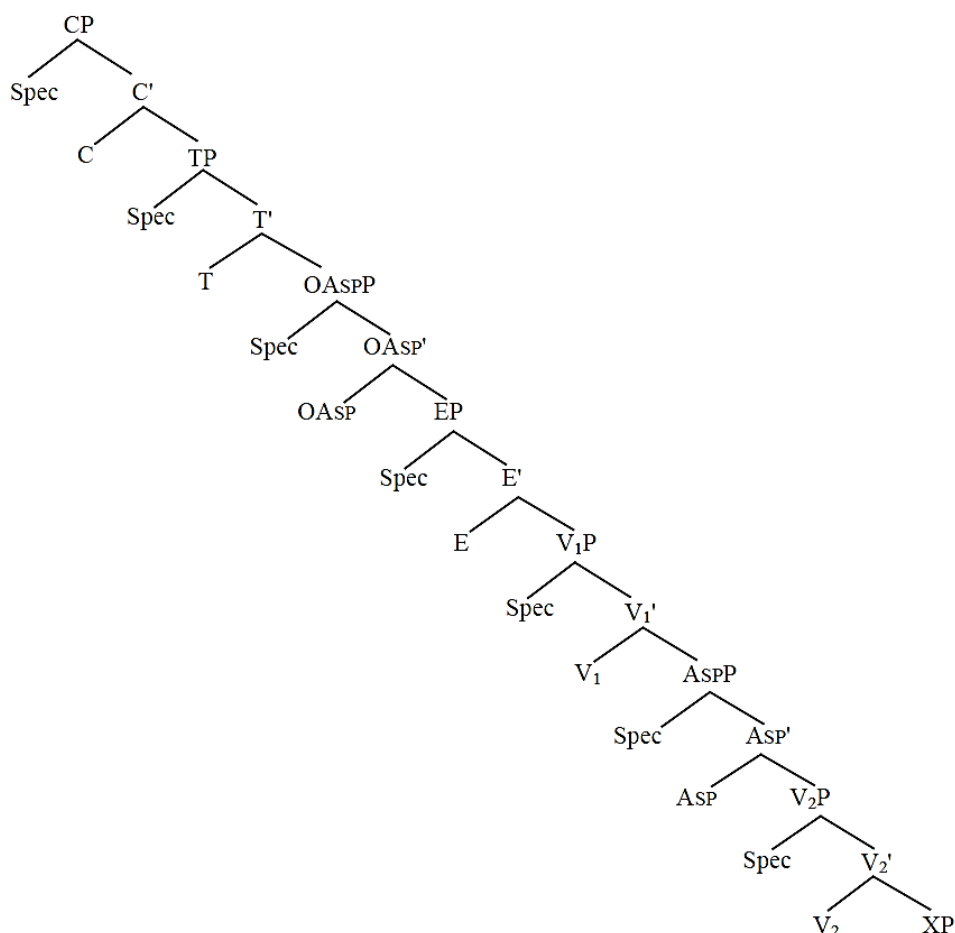


Figure 3. Full syntactic structure of Travis's functional aspectual categories (Travis, 2010: 5).

Other proponents of a functional account of aspect (Borer, 1994, 2005a, 2005b; Ritter & Rosen, 1998, 2001, 2005; Rosen, 2007) have taken a more radical stance by completely rejecting the role of lexical entries in the specification of telicity. Borer (2005b) shows that some unergative-unaccusative alternation verbs⁴ behave in unpredictable ways in many different languages (e.g., Dutch, Italian and Hebrew), which cannot be explained by their inherent lexical properties (see Borer, 2005b: 32-33). Levin & Rappaport

³ As grammatical (or outer) aspect, we understand notions of aspectual configuration that are grammatically marked (usually by tense morphology) and that do not describe the internal temporal-aspectual features of situations, but rather the way they are framed at a sentence level (see Comrie, 1976).

⁴ Verbs that alternate between an unergative configuration (i.e., intransitive verbs with an agentive subject) and an unaccusative configuration (i.e., intransitive verbs with a non-agentive subject).

Hovav (1994) argue that specific lexical rules determine the semantic classification of unergative-unaccusative verbs, contributing to their licensing in different syntactic structures. Borer (2005b) rejects this assumption and defends that semantic classifications pertain to verbal complexes, i.e., verb-argument combinations, not single verbs. Following the principles put forward by Hale & Keyser (1993), Borer (2005b) stipulates that the proper assignment of argumental interpretations is obtained by moving the verb's argument to the specifier position of a functional projection, named AspQP, responsible for the specification of telicity and the assignment of accusative case. According to the author, telicity is not appropriately characterized in terms of quantization (Krifka, 1992, 1998) or delimitation, but rather by the property of 'quantity' (represented by Q; see Verkuyl, 1993). Table 2 reports Borer's quantity and non-quantity types of determiner phrase (DP) structures for arguments, and their corresponding syntactic representations.

Table 2. *Types of non-quantity and quantity DP structures (Borer, 2005b: 74).*

1. Non-quantity (homogeneous) DP structures				
a. Determinerless mass nouns	[DP {e} _d]			[NP salt]]
b. Bare plurals	[DP {e} _d]		[CL dogs	[NP ~~dog~~]]]
2. Quantity (non-homogeneous) DP structures				
a. (Indefinite) quantity mass nouns	[DP {e} _d]	[#P Q {e} _#]		[NP salt]]]
b. (Indefinite) quantity plurals	[DP {e} _d]	[#P Q {e} _#]	[CL dogs	[NP ~~dog~~]]]
c. (Indefinite) quantity singulars	[DP {e} _d]	[#P a {e} _#]		[NP dog]]]
d. Definite mass nouns	[DP the {e} _d]	[#P ~~the~~ {e} _#]		[NP salt]]]
e. Definite plurals	[DP the {e} _d]	[#P ~~the~~ {e} _#]	[CL dogs	[NP ~~dog~~]]]
f. Definite singulars	[DP the {e} _d]	[#P ~~the~~ {e} _#]	[CL ~~the~~	[NP dog]]]

Borer defines functional heads as open values, as represented by {e}, with categorial labels, as represented by the subscripts. For example, {e}_d is the open value associated to D(eterminer) and {e}_# is the open value associated with the property of quantity. #P represents a quantity phrase and CL a classifier. #Ps are only projected in quantity DPs with a functional Q head that governs an open value with a given extension (e.g., an article). If this extension consists of a definite article, this one moves to the D(eterminer) head (for a more detailed description of Borer's model, see Borer, 2005a, 2005b). Ultimately, a criterion for telicity in a complex predicate is the projection of a functional quantity phrase within the DP. In accordance with Travis (1994, 2010), Borer (2005b) proposes that there is an additional

functional category (EP) that takes scope over the tense phrase (TP) and codifies the event, giving rise to a neo-Davidsonian⁵ interpretation (Davidson, 1967; Parsons, 1990). If it does not receive a ‘subject-of-quantity’⁶ interpretation, the EP specifier can be occupied by the ‘originator’ of the event, potentially moving up from the TP specifier position. Figure 4 depicts Borer’s full syntactic structure of a transitive sentence with an object of quantity (i.e., *Anna read the book*).

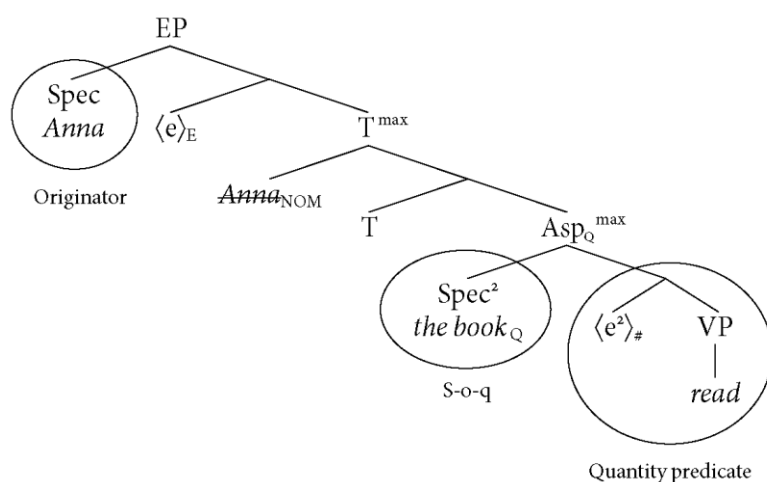


Figure 4. Borer’s formal syntactic representation of *Anna read the book* (Borer, 2005b: 85).

Borer’s framework is methodologically similar to Travis’s (1994, 2010) contributions. Its main setback, however, is the author’s radical position vis-à-vis the role of the lexicon in aspectual composition. According to this view, only the functional structure is responsible for event interpretation, and lexical entries are incorporated into syntax without providing syntactically relevant information. If that is true, it is unclear how this approach can explain complex predicates with non-incremental quantity DPs (e.g., *push the cart* or *pull the rope*). Borer (2005b) recognizes this constraint but rejects the premise that the source of these phenomena rests on the idiosyncratic properties of verbs. The author argues that, if any particular trait associated with these verbs would block telicity, even when combined with a quantity DP, there would be no circumstances in which the verb gave rise to a telic reading (see 20).

⁵ Many of the more current approaches to the semantics of inner aspect are based on neo-Davidsonian principles, in which the Event is seen as an argument of the verb and analyzed under its relation to the verb itself and the other participants (for a discussion, see Higginbotham, 1985; Parsons, 1990).

⁶ For Borer (2005b), ‘subject-of-quantity’ describes an event participant that suffers some kind of (quantifiable) change (e.g., the subject of unaccusative verbs), while the participant that initiates the action is named ‘originator’ (e.g., the subject of unergative verbs).

20. a) Kim pushed the button / the lever.
b) Kim pulled the rope / the lever.

(Borer, 2005b: 128)

According to Borer, the examples in 20a and 20b are ambiguous and may give rise to telic or atelic readings. If Kim moved the button with her finger on a given surface without volition, the interpretation of *push the button* would be atelic, similar to that of *push the cart*. On the other hand, if Kim – literally or metaphorically – pushed a button and produced some result (e.g., a bell ring), then the interpretation would be telic. Borer posits that the information these verbs convey stems from extralinguistic factors and overall world knowledge. This ambiguity, therefore, can only be explained by the event's grammatical structure – which is then subject to empirical knowledge – and does not rest on the verb's lexical properties.

Other authors (Ritter & Rosen, 1998, 2001, 2005; Rosen, 2007) agree that telicity is determined at a functional level and that the structural position responsible for its assignment is the same that checks grammatical case and agreement (Agr-oP or vP, corresponding to Travis's AspP and Borer's AspQP). In conformity with Borer's model, this functional category also contains a quantity property [Quant] that determines whether the verbal predicate is telic or atelic. In the case of telic predicates, a quantity DP can move to this position and check the [Quant] property. In atelic predicates, the object remains inside the verb phrase and gets (non-accusative) case internally. By analyzing examples from Hebrew, Turkish, and Icelandic, Rosen (2007) shows that languages that "grammaticize quantity" in the object do not necessarily entail "grammaticization" of telicity. The author argues that the object may carry the [Quant] trait, but it is uninterpretable when it rises to the vP, meaning that the quantity DP has no influence on the event's interpretation. The opposite happens in languages like English, Finnish, and Mandarin, where [Quant] is interpretable in the vP, and the quantity DP in the specifier position generates a telic reading of the event. Therefore, there seem to be languages (e.g., Mandarin, Finnish, English) that grammaticalize both object and event quantity (telicity) – by which the [Quant] property is interpretable in the vP – while other languages (e.g., Hebrew, Turkish, Icelandic) only grammaticalize DP quantity. Ritter and Rosen (2001, 2005) also show that some languages identify events via the subject in terms of their initial bound and not their terminal bound. Here, the notion of agentivity – or in the authors' terms, 'initiation' – plays a crucial role. In these languages, TP is the projection responsible for assigning Case, checking agreement and signaling initiation. When a clause does not include initiation, the subject remains inside the vP and receives non-nominative case. This provides further evidence for the

constructionist assumption that event structure is determined by syntax. The following section will look at Ramchand's (2008) first-phase syntax approach, which consists of a compromise between the theories discussed so far.

2.2.4. Ramchand's (2008) generative-constructivist approach

To offset more radical approaches to the nature of aspectual composition, Ramchand (2008, 2017, 2018) developed a theoretical framework that finds the middle ground between the lexicon and the syntax-semantics interface. Motivated by traditional principles of lexical decomposition (Dowty, 1979; McCawley, 1968) and event structure (Parsons, 1990; Pustejovsky, 1991), Ramchand (2008) implemented a set of abstract primitives that should constitute the basis of any system of event representation: predications of stative properties (or states), and predications of dynamic (or changing) properties (or dynamic situations).

According to the author, the entities that take part in a given event have specific argument roles: the entity that contains the stative property is the HOLDER (or the FIGURE) of the eventuality, while the entity that contains the dynamic property is the UNDERGOER. They are both expressed as the “subject” of the stative and dynamic predication, respectively, and occupy the structural position of specifier. Conversely, the complement of a stative predication is the GROUND (or PROPERTY), and the complement of a dynamic predication is the PATH (similar to Dowty's Incremental Theme). These primitive predications generate three functional projections with clear semantic implications for the syntactic structure: (i) InitP (or ‘Initiation Phrase’), that introduces a causing event and licenses an external argument (in Ramchand's terms, the INITIATOR); (ii) ProcP (or ‘Process Phrase’), that specifies the nature of the changing property and licenses the entity that undergoes this change (the UNDERGOER), and (iii) ResP (or ‘Result Phrase’), that presents the resulting state of the event and licenses the entity that holds that state (the RESULTEE). These principles allow for a systematic representation of all types of predicates in the event domain.

An important innovation of this approach rests on the idea that there is a combinatory semantic system that interprets the situation and its participants directly from the syntactic structure, without having to resort to the information conveyed by lexical items. The process occurs as follows: (i) first, the property or the set of properties of a given lexical item is specified; (ii) then, the corresponding syntactic structure is licensed; (iii) after that, the nominal arguments are merged into the specifier positions of the licensed projections and get their interpretation both from the lexical item and the appropriate

composition rule. This composition rule stems from the post-Davidsonian assumptions of several authors (Hale & Keyser, 1993; Higginbotham, 1985; Parsons, 1990) and goes as follows:

Event Composition Rule

$e = e1 \rightarrow e2$. e consists of two subevents, $e1$, $e2$, and $e1$ causally entails $e2$.

(Ramchand, 2008: 194, adapted from Hale & Keyser, 1993)

Let us now see how Ramchand's framework can explain telicity's behavior in different types of verb phrases. An intransitive atelic verb (e.g., *run*) will project a causal subevent, InitP, and a processual subevent, ProcP, in which the subject is both the INITIATOR and the UNDERGOER of the event (see Figure 5).

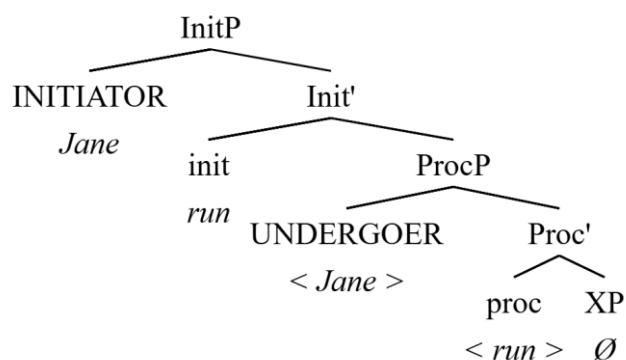


Figure 5. Subevent structure for Jane ran.

On the other hand, a transitive verb (e.g., *drink*) that can select either a non-quantified (e.g., *water*) or a quantified internal argument (e.g., *the water*) will have the same structural representation, i.e., it will project an InitP and a ProcP in both cases, but the direct object will take the role of PATH in the structure. Telicity will be determined by whether the specified object is semantically bounded (+bounded) or unbounded (-bounded)⁷, i.e., if its referent has clearly defined limits or not (see Figure 6).

⁷ In this sense, Ramchand (2008) makes use of the term “boundedness” to describe whether the internal argument is delimited or not, i.e., whether the object can be measured out. It should not be confused with the other application of the term in the discourse domain, as will be explored in Chapter 3.

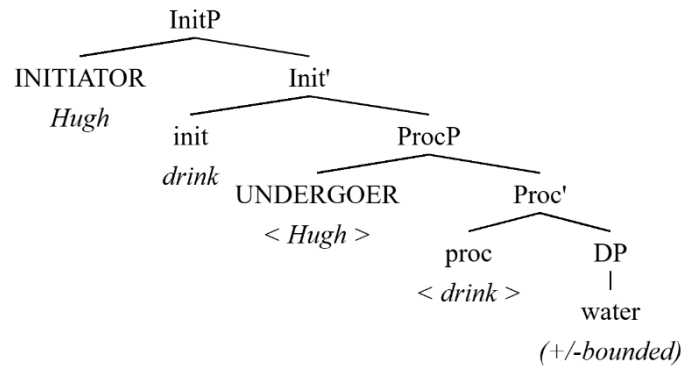


Figure 6. Subevent structure for Hugh drank the water (+bounded) and Hugh drank water (-bounded).

However, if the internal argument is non-incremental (as in the case of, e.g., *drive the car*), it will not merge into the PATH position; it will take the role of the UNDERGOER instead (see Figure 7).

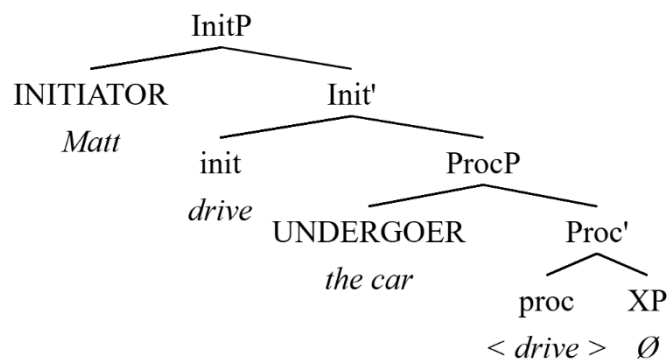


Figure 7. Subevent structure for Matt drove the car.

Ramchand (2008) explains that UNDERGOER arguments hold a varying property that is not inherent to the subject, meaning that its relation to the event is independently predicated (see Figure 7). Conversely, PATH arguments are in a homomorphic relation with some ‘monotonic’⁸ property of the event (see Figure 6). As such, the author argues that telicity in these types of predicates is determined by the properties of the PATH, not by any functional projections. Since all the verbs analyzed so far encode both initiation (InitP) and process (ProcP) subevents, they are called initiation-process verbs.

Let us now look at initiation-process-result verbs, i.e., verbs that project all three functional categories. These verbs head telic verb phrases, since they encode a result subevent that entails an ensuing state. They are usually punctual and can have multiple syntactic configurations. In a verb phrase

⁸ Going back to Krifka (1987) and Schwarzschild (2002), Ramchand defines the relation between events and arguments as monotonic “if it preserves the ordering from one domain to the other” (Ramchand, 2008: 49).

like *break the vase* – which is headed by a causative-inchoative alternation verb – the direct object will be both the UNDERGOER and the RESULTEE of the event. In this specific case, it is the vase that undergoes the process of breaking, and it is, ultimately, the vase that holds the final state of “being broken” (see Figure 8).

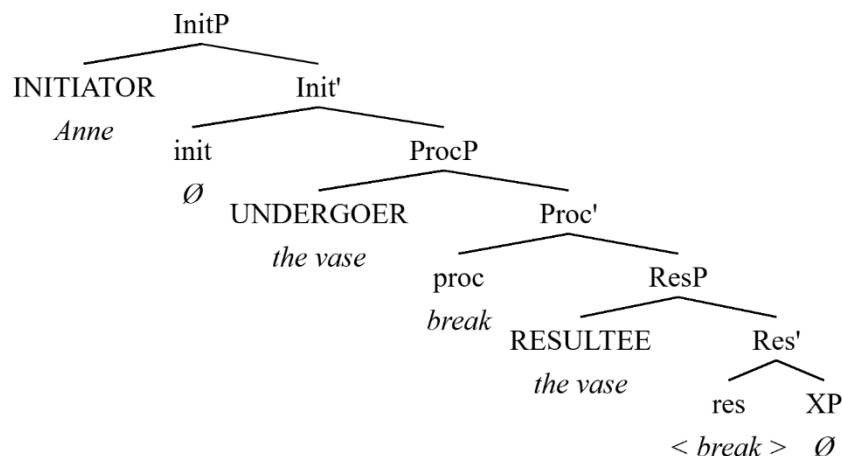


Figure 8. Subevent structure for Anne broke the vase.

However, the inchoative variants of these verbs have a relatively different structure. InitP is not projected since no causing subevent is specified. In this case, the vase remains the UNDERGOER and the RESULTEE of the event (see Figure 9).

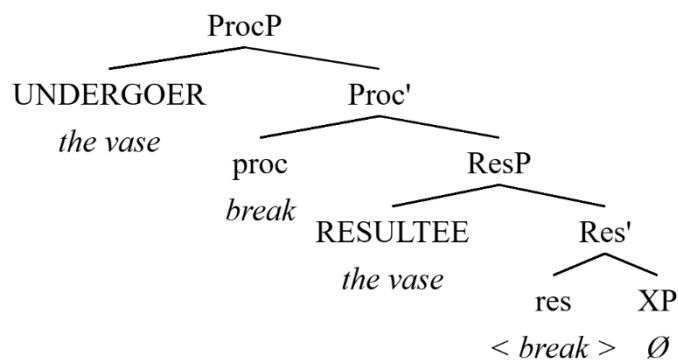


Figure 9. Subevent structure for The vase broke.

On the other hand, in non-alternating punctual verb phrases (e.g., *find the key*), the subject holds all three thematic roles of INITIATOR, UNDERGOER and RESULTEE, and the object describes the GROUND of the event (see Figure 10).

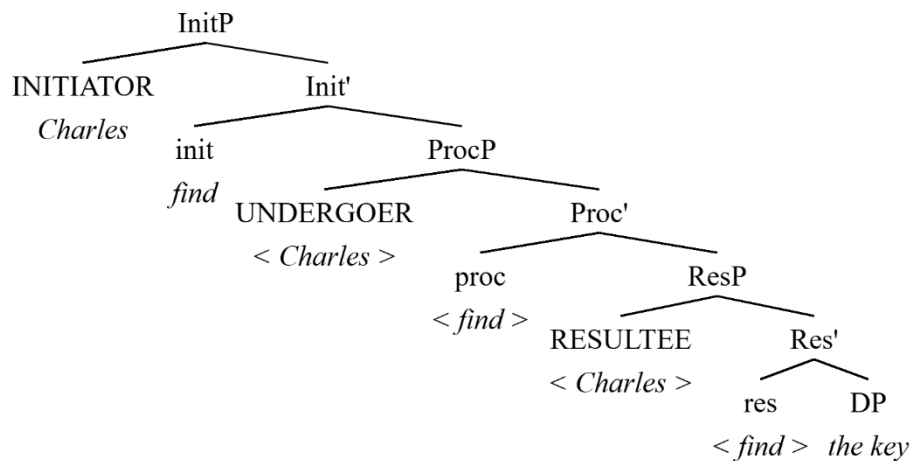


Figure 10. Subevent structure for Charles found the key.

If the verb is intransitive (e.g., *arrive*), however, the structure remains virtually identical, with the difference being that the complement position of ResP (GROUND) is now empty (see Figure 11).

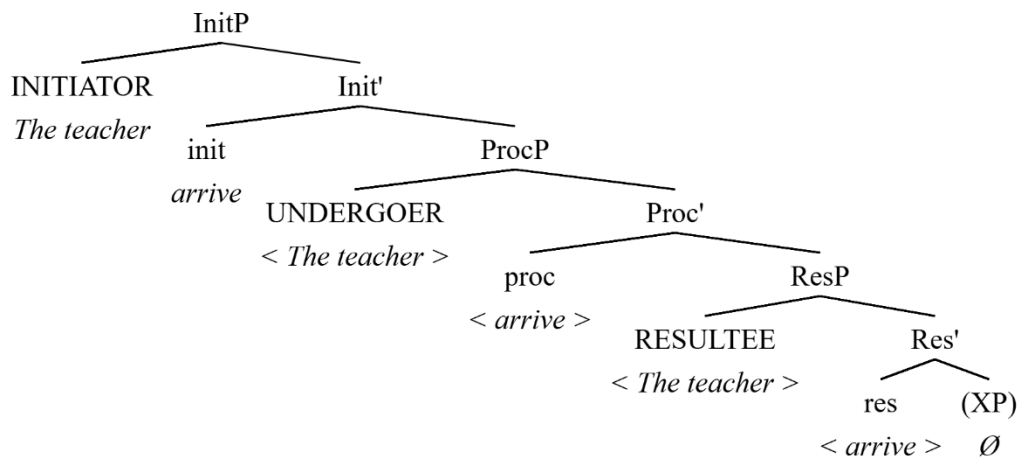


Figure 11. Subevent structure for The teacher arrived.

Contrary to other functionalist proposals (Borer, 1994, 2005b; Ritter & Rosen, 1998, 2005; Rosen, 2007; Travis, 1994, 2010), Ramchand's projections do not carry telicity (or quantity) values. The author assumes that telicity is a complex category with semantic and syntactic implications, subject to the influence of many different factors. To illustrate this, a verb with a result phrase projection (ResP; e.g., *arrive*, *break*, *give*) will automatically give rise to a telic verb phrase; a verb without a result subevent, on the other hand, will project a process phrase (ProcP) whose PATH complement can be specified in terms of its semantic boundedness, meaning that semantically bounded arguments will result in telic predicates

(e.g., *eat the apple*, *drink a glass of water*), while semantically unbounded arguments will render the verb phrase atelic (e.g., *eat apples*, *drink water*). Although Ramchand's framework rests on a detailed system of functional structures, it rejects the fundamentalism of previous approaches and seeks to create a balance between functionality and lexicality. For the author, functional hierarchies stem from language-specific lexical mechanisms and must be devised as such (for a discussion, see (Ramchand, 2008; Ramchand & Svenonius, 2014). Given its flexibility, Ramchand's model will be implemented in Section 2.3 to describe other structures and forms of representation, as I analyze telicity marking in German and European Portuguese.

2.3. Telicity marking in German and European Portuguese

Using Ramchand's (2008) approach to event structure, I will now provide a multifaceted analysis of telicity in German and European Portuguese (EP). Apart from being well-formulated, easy to understand and able to explain a wide array of aspectual phenomena, Ramchand's framework proves fairly effective for the purposes of this work, when compared to all the accounts described in the previous sections. On the one hand, semantic accounts (i) sometimes fall short in explaining some aspectual incongruencies (e.g., non-incremental objects); (ii) they are often overcomplicated and make use of inconsistent terminology, and (iii) they sometimes forgo the role of syntactic or argument structure. On the other hand, lexicon-based approaches (i) tend to underestimate the role of syntactic structure; (ii) they are not able to explain all kinds of aspect-related phenomena, and (iii) they often overemphasize lexical-encyclopedic knowledge at the detriment of grammar. In addition, recent functional approaches (i) are oftentimes too extreme and tend to ignore the role of lexical entries; (ii) they usually focus only on syntactic projections, without considering the underlying effect of lexical-semantic properties, and (iii) their explanation of the behavior of non-incremental objects lacks empirical support (see, e.g., Borer, 2005b). In a nutshell, Ramchand's model is intersectional – i.e., it involves lexical, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic principles – and takes inspiration from every major theory of telicity – i.e., Dowty's lexical decomposition, Verkuyl's aspect construal, Parson's and Pustejovsky's event structure, even Tenny's functional categories –, being, therefore, a more reasonable compromise between otherwise fairly restrictive approaches.

As we have seen, one of the key features of telicity is its compositionality. In some cases, telicity is inherent to the semantic denotation of the verb (see 21a), but it can also arise from the combination

of the verb with its direct object (see 21b). In this case, the verb phrase becomes telic if the object is bounded (e.g., *the book*); otherwise, it remains atelic (e.g., *books*).

21. a) John *stole* the wallet/ Ø wallets.
 b) John *read* the book/ Ø books.

Some authors (see Pustejovsky, 1991; Schulz, 2018; Van Hout, 1998) proposed a distinction between *inherent telicity* – when the lexical verb is inherently telic (see 21a) – and *compositional telicity* – when telicity arises from the combination of the verb with other elements (see 21b). The role of the direct object in the construal of telic predicates has been addressed extensively in the previous sections, but compositional telicity can also be obtained via derivation with specific linguistic markers. Natural languages display different mechanisms to mark telicity. Usually, these telicity markers are language-specific and rely on inflectional or derivational morphology. For example, Russian uses verbal perfective prefixes⁹ to mark a completed event (see 22).

22. Maša *sjela* tort.
 Masha PERF.eat.PAST cake
 ‘Masha ate the cake.’

(Slabakova, 2005: 65)

These markers are often independent morphemes and can enhance an already specified endpoint. Mandarin Chinese, for example, resorts to “perfective” (or telic) discourse markers to reinforce the attainment of an endpoint in specific contexts (see 23).

23. ta du-wan xiao-shuo /e.
 she read-finish novel PERF
 ‘She has read a novel.’

(Huang & Yang, 2005: 153)

⁹ This is where inconsistent terminology starts to become a problem. Under the different typologies used in this study, Russian perfective prefixes should be described as “telic” prefixes, since they relate to verbal (or inner) aspect. In my presumed sense of the word, “perfectivity” pertains to grammatical (or viewpoint) aspect. Telicity markers have no relation to outer aspect *per se*, and refer to an event’s internal aspectual composition.

In German, on the other hand, there are specific resultative particles (e.g., *aus* ‘out’; *trinken* ‘drink’ → *austrinken* ‘drink up’) that can be used to emphasize the culmination of an event, even if the verb’s internal argument already entails completion. These particles serve as overt telicity markers, underlining the implication that the event has reached its endpoint when it is not pragmatically inferable (see 24). In most cases, these markers are not indispensable and serve moment-specific communicative intentions¹⁰.

24. Hans trank das Bier *aus*.
 John drank the.ACC beer out.PART
 ‘John drank up the beer.’

This raises the question of why some languages have derivational means to mark telicity if a similar result could be achieved with bounded objects. The answer is twofold: (i) first, resultative particles are endpoint markers in the sense that they merely delimit the event, i.e., any information about the goal or the undergoer of the event must be explicitly determined by an object; (ii) on the other hand, studies have shown that, although both bounded objects and resultative particles are telicity markers in their own sense, they do not have the same aspectual requirements, nor do they induce the same type of interpretations (see, e.g., Filip, 2014; Jeschull, 2007; Schulz, 2018). Bounded objects signal the culmination of an event, but this culmination can be cancelled based on world knowledge and pragmatic-contextual inference – they are, therefore, *weak telicity markers*. Conversely, resultative particles are semantically robust and do not allow endpoint cancellation (see 25), which makes them *strong telicity markers* (Schulz, 2018; Van Hout, 2008a).

25. Hans trank das Bier (#aus), aber es ist noch
 John drank the.ACC beer (out.PART) but it is still
 ein bisschen Bier im Glas.
 a bit beer in-the glass
 ‘John drank (up) the beer, but there is still a little beer in the glass.’

¹⁰ This is particularly applicable to circumstances where the endpoint of a situation is of material relevance in the real world. For example, a fed-up parent trying to feed their non-compliant child might say something like *Iss die Suppe auf, sonst gibt es keinen Nachtisch für dich!* ‘Eat up the soup or there’s no dessert for you!’. Here, completing the event of eating the soup is a necessary condition for the child to get dessert. Use of the telicity marker *auf* ‘up’ serves a specific discourse function, since this is the most natural way – in German – to express that the sequence of events that follows is dependent on the current event’s completion. For a more elaborate discussion, see Depraetere (2007).

In German and other Germanic languages, the resulting state associated with the endpoint of a given event can be lexically specified in secondary predication by an adjective. These structures have been commonly known as *resultative adjective constructions* (e.g., *das Glas leer trinken* ‘drink the glass empty’) and have been extensively studied in the literature (see Embick, 2004; Kratzer, 2004, 2005; Levin & Hovav, 2004; Müller, 2002). Both resultative particles and adjectives are strong indicators of telicity, the main difference being lexical in nature, i.e., resultative adjectives lexicalize the event’s resulting state (e.g., *leer trinken* ‘*drink empty’), while particles merely imply it. In adjectival resultatives, the lexical specification of the final state nullifies any conversational implicature of endpoint cancellation (see 26).

26. Heidi hat ihr Glas Wein (#leer) getrunken, aber es ist
 Heidi has her glass wine empty drunk but it is
 noch Wein in dem Glas.
 still wine in the glass
 ‘Heidi drank her glass of wine (#empty), but there is still wine in the glass.’

It is generally understood that these constructions rely on the interaction between several grammar modules and extralinguistic knowledge. Most cases of telicity stem from the combination of syntactic, semantic, and even pragmatic properties. As seen before, Ramchand (2008) proposes that accomplishment predicates – consisting of a verb and a quantifiable direct object – are the result of two subevent projections, i.e., InitP and ProcP, in which the target verb selects a PATH argument that can be further specified as [$\pm$ bounded], depending on the semantic nature of the object (see Figure 12).

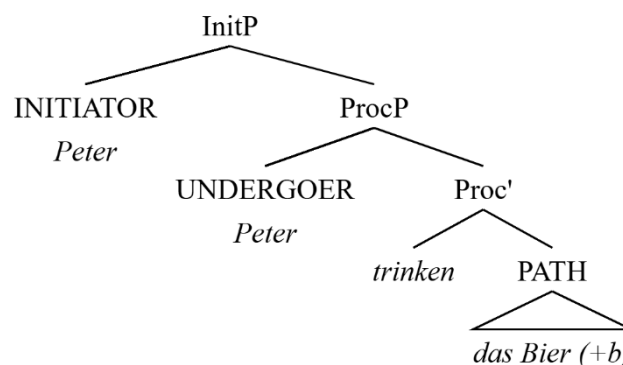


Figure 12. Simplified event structure of *Peter trank das Bier* (‘Peter drank the beer’).

The same does not apply to atelic verb phrases with a non-incremental object (e.g., *den Einkaufswagen schieben* 'to push the shopping cart'). As described in Section 2.2.4, these objects are not projected as the PATH complement of a ProcP subevent, but as the UNDERGOER specifier of ProcP. Note that this explanation becomes even more plausible when we want to specify a physical boundary in the event description – e.g., in the form of a goal-oriented prepositional phrase (*in den Laden* 'into the store'). This physical boundary is merged into the structure as a [+bounded] PATH complement (see Figure 13).

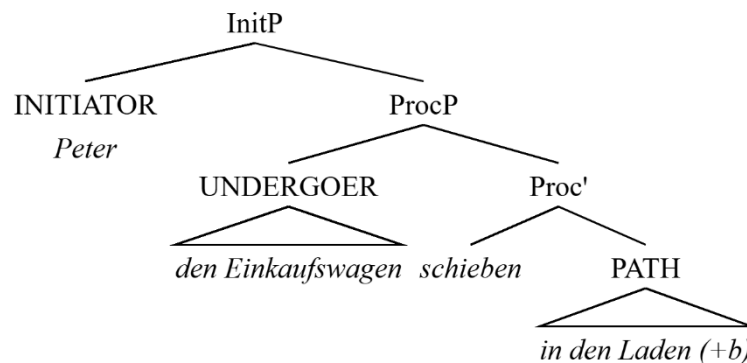


Figure 13. Simplified event structure of Peter schob den Einkaufswagen in den Laden ('Peter pushed the shopping cart into the store').

On the other hand, strong telicity markers, such as resultative adjectives and verb particles, are projected in a complex result subevent phrase (ResP) and are specified as the semantic GROUND or the FINAL STATE of the whole event. A potential bounded object would no longer be the PATH argument of ProcP, but the UNDERGOER of ProcP and the RESULTEE of ResP (see Figure 14).

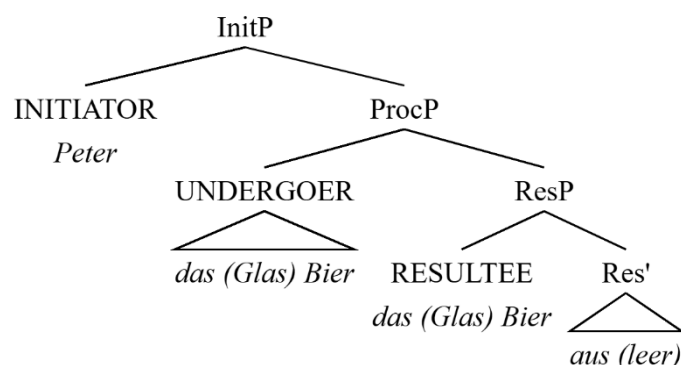


Figure 14. Simplified event structure of Peter trank das (Glas) Bier aus (leer) ('Peter drank up the (glass of) beer (empty)').

Most of the examples covered so far pertain to categories of telicity marking in German. Despite the amount of both theoretical and experimental research on aspect in EP (Bragança, 2024; Iverson & Rothman, 2008; Leiria, 1991; Oliveira, 2003; Oliveira & Lopes, 1995; Rothman & Iverson, 2009; Travaglia, 2016), no such studies have – to my knowledge – targeted the specific notion of telicity marking up until this point. This may be due to mere typological reasons, i.e., while German tends to resort to lexical material and derivational morphemes to manipulate aspectual information (inner aspect), Portuguese relies more heavily on grammatical means and verbal morphology (outer aspect). Nonetheless, I assume that the patterns of pragmatic telicity observed for bounded objects in German and English also hold for EP. In that sense, bounded direct objects are potentially the most productive medium of telicity marking in Portuguese, allowing for the same type of conversational implicatures that cancel the event’s natural endpoint (see 27).

27. O Paulo comeu o bolo, mas ainda deixou uma fatia.
the Paulo ate the cake but still left a slice
‘Paulo ate the cake, but he still left a slice.’

On the other hand, resultative verb particles are non-existent, and there are only very few cases of adjectival (i.e., participial) markers in secondary predication (see 28).

28. O pintor pintou a paisagem *esfumada*.
the painter painted the landscape smoky
‘The painter painted the landscape *smoky*.’

(Duarte & Oliveira, 2010: 404)

Still, the event’s endpoint can be made salient by including an adjunct-like adverbial (see 29a) or a universal quantifier in postverbal position (see 29b). Without a clear-cut definition, these items could also be considered strong telicity markers.

29. a) O Pedro comeu a sopa até ao fim.
the Peter ate the soup until at.the end
‘Peter ate the soup until the end.’

- b) O Pedro comeu a sopa toda.
 the Peter ate the soup all
 'Peter ate the whole soup.'

Overall, the existence of a latent result phrase in the event denoted by a resultative particle verb or adjectival construction might explain why these markers are not as aspectually flexible as bounded objects, turning infelicitous any attempt to pragmatically neutralize the event's inherent endpoint (see Filip, 2008, 2014; Hay et al., 1999; Jackendoff, 1996; Jeschull, 2007; Van Hout, 1998). Pustejovsky (1998) categorized predicates with bounded objects as *process-oriented* – because their process subevent is more prominent – and resultative constructions as *end-state-oriented* – since they put most emphasis on the event's resulting state. Regardless of the methodology employed, all theoretical frameworks seem to point in the same direction: bounded objects are more pliable to aspectual reinterpretations than explicit particle or adjective markers, which shows how much pragmatic inference and lexicalization can influence telicity readings. The following section will explore the acquisition of telicity markers across languages.

2.4. The acquisition of telicity marking

In the tense-aspect domain, there have been two main approaches to the second language (L2) acquisition¹¹ of temporal systems: (i) form-oriented approaches and (ii) meaning-oriented approaches. The form-oriented approaches are interested in the relationship between situation type and grammatical aspect in the development of tense-aspect morphology (Andersen, 2011; Ayoun & Salaberry, 2008; Bardovi-Harlig, 1998; Chan et al., 2012; Shirai, 2002; Shirai & Andersen, 1995). Most form-oriented studies have shown that there seems to be a prototypical connection between the aspectual value of situations and temporal morphology, i.e., telic verb phrases are more often coordinated with perfective tenses, while imperfective tenses are mainly used to describe atelic verb phrases (see 'Primacy of Aspect Hypothesis'; Shirai, 2002). Studies on first language (L1) acquisition have also come to similar conclusions about the development of children's language (Carr & Johnston, 2001; Johnson & Fey, 2006; Labeau & Saddour, 2012; Li & Bowerman, 1998). As for bilingual acquisition, research has found that bilingual speakers follow the same trends as monolingual and L2 speakers, in that they rely on inner

¹¹ In the context of the present work, we will adopt the traditional definition of second language (L2) as any language which is learned after the first (native) language (L1), usually after the L1 acquisitional process is completed (Cook, 2016; Ellis, 1997; Gass et al., 2020; Krashen, 1981; Slabakova, 2016).

aspect to establish connections between morphological form and meaning, and that knowledge of aspect morphology is associated with overall lexical knowledge and proficiency (Andreou & Tsimpli, 2017; Castro & Gavruseva, 2003; Dosi et al., 2017; Nicoladis et al., 2020). On the other hand, meaning-oriented approaches are interested in the way speakers express abstract temporal concepts in the developing language system (Bardovi-Harlig, 1995; Dietrich et al., 1995; Hopper, 1979; Howard & Leclercq, 2017; Meisel, 1987; Werner & Fuchs, 2020). Most meaning-oriented accounts have found that situational aspect interacts with narrative grounding, i.e., telic predicates are used to describe relevant plot-centric actions, while atelic predicates usually describe settings and circumstances in the narrative background (see ‘Discourse Hypothesis’; Bardovi-Harlig, 1995, 2000).

These accounts pertain to the intersectional domain between inner and outer aspect (and tense). However, little attention has been paid to the acquisition of telicity markers in research – potentially because these are restricted to certain language typologies. Some studies have shown that children acquiring Germanic languages start producing strong telicity markers quite early, at about 2 years of age (Schulz, 2018; Schulz & Ose, 2008; Schulz & Penner, 2002; Schulz & Wittek, 2003; Schulz et al., 2001; Van Hout, 1998, 2000, 2008a, 2008b, 2018). Van Hout (1998) found that 3- to 5-year-old Dutch-speaking and English-speaking children acquire the aspectual role of resultative particles before that of direct objects and that both children and adults treat particle and object markers differently. However, children as old as five years of age still do not show adult-like patterns in their understanding of telicity. The author provides support for the *Transparency Principle*, which states that overt linguistic mappings are, in principle, easier to acquire than “covert” ones (Van Hout, 1998: 406). These findings were corroborated for German acquisition too (see Schulz & Ose, 2008; Schulz & Penner, 2002). Jeschull (2007) also found that English-speaking children as old as six years of age do not treat strong and weak telicity markers as adults and that their understanding of the pragmatics of particle and object markers is still under development. Conversely, Schulz and Penner (2002) found that German-speaking children show similar acceptability patterns to their adult counterparts regarding telicity entailments. Specifically, children at 4 years of age have already acquired the semantics of strong telicity markers and are sensitive to the semantic implications of weak telicity markers. In a follow-up study, Schulz and Ose (2008) found no substantial differences in interpretation between German children and adults, contrary to previous findings for Dutch (e.g., Van Hout, 1998, 2000), which suggested that Dutch children are more lenient than adults in accepting atelic readings with bounded objects. For some reason, even though German and Dutch are quite similar in structure, German children seem to behave more adult-like regarding

bounded objects than Dutch children, which may indicate that certain language-specific typological properties modulate these interpretative differences between speakers.

Testing 6- to 9-year-old children's interpretation of adjectival resultatives in L1 German, Richter and Van Hout (2013) showed that 6-year-olds are sensitive to the syntactic framing of resultatives. However, they are not yet able to fine-tune the selectional restrictions imposed by verbs in these constructions. In other words, although the younger German children seem to understand the aspectual implications associated with resultatives, their reduced lexical knowledge prevents them from correctly deriving the form-meaning combinations allowed by these constructions. Therefore, the differences in interpretation between children and adults do not rely on aspectual mismatching, but rather on their "knowledge of semantic verb properties", which develops gradually over time (Richter & Van Hout, 2013: 139). For example, the property of object affectedness is crucial for determining which verbs can occur in adjectival resultatives. As pointed out by the authors, in a sentence like *Der Tierarzt macht die Tiere gesund* 'The veterinary cures the animals' (2013: 119), the verb semantics of *machen* 'make' does not express affectedness of the direct object, making it pliable for secondary predication with an adjective. The authors posit that acquiring this property is an arduous process that takes some time. In a different study, Weicker et al. (2024) tested 21 adult speakers of German (aged between 20 and 35 years) in their interpretation of telicity with adjectival resultatives and definite transitives. The participants were confronted with sequences of pictures depicting either a complete or an incomplete event and had to answer questions of the type *Hat er den Tisch sauber gewischt?* ('Did he wipe the table clean?'). The results showed that German speakers interpret resultatives as obligatorily telic – in that they reject them with incomplete event depictions –, while bounded transitives are primarily interpreted as atelic, with some variation across participants and verbs. The authors conclude that telicity in adjectival resultative constructions is interpreted semantically, while the telicity of simple transitives is construed via pragmatic inference. They also argue that the end-state subevent of adjectival resultatives is encoded in the closed-scale adjective, following the proposals of other theoretical models (Haider, 2016, 2018; Pustejovsky, 1998; Ramchand, 2008).

Concerning bounded direct objects, the acquisitional process seems to rely on similar universal principles across languages (see García del Real Marco, 2015; Ogiela et al., 2014; Stoicescu & Dressler, 2022; Van Hout, 1998; Wagner, 2006, 2010). Wagner (2010) found that English-speaking children as young as two years of age rely on syntactic cues to determine the telicity value of events. In particular, the study showed that children manifest an early transitivity bias that decreases with age, which is replaced by a "spatiotemporal" predisposition as they acquire more complex verb meanings (2010: 71-

72). This might explain why older children in the previously mentioned studies did not show adult-like performances regarding the telicity of direct objects. Their correct understanding of telicity entailments seems to depend on their knowledge of verbal semantics, which takes some time to mature. In a different approach, Hodgson (2009) argued that understanding compositional telicity entails understanding the checking of telic features by means of movement operations. The author found that the knowledge of telicity by English-speaking and Spanish-speaking children at 3;9 years of age is adult-like regarding *locatum* structures (i.e., in which there is overt movement of the underlying object to the subject position in sentences like *The water filled the bucket*). However, their knowledge of “simple telic predicates” (i.e., in which movement is covert, e.g., *The girl filled the bucket*) is relatively unstable compared to adults.

Anderson (2017) found that – contrary to adults – English-speaking children between the ages of 2;7 and 5;6 rely heavily on pragmatic and contextual information to interpret the telicity of direct object constructions, regardless of whether the predicates are strictly telic or not (e.g., *build a house* vs. *eat an apple*). Overall, this suggests that children have a weaker representation of these predicates in their internal grammar, which leads to a “relaxation” of the telicity implications associated with object markers (2017: 29). It seems reasonable to conclude that children will infer telicity from bounded objects via multiple sources that will be narrowed down as they become older. Initially, they will rely on their current semantic knowledge of verbs and accommodate structural cues into their interpretation of events until they can fine-tune the pragmatic implications associated with aspectually ambiguous predicates.

As for L2 acquisition research, studies on telicity markers are still relatively scarce. Some studies have found that crosslinguistic influence is an appropriate predictor for the understanding of telicity in the early stages of the L2 (Gabriele, 2008; Huang & Yang, 2005; Kim et al., 2020; Slabakova, 2000, 2001). Slabakova (2001) found that Bulgarian speakers of L2 English have trouble identifying the telic property as expressed by direct objects, since this role usually falls upon derivational aspectual prefixes in their L1. In another study, Slabakova (2000) showed that even low-proficiency Spanish learners of English have target-like performances with respect to direct object markers, as opposed to Bulgarian learners. The author argues that these differences are substantiated by the initial value of the telicity parameter in the learners’ interlanguages. In this regard, English and Spanish are more similar in terms of telicity marking than English and Bulgarian, which explains the Slavic learners’ initial difficulty in inferring telicity from bounded objects. It has also been argued that this phenomenon is correlated with the learners’ syntactic-semantic knowledge of the target language, since most L2 speakers manifest target-like performances in higher degrees of proficiency (see Gabriele, 2008; Slabakova, 2000, 2005; Slabakova & Montrul, 2008).

Bilingual and heritage language research on telicity marking is quite rare, but some evidence points towards the role of language-specific aspectual parameters in the heritage speakers' computation of telicity. Laleko (2008) showed that heritage speakers of Russian (with English as their majority language) preferred perfective verb forms with quantized objects. Meanwhile, native Russian speakers paid no attention to the quantization of the direct object when selecting between perfective and imperfective forms. In a different approach, Mikhaylova (2012) showed that the Russian heritage speakers' understanding of telicity entailments conflated with both L2 acquirers and L1 speakers, depending on the morphological complexity of the aspectual forms, and that early bilinguals seemed to have an advantage over L2 speakers, even though their interpretations of telicity were not categorically convergent with those of monolinguals.

No studies were found that targeted these specific properties in Portuguese. Most likely, an explanation for this gap could be the typological nature of the language, which – not unlike Spanish – lacks the structural paradigms common to strong telicity markers (as seen in languages like German, English and Dutch). In general, studies on the acquisition of aspectual properties in any variety of Portuguese tend to focus on verbal morphology and grammatical aspect (Bragança, 2024; Goodin-Mayeda & Rothman, 2008; Iverson & Rothman, 2008; Leiria, 1991; Rothman & Iverson, 2009; Salaberry, 2005). If we assume that Portuguese native speakers behave similarly to Spanish speakers, we can expect them to draw adequate aspectual inferences from bounded objects, accepting readings of both completion and non-completion (as seen in Slabakova, 2000).

In short, the existing research on telicity acquisition brings forward some preliminary considerations: (i) L1 speakers are aware of the semantic implications associated with telicity markers from early on, manifesting a clear understanding of the notion of event completion; (ii) they also understand bounded objects as ambiguous and assign them both telic and atelic interpretations; (iii) L2 speakers will start by interpreting telicity according to the parameters available in their L1, and will require sufficient lexical knowledge and contextual cues to understand the aspectual entailments of telicity markers that are not present in their native language, and (iv) bilingual speakers will manifest native-like tendencies in their understanding of aspectual information, and will gradually incorporate structural cues to interpret more complex situation types. In the next chapter, I turn to the theoretical principles and acquisitional processes underlying temporal boundedness in discourse.

3. BOUNDEDNESS AND EVENT CONCEPTUALIZATION PATTERNS

This section begins by defining the notion of boundedness as it relates to the current research and its different expressions. I then provide examples of these forms of expression in German and European Portuguese. Lastly, I present essential concepts for examining boundedness in discourse, highlighting its relevance in both linguistic and cognitive areas. A review of relevant studies on how speakers acquire and develop boundedness is also included.

3.1. Boundedness and its forms of expression

The theoretical frameworks described so far pertain to the construal of telicity in event description. We have seen that telicity functions as a highly compositional aspectual property that takes place at the VP-internal level. For that reason, many authors refer to telicity as a category of inner aspect (e.g., MacDonald, 2008; Travis, 2010), given that it encodes temporal properties that are “internal” to the verb and its arguments, or “situation aspect” (e.g., Kiyota, 2008; Smith, 1997), if one adopts a more ontological approach based on verb classes. Some languages also encode aspectual information at a higher level of the syntactic structure; one that takes scope over the situation by presenting it according to a given viewpoint (Comrie, 1976; Smith, 1997). This category is sometimes referred to as ‘outer aspect’ (or ‘viewpoint aspect’, cf. Smith, 1997), since it describes the perspective under which a given situation is presented in a discourse setting. Accordingly, situations can be viewed as complete (or ‘perfective’) – if they are presented as a whole and denote the attainment of an “arbitrary endpoint” – or incomplete/ongoing (or “imperfective”) – if only a part of the situation is described, in which case the situation can be represented under different aspectual subvalues, such as progressivity, habituality or genericity (Arche & Domínguez, 2024; Comrie, 1976; Kiyota, 2008; Slabakova & Montrul, 2002; Smith, 1997). While perfectivity signals an “arbitrary endpoint” that has been reached at the time of speaking, telicity encodes a “natural endpoint” inherent to the situation denoted by the verb phrase (Smith, 1997). In example 30a, although the verb phrase *eat meat* is atelic (i.e., it does not encode a natural endpoint), the situation is presented as having reached an arbitrary endpoint that arises from the use of the past simple form (and the temporal location adverb *yesterday*). Conversely, in example 30b, only part of the situation is described, in this case according to its progression at a past reference time (*when I saw him at lunch*).

- | | | |
|--------|---|-----------------------|
| 30. a) | Bob <i>ate</i> meat (yesterday). | [telic, perfective] |
| b) | Bob <i>was eating</i> meat (when I saw him at lunch). | [telic, imperfective] |

It seems clear that – in English – the aspectual interpretation of a sentence will depend on the interaction between (a)telicity, (im)perfectivity and tense, with the last two being strongly correlated (see, e.g., Binnick, 2011). However, the misuse (or incohesive use) of these terms (“telicity”, “perfectivity”, etc.) is an ongoing problem in aspect research, which often leads to inconsistent theoretical misconceptions¹². A term that has been given some attention in modern semantic studies is that of *boundedness*, which has been used to refer to both temporal and spatial domains (Filip, 1996), as well as the cognitive domain (Ji & Papafragou, 2022). Given its multidimensional applications, some authors proposed a distinction between boundedness and other temporal-aspectual categories, i.e., perfectivity and telicity (Declerck, 2007; Depraetere, 1995; Smith, 1997; Smith & Erbaugh, 2005). Declerck (2007) agrees that the telic-atelic distinction pertains only to the verb phrase (“ontological aspect”)¹³, while the perfective-imperfective distinction is related to the viewpoint under which a given situation is positioned, usually by means of temporal inflection or other morphological devices (“grammatical aspect”). Conversely, the bounded/unbounded distinction occurs at the clause (or sentence) level and describes the final aspectual configuration of a given proposition (“actualization aspect”), after both aspect-internal and aspect-external information has been considered.

Depraetere (1995) argues that boundedness deviates from the notion of telicity, in the sense that it does not relate to the denotation of an inherent endpoint, but instead describes a situation “as having reached a temporal boundary” (1995: 3). Consequently, a sentence that describes a situation as having reached a given temporal boundary is bounded (see 31a and 31b), while a sentence that does not is unbounded (see 31c and 31d), regardless of whether the depicted situation is telic (31a and 31c) or atelic (31b and 31d).

- | | | |
|--------|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| 31. a) | Ginny ate a piece of chocolate. | [telic, bounded] |
| b) | Ginny ate chocolate. | [atelic, bounded] |

¹² We have addressed this issue in previous sections. A good example of this drawback is the case of Slavic aspectual prefixes, which are designated as “(im)perfective” in the literature, even though they mostly pertain to the domain of inner verbal aspect (see Filip, 2003; Ramchand, 2004; Romanova, 2007).

¹³ Contrary to Declerck (2007), Depraetere (1995) argues that both (a)telicity and (un)boundedness are properties of the sentence, because of the role of subjects in the aspectual structure of a situation. However, this argument is rendered moot if we assume that the subject is selected by the verb, and thus projected within the verb phrase. In this study, we will reject Depraetere’s assertion and continue to treat telicity as a property of the verb phrase, as many intersectional studies have done over the years (see Declerck, 2007; Krifka, 1998; Ramchand, 2008; Travis, 2010; Verkuyt, 2012).

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|---------------------|
| c) | Ginny is eating a piece of chocolate. | [telic, unbounded] |
| d) | Ginny is eating chocolate. | [atelic, unbounded] |

Examples 31a-31d make clear that tense-aspect morphology plays an important role in the specification of (un)boundedness. Progressive aspect morphology will contribute to a situation being viewed as unbounded at the sentential level (see 31c and 31d), while simple past morphology will present the situation as a completed whole (see 31a and 31b). A progressive form, however, does not guarantee unboundedness if the auxiliary is inflected in the perfect tense (e.g., *I've been playing in the mud*, see Depraetere, 1995: 5), which already encodes perfective aspect.

Boundedness also interacts with temporal adverbials. Following Jackendoff (1972), Broekhuis and Corver (2016) propose two classes of adverbials: (i) VP adverbials, which restrict the semantic denotation of the situation expressed by the verb phrase, and (ii) clause adverbials, which take scope over the whole proposition. A VP adverbial is generated within the verb phrase and can, sometimes, change the telicity value of the core situation, resulting in an aspectual shift (e.g., *three times*; see 32a, i.e., *play checkers* [atelic] → *play checkers three times* [telic]). On the other hand, a clause adverbial functions as a “logical operator” (2016: 1120) and can determine whether a whole clause or sentence is bounded or unbounded (e.g., *usually*, see 32b). Some adverbials (e.g., *often*) can be used as either VP adverbials or clause adverbials, depending on their “relative scope” (2016: 1144). This can be attested by observing how such adverbials interact with negation (see 32c).

- | | | |
|--------|---|---------------------|
| 32. a) | Danny played checkers <i>three times</i> (last week).
(= <i>Danny played checkers, and he did so three times</i>) | [telic, bounded] |
| b) | Danny <i>usually</i> played checkers (when he was younger).
(= <i>It was usually the case that Danny played checkers</i>) | [atelic, unbounded] |
| c) | John does not (<i>often</i>) play checkers (<i>often</i>).
(= <i>It is not the case that John often plays checkers</i>
vs. <i>It is often the case that John does not play checkers</i>) | [telic, unbounded] |

As the examples demonstrate, clause adverbials are sometimes essential to determine whether a sentence is temporally bounded. In many cases, sentences with a perfective verb form can be unbounded if modified by habitual adverbs (e.g., *habitually*, *generally*, *normally*; see 33a), continuative adverbs (e.g., *still*; see 33b), or frequentative adverbs (e.g., *often*, *rarely*; see 33c).

33. a) Ken *habitually* / *generally* / *normally* went to bed before midnight.
[unbounded]
- b) Ken *still* went to bed before midnight (every day).
[unbounded]
- c) Ken *often* / *sometimes* / *rarely* went to bed before midnight.
[unbounded]

In example 33a, the simple past form – which I interpret as a perfective form in a context-free setting – should indicate that the event of Ken going to bed happened and ended at a given point in time (*before midnight*), rendering the sentence temporally bounded. However, the habitual adverbial (*habitually*, *generally* or *normally*) strips the situation of its temporal boundary and presents it as a repeated state-of-affairs that happened continuously for some time at an unspecified past time frame. In such cases, to avoid ambiguity, contextual information is provided in the form of a temporal clause (e.g., *when Ken was a child*), or another type of temporal adverbial (e.g., *back then*), which in turn may still require some contextual framing – either the topic of conversation or the facts mentioned beforehand. Aspectual adverbials can also present a situation as a continuation of a previously assumed state. For example, the sentence in 33b presupposes that Ken had been going to bed before midnight and – after some unmentioned event – continued to do so for some time. Here, without the frequency adverbial *every day*, the sentence would most likely get a bounded reading because *still* can also be used contrastively (see Klein, 2009). Frequentative adverbs frame a situation as having happened multiple times. In 33c, the time of reference is not a specific point in the past, but spans over a contextually determinable past time frame.

3.2. Expression of boundedness in German and European Portuguese

It has been shown that (un)boundedness is determined through the interaction between (a)telicity and (im)perfectivity, as well as by the specification of additional aspectual features through adverbial modifiers and discourse-pragmatic principles. However, the way in which these categories interact with each other depends on the typological nature of each language (see Arche, 2014; Bybee & Dahl, 1989; Klein, 2009). According to Smith (2008), tensed languages (e.g., English, Portuguese) will mainly convey temporal-aspectual information using verbal morphology, but they vary in terms of the extent of this

information. In English, for example, a context-free clause in the simple past tense will be interpreted as bounded (e.g., *Jason wrote the novel*), as long as no additional information is provided that can strip the sentence of its temporal boundaries (e.g., *Jason wrote the novel every day for years*). On the other hand, tenseless languages lack tense morphemes, meaning that temporality must be expressed via different devices (e.g., aspectual markers). In Chinese, for example, temporal interpretation is usually made on the basis of inner aspect, i.e., atelic situations are assumed to be located in the present, while telic situations are used for reference to the past (Smith, 2008; Smith & Erbaugh, 2005). Smith (2008) also describes the so-called mixed-temporal languages, in which inflectional temporal morphemes are present, but structurally optional (e.g., Navajo).

Even tensed languages, however, vary in terms of the extent of temporal-aspectual information conveyed by tense morphology. A common point of distinction among tensed languages is the aspectual notion of habituality. English, for example, cannot convey habituality with simple past-tense morphology. Habitual past readings are only possible in the presence of specific adverbials (see 34a) or through specific complex verbal compounds such as *used to* + VP and *would* + VP (see 34b).

34. a) (Before the fight,) Lin *usually* sent flowers to her mother on her birthday.
 b) (Before the fight,) Lin *used to* / *would* send flowers to her mother on her birthday.

Conversely, in Romance languages such as Portuguese, two simple past tenses can be distinguished in terms of viewpoint aspect, *Pretérito Perfeito* (PERF) and *Pretérito Imperfeito* (IMPF). Imperfective (habitual) aspect can be expressed by the IMPF form (see 35a). Some frequency adverbials (e.g., *todos os dias* ‘every day’) can also be used to convey habituality, but they are merely accessorial to IMPF and primarily serve as contextual anchors (see 35a and 35b). Periphrastic constructions of the type *used to* + V (*costumar* + V) are also quite common (see 35b), and are restricted to IMPF, meaning they are agrammatical with PERF forms (for a more elaborate discussion on the Portuguese tense and aspect systems, see Correia, 2012; Cunha, 2013; Ilari et al., 2016; Oliveira, 2003, 2013; Oliveira & Lopes, 1995; Silvano & Cunha, 2015).

35. a) A Joana *ia* às compras (todos os dias).
 the Joana went.IMPF to-the shopping all the days
 ‘Joana went / used to go shopping (every day).’

- b) A Joana *costumava* ir às compras (todos os dias).
 the Joana used-to.IMPF go to-the shopping all the days
 'Joana used to go shopping (every day).'

It should be noted, however, that some authors are more restrictive in their definition of perfective aspect. In some cases, the Portuguese PERF may not necessarily equate to a perfective tense if we adopt the terminology that defines perfective aspect as requiring some sort of entailment of a resulting state (see, e.g., Oliveira, 2003, 2013). Here, I define PERF as a perfective tense in the sense of Comrie (1976) and Smith (1997), disregarding the Slavic-based classification of the perfective as denoting an implied result (which, in its essence, belongs to the realm of situational, not grammatical, aspect; see Chapter 2).

In this regard, German is closer to English in that its tense forms lack the habitual distinction in the past. However, German tenses are almost non-aspectual in nature, i.e., any unnoticeable aspectual feature needs to be explicitly marked by adverbials and other types of markers. In the past, there are two main tenses in German, the *Perfekt* (PRF) and the *Präteritum* (PRT) tenses, which do not carry the same semantic values as their Portuguese “counterparts”, but are still susceptible to some semantic constraints on the types of eventualities they can co-occur with (see Bamberg, 1990; Comrie, 1995; Concu, 2021; Fabricius-Hansen, 1986; Klein, 2000; Schumacher, 2011). A habitual reading of a past-framed situation depends on the use of specific frequency adverbials (see 36a) or other periphrastic constructions (see 36b).

36. a) Als Jugendlicher lief Hans *jedes Jahr* den Marathon.
 as teenager ran.PRT Hans each year the marathon.
 'Hans ran the marathon every year when he was a teenager.'
- b) Als Jugendlicher *pfl egte* Hans, (jedes Jahr) den Marathon
 as teenager used-to.PRT Hans (each year) the marathon
 zu laufen.
 to run
 'Hans used to run the marathon (every year) when he was a teenager.'

Compared to Portuguese, German is also aspectually weak regarding the expression of progressivity. In EP, to indicate that a situation is in progress at the moment of speaking, speakers make use of the progressive form *estar a* ('to be') + V (see 37).

37. O Mário *está* *a* *cozinhar* o jantar.
 the Mário is at cooking the dinner
 'Mário is cooking dinner.'

German, once again, resorts to special temporal adverbials such as *gerade* ('currently, at the moment'; see 38a)¹⁴ to indicate progression. Although not standard, some regional German varieties also convey progressivity by using specific periphrastic forms, such as *am* + V + *sein* ('to be at + V'; see 38b), which some authors call the "*am*-progressive" (for a discussion on non-standard German progressive forms, see, e.g., Anthonissen et al., 2016; Behrens et al., 2013; Van Pottelberge, 2004).

38. a) Marius kocht *gerade* das Abendessen.
 Marius cooks currently the dinner
 'Marius is cooking dinner (right now).'
- b) Marius *ist* (gerade) *am* *Abendessen* *kochen*.
 Marius is (currently) at-the dinner cook
 'Marius is cooking dinner (right now).'

These examples demonstrate that EP is inflectionally richer than German, in that, in most cases, specific aspectual properties can be conveyed by verb tenses alone. German, on the other hand, is much more reliant on adverbial modifiers. In fact, the expression of complex aspectual information depends almost exclusively on the adverbials that cooccur with verbs (see Klein, 1992; Musan, 2002). These differences rest on the typological features of each language and show that languages with more limited tense paradigms can still communicate extensive aspectual relations, albeit resorting to different linguistic means. In terms of (un)boundedness, German sentences will – in several cases – be ambiguous, given

¹⁴ Note that the adverb *gerade* is only compatible with a progressive reading in the present. If used for past reference, the meaning changes from "at the moment" to "just (now)", which indicates that the described situation has finished moments before the time of speaking (e.g., *Lars hat gerade seinen Schlüssel gefunden* 'Lars has just found his key'; for a discussion on the German *gerade*, see Ebert, 2000; Schaden, 2010).

that no canonical viewpoint is associated with each past tense¹⁵. When the speaker does not provide any additional information about the temporal configuration of the eventuality they have just described, an accurate aspectual reading will most likely rest on the conventional temporal meaning of the verb tense. Both past tenses will have canonical readings of completion (see 39a), i.e., the situation is presented as a completed whole and its internal structure is disregarded (Comrie, 1995; Löbner, 2002). Only if contextualizing material is present (e.g., an aspectual adverbial) will the description be prone to an imperfective/unbounded reinterpretation (see 39b).

39. a) Louise hat gelesen.
 Louise has read.PP
 'Louise read/has read.'
- b) Louise hat *immer* in den Sommerferien gelesen.
 Louise has always in the summer-holidays read.PP
 'Louise would always read during the summer holidays.'

Another way of conveying habituality is through a temporal adverbial clause that indicates that the situation described in the main clause happened multiple times in that specific time frame. To get the habitual reading in EP, the IMPF tense form must be used in both the main clause and the adverbial clause (see 40a), while the specific past tense used in German is irrelevant, as long as the temporal clause is introduced by the subjunction (*immer*) *wenn* 'whenever, every time that' (see 41a)¹⁶. If the temporal form used in Portuguese is the PERF tense, the situation will be viewed as having happened (and concluded) at a specific point in the past (see 40b). In comparison, the same effect requires modification by a clause with *als* 'when' in German (see 41b), regardless of the tense used.

¹⁵ This is not categorical. Although PRF and PRT are not canonically associated with any grammatical aspect, there are some studies suggesting that they do impose some semantic restrictions on the types of eventualities they can cooccur with. These cases, however, are not extensive and do not seem to rely on aspectual properties alone (for a more elaborate discussion on this matter, see Bamberg, 1990; Comrie, 1995; Klein, 1992, 2000; Musan, 2002; Schumacher, 2011).

¹⁶ Note that I am specifically addressing past-referring tenses. In many cases, the present can cooccur with both *wenn*- and *als*-clauses, when it is being used as a past-referring narrative device (i.e., "historical present"; for a discussion, see Löbner, 2002).

40. European Portuguese
- a) O Miguel *brincava* muito quando *visitava* o tio.
 the Miguel played.IMPF a-lot when visited.IMPF the uncle
 'Miguel would play a lot when he used to visit his uncle.'
- b) O Miguel *brincou* muito, quando *visitou* o tio.
 the Miguel played.PERF a-lot when visited.PERF the uncle
 'Miguel played a lot when he visited his uncle.'
41. German
- a) Michael hat viel gespielt, (*immer*) *wenn* er seinen
 Michael has a-lot played.PP (always)when he his
 Onkel besucht hat.
 uncle visited.PP has
 'Michael would play a lot, every time he visited his uncle.'
- b) Michael hat viel gespielt, *als* er seinen Onkel
 Michael has a-lot played.PP when he his uncle
 besucht hat.
 visited.PP has
 'Michael played a lot when he visited his uncle.'

The sentences provided above are just a few examples of the many forms of expression of (im)perfectivity and (un)boundedness in German, a language that lacks grammatical aspectual morphemes. We have seen that temporal-aspectual expression at the clause level depends on language-specific typological features. When a language is deficient in the necessary grammatical means to convey complex semantic properties, speakers must resort to lexical and pragmatic mechanisms to convey these very same properties (see Dietrich et al., 1995; Meisel, 1987). German and Portuguese differ in this regard: while German has a much more developed derivational system at the VP-level – compared to Portuguese (see Section 2.3) – it lacks the inflectional morphemes required to express diverse aspectual relations at a sentential level. These relations are still available to the speakers, but are lexicalized in different ways.

3.3. Boundedness in the cognitive-conceptual domain: acquisition and use

Boundedness is not only relevant in the linguistic domain. It plays a potentially larger role in the cognitive space, i.e., in the way we, as language users, conceptualize eventuality descriptions in the mind before actual formal expression. Many authors (Declerck, 2007; Klein, 2009, 2013; Von Stutterheim & Lambert, 2005; Von Stutterheim & Nüse, 2003; Von Stutterheim et al., 2002, 2003, 2009) have shown that temporally bounded descriptions are of extreme importance for narrative structure, in that they link a situation to a given reference time (or Topic Time, TT; see Klein, 2013) and allow the plot to move forward. Unbounded descriptions, on the other hand, pertain to background settings that do not contribute to plot progression, and maintain the same point of reference of the preceding bounded event (see Bardovi-Harlig, 2000; Hopper, 1979; Klein, 2009, 2013).

Given its lack of grammatical aspect marking, the German temporal system must be analyzed according to general meaning-focused methods, by identifying and describing the strategies speakers resort to when conveying different types of temporal-aspectual information. Some of these meaning-oriented approaches adopt a more conceptual view on the development of temporal structure, by focusing on general information organization principles and conceptualization patterns (Bylund, 2011; Carroll & Von Stutterheim, 2002; Flecken, 2011; Von Stutterheim & Nüse, 2003; Von Stutterheim et al., 2002, 2009). Event conceptualization is one of the crucial components of temporal organization in language production (Levelt, 1993, 1996). It serves a communicative intention, wherein the speaker organizes conceptual representations of real-world situations before accessing linguistic expressions. Under this approach, speakers will create a mental picture of an event (or series of events) and will then resort to the language-specific mechanisms they have available to reproduce it linguistically, in a way that serves their communicative purposes. There is some debate as to whether these conceptualization processes are universal (R. S. Jackendoff, 1992) or language-based (Levinson, 1997). Moderate approaches consider that conceptualization can be reorganized to fit language-oriented criteria, which are fulfilled at the microstructural level of language production, i.e., the 'linguistic representation' stage (Levelt, 1992). Some authors argue that both conceptualization and linguistic expression are always language-specific (see, e.g., the 'Thinking-For-Speaking Hypothesis'; Slobin, 1996).

Different approaches have posited that language-specific mechanisms seem to operate at both the macrolevel and the microlevel of linguistic production (Von Stutterheim & Carroll, 2018; Von Stutterheim et al., 2009). That is because native speakers of different languages differ with respect to not only the way they represent information linguistically, but also the type of information they choose to

convey. Von Stutterheim et al. (2003) showed that native speakers of English and German narrate situations according to different organizational principles, which could be related to the typological properties of their language and their abstract representations of these events in the mind. These differences in conceptualization are concerned with (i) the situations speakers select for representation in their narratives, (ii) the way they build temporal relations between these situations, and (iii) the perspectives they take when building said relations (see Von Stutterheim & Nüse, 2003). Following the empirical results of several studies (Carroll & Von Stutterheim, 2002; Von Stutterheim & Nüse, 2003; Von Stutterheim et al., 2009), the narratives of German L1 speakers display the following characteristics: (i) speakers tend to present events holistically as independent units; (ii) they treat events as fictitious by using the present as their narrative tense; (iii) they describe events in a fact-listing fashion, and (iv) they often resort to temporal adverbials to establish temporal relations, even though most temporal sequencing is obtained via 'implicit reference'¹⁷ (see Table 3).

¹⁷ The authors define 'implicit reference' as a form of temporal representation that relies on the aspect-internal properties of the verb phrase. In narrative texts, if the event is telic, the situation will be framed as bounded, while atelic or stative predications will be interpreted as unbounded. Here, tense marking does not play a substantial role, given that both past and present tenses can be used as narrative devices, without affecting the aspectual composition of the clause (for a more detailed discussion on this matter, see Carroll & Von Stutterheim, 2002; Von Stutterheim et al., 2003).

Table 3. *Temporal structure of a typical German narrative (Carroll & Von Stutterheim, 2002: 388).*

	Text	[±b]	Temporal structure
a)	<i>Die Sandfigur fällt vom Himmel</i> 'the creature falls from the sky'	[+b]	TT (interval, taken from context)
b)	<i>und landet in einer Wüste</i> 'and lands in a desert'	[+b]	TT shifted
c)	<i>mit lauter umherfliegenden Papieren</i> 'with a lot of flying sheets of paper'	[-b]	TT maintained
d)	<i>er umgeht ein grosses Stück Papier</i> 'he avoids a piece of paper'	[+b]	TT shifted
e)	<i>das auf ihn zukommt</i> 'which comes towards him'	[-b]	TT maintained
f)	<i>die Figur geht dann weiter</i> 'the figure then goes on'	[+b]	TT shifted
g)	<i>er findet eine kleine Pfütze</i> 'and finds a small puddle of water'	[+b]	TT shifted
h)	<i>und rennt dahin</i> 'he runs towards it'	[+b]	TT shifted
i)	<i>kniet sich hin</i> 'kneels down'	[+b]	TT shifted
j)	<i>und verschwindet dann wieder</i> 'and then disappears again'	[+b]	TT shifted

The temporal structure adopted here follows the principles proposed by Klein (2009, 2013), in which the author introduces three types of time spans: TU ('time of utterance'), which quite simply refers to the moment of speaking; TSit ('time of situation'), which describes the point or interval at which a given eventuality takes place, and TT ('topic time'), which is pretty similar to Reichenbach's (1947) concept of 'reference time' and denotes the time that the speaker is talking about. In this proposal, boundedness creates a shift in TT, allowing temporal sequentiality (see a-b), d), f-j) in Table 3). An unbounded situation – usually meant to describe the setting of the main plot or what is happening in the background – will maintain the TT introduced by the preceding action (see c) and e)), pausing narrative progression until a new TT is implemented.

Von Stutterheim et al. (2003) show that – compared to German – English narratives are temporally complex, in that L1 speakers show a tendency to decompose events into phases and make a more regular use of aspectual markers. These organizational patterns stem from English grammar, which has more resources available for speakers to express aspectual notions that are underspecified or non-standard in German (e.g., progressive). According to the authors, English narratives result in frequent perspective shifts, in which different tense forms are adopted for specific narrative purposes. Furthermore, English speakers tend to focus their attention on the ongoingness of the events – which is substantiated by a higher use of progressive forms – and look at the event's endpoint at a later stage of formulation. German speakers, on the other hand, conceptualize culmination much earlier, which highlights how much more prominent the role of boundedness is in their processes of event construal (Von Stutterheim & Carroll, 2006; Von Stutterheim et al., 2012). Regarding the conceptualization patterns of EP, there are – to my knowledge – no similar studies investigating these properties. Some research, however, has suggested that native speakers of Brazilian Portuguese tend to adopt a deictic approach to their retelling of events, switching between the PERF and IMPF forms as they go from narrating sequences of events to stative descriptions, respectively (see, e.g., Koike, 1991).

There is also a significant number of studies concerning these properties of event construal in simultaneous bilingual acquisition (2L1) and L2 acquisition (Bylund, 2009, 2011; Daller et al., 2011; Flecken, 2010; Tang et al., 2021; Treffers-Daller & Tidball, 2015). One of the main findings of these studies is that conceptualization patterns are transferable (as proposed by the 'Conceptual Transfer Hypothesis' (CTH); Jarvis, 2016; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). Conceptual transfer is characterized by the influence of one language's thinking and conceptual patterns on another. This phenomenon supports the hypothesis that conceptual event construal rests on language-specific principles (Flecken, 2011; Schmiedtová, 2013; Slobin, 1996; Von Stutterheim et al., 2012). Pavlenko and Jarvis (2002) showed that conceptual transfer – much like linguistic transfer – can be bidirectional, i.e., depending on different factors, both the conceptual patterns of the L1 can have effects on the L2 as well as the opposite. In a subsequent study, Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) argued that transfer is not the only outcome of L2 and bilingual conceptual competence. It is possible that both L1 and L2 conceptualization preferences can co-exist, converge, or be restructured in the speaker's mind. Conversely, there are cases where L1 conceptual attrition can occur (see Athanasopoulos & Bylund, 2023; Flecken, 2011; Pavlenko, 2006).

Bylund (2009) analyzed the event conceptualization patterns of L1 Spanish-L2 Swedish speakers and found that early L2 acquirers (AoA: before age 12) deviate from Spanish monolinguals in terms of temporal perspectivation, while late acquirers (AoA: after age 12) show the same conceptualization

preferences as the Spanish control group. Spanish event construal rests on similar principles as the ones observed in English narratives, in that it tends to center around the ongoingness of events, rather than the specification of endpoints. On the other hand, Swedish conceptualization is similar to German and favors boundedness over ongoingness. The author concluded that the AoA plays a prominent role in the acquisition of conceptual patterns, since early acquirers seem to be more dependent on L1 exposure and input to maintain Spanish conceptualization. In a subsequent study, Bylund and Jarvis (2011) found that near-native L1 Spanish-L2 Swedish speakers are much more likely to mention endpoints in their descriptions than Spanish monolinguals (e.g., *una gaviota está volando hacia un palo*, 'a seagull is flying towards a perch'), which suggests that extended contact with Swedish has influenced the way they conceptualize events in their L1. It is debatable whether the early acquirers tested in these studies qualify as L2 speakers, especially since they started acquiring Swedish when their cognitive systems were possibly still developing. Categorizing these speakers as successive bilinguals who acquired their majority language at an early age could explain why L2 conceptualization became their preferred option for describing events, which can also be attributed to potential conceptual attrition of their L1.

Other studies have shown that conceptual transfer is not a necessary result of language proficiency and exposure. Schmiedtová and Sahonenko (2008) found that even advanced L1 Czech and L1 Russian learners of L2 German still retained L1 principles in their construal of motion events. Czech native speakers presented situations holistically with a focus on their endpoint (e.g., *Zwei Nonnen gehen zu einem Kloster*, 'Two nuns are going towards a monastery'; 2008: 64), while Russian native speakers focused on the process (e.g., *Ich sehe zwei Nonnen, die einen Weg entlang gehen*, 'I see two nuns who are walking along a path'; 2008: 64). In another study, Schmiedtová (2013) showed that highly proficient L1 Czech speakers of L2 English make a greater use of simple present forms to describe situations, and mention endpoints much more frequently than English native speakers. However, some data indicates that conceptual restructuring is still possible in the L2, with some speakers presenting situations according to both L2 and L1 conceptual preferences (by mentioning the ongoing process as well as the goal of motion, e.g., *Two women are walking along a road to a building*; 2013: 109). This suggests that there may be a point where both conceptualization patterns are active and available for access in the speakers' minds.

Overall, research on event conceptualization across languages has come to the following conclusions: (i) L1 transfer of conceptualization patterns is a common aspect of L2 acquisition; (ii) although possible, conceptual restructuring towards the L2 is very limited and may be dependent on individual factors (Schmiedtová, 2013), and (iii) both AoA and language exposure seem to be determining

factors for the influence of L2 conceptual principles on the L1, as well as potential attrition of L1 conceptualization altogether (Bylund, 2009). If this is the case, it explains why bilingual speakers manifest conceptual transfer of the majority language in their L1, while even advanced L2 speakers struggle to reconfigure their “original” conceptualization strategies.

4. AIMS AND PREDICTIONS

The current chapter outlines the main objectives of the present dissertation, based on the theoretical assumptions introduced in the preceding sections. Here, I also present some predictions based on the literature review on the acquisition of telicity marking (Richter & Van Hout, 2013; Schulz, 2018; Schulz & Ose, 2008; Schulz & Penner, 2002; Slabakova, 2001; Van Hout, 1998, 2008a, 2008b, 2018; Weicker et al., 2024) and event conceptualization patterns (Bylund, 2009, 2011; Bylund & Jarvis, 2011; Carroll & Von Stutterheim, 2002; Klein, 2013; Von Stutterheim & Nüse, 2003; Von Stutterheim et al., 2003, 2009, 2012). Finally, I delineate the specific research questions related to each experimental task, since they all target different aspects of the object of study.

Given the considerations accounted for in the previous sections, both on the behavior and interplay of telicity and temporal boundedness, as well as the acquisitional patterns of these properties by different types of speakers, the present work aims to analyze how EP speakers of L2 German (i) interpret the aspectual entailments associated with telicity marking, and (ii) how they structure temporal information in narrative discourse, in terms of boundedness and event conceptualization. A further goal of this study is to contrast their performance with that of native speakers of German, particularly early German-Portuguese bilinguals, with German as either a majority or minority language, and German monolingually-raised speakers. The idea is to compare speakers of two typologically distinct languages to determine what factors may underlie their understanding of telicity and their production of temporally complex eventuality descriptions.

We have seen that – contrary to EP – strong telicity markers are quite productive in German, both in the form of resultative verb particles (Schulz, 2018; Van Hout, 1998) and resultative adjectives in secondary predication (Kratzer, 2005; Richter & Van Hout, 2013). Native speakers of EP need to accommodate new grammatical paradigms when interpreting event descriptions that contain these forms, whose meaning can be more or less transparent (Van Hout, 1998). Conversely, weak telicity markers – in the form of bounded PATH objects (see Ramchand, 2008) – are pretty standard and abide by the same principles in both languages. Even though their baseline interpretation is telic, they do allow aspectual reinterpretations based on pragmatic-contextual factors and real-world knowledge, for example, by means of conversational implicatures (Jeschull, 2007; Pustejovsky, 1998; Schulz, 2018; Van Hout, 1998). I assume that the entailments associated with bounded objects are not specific to the target languages and would not give rise to contrasting judgments.

Regarding temporal boundedness and discourse organization, research has shown that native German speakers prefer an endpoint-oriented narrative strategy, by using telic predicates and boundedness to enable narrative progression (Von Stutterheim & Nüse, 2003; Von Stutterheim et al., 2003). They also tend to use the present tense to retell situations in a fact-listing fashion by viewing them from an external non-deictic perspective. On the other hand, English speakers oscillate between deictic and non-deictic narrative strategies, which can rest on the fact that they have more inflectional means to express the temporal-aspectual layout of situations. Given the lack of research targeting event conceptualization in Portuguese, it is unclear how EP native speakers would behave when compelled to narrate a story in their L1. Still, I assume that Portuguese narratives would follow the same patterns found in other Romance languages (e.g., Spanish; see Bylund, 2009; Bylund & Jarvis, 2011), given their typological similarity. Thus, they would most likely be more process-oriented than German narratives, with a larger focus on phasal decomposition (see Von Stutterheim et al., 2003, 2012) – and would probably take a deictic standpoint. It is unclear to what extent EP native speakers incorporate German conceptualization patterns in their mind and whether that depends on extralinguistic factors, but it has been proposed that L2 and bilingual speakers can either: (i) transfer the conceptualization patterns of their L1 to the second (or minority) language; (ii) they can blend the narrative strategies found in both languages together, or (iii) they can completely reshape their cognitive domain to include both conceptual domains and switch between them as they switch between languages (see Flecken, 2011; Jarvis, 2016; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008).

For the purposes established above, the present work includes two interpretation tasks – the *Sentence Conjunction Task* (SCT; based on Slabakova, 2001) and the *Truth-Value Judgment Task* (TVJT; (Crain & Thornton, 2000; based on Schulz & Penner, 2002) – which aim to analyze how the target populations interpret the telicity entailments of strong and weak telicity markers, whether there are differences in perception and what factors could explain such differences. Included is also a production task – the *Film Retelling Task* (FRT; based on Bardovi-Harlig, 1995; Comajoan, 2006) – which aims to assess how speakers conceptualize sequences of events and what narrative strategies they make use of to establish boundedness and structure temporal information. To that end, I put forward two sets of research questions and their corresponding predictions: the first set concerning the interpretation tasks (SCT and TVJT) and the second the production task (FRT).

A. Interpretation tasks (SCT and TVJT):

A1) How do various types of speakers of German interpret the aspectual entailments of strong telicity markers (i.e., resultative particle and adjective) compared to those of weak telicity markers (i.e., bounded objects)? I expect the patterns found in child L1 acquisition (e.g., van Hout, 1998, 2008a, 2008b; Schulz, 2018) to hold for adult speakers as well, independently of their acquisition profile, i.e., being weak telicity markers, bounded DP objects are expected to be more easily accepted as felicitous when describing a non-culminated event than resultative particles and adjectives.

A2) Regarding strong telicity markers, how do speakers of German interpret the aspectual entailments of resultative particles compared to those of resultative adjectives? In the context of the Sentence Conjunction Task, are speakers more lenient to reject cancellation implicatures with resultative adjectives than with resultative particles? Based on the *Transparency Principle* (Van Hout, 1998) and the assumption that lexical saliency plays a prominent role in language processing (Ellis, 2017; Lempert, 1990; Rodina & Westergaard, 2017), I expect late L2 learners to have less difficulty assigning telicity to resultative adjectives than to resultative particles.

A3) Are there differences between speakers in their interpretations of telicity markers? As stated above, L2 speakers are expected to have more difficulty interpreting the telicity entailments of resultative verb particles. They will most likely be driven by lexical transparency to assign completion to adjectival resultatives, being potentially less certain about particle markers, while early bilingual and monolingual native speakers are expected to treat them both similarly (Martínez Vera et al., 2023). Should any differences between bilingual speakers arise, I would expect an effect of exposure defined in terms of dominant environmental language to take place, i.e., German minority-language bilinguals' performance should be closer to that of L2ers, while German majority-language bilinguals should have a similar performance to that of monolinguals.

B. Production task (FRT):

B1) What is the role of boundedness in the oral narratives of various types of speakers of German across different acquisitional profiles? I expect speakers from all groups to resort to boundedness to move narrative time, either by focusing on the telicity value of the verb phrase or by using aspect-external elements to frame situations as bounded (Carroll, von Stutterheim, & Klein, 2003; von Stutterheim & Nüse, 2003).

B2) How do native German speakers structure temporal-aspectual information in discourse? I assume that German monolinguals will adhere to the prototypical conceptualization patterns of their L1, as found in previous studies (Schmiedtová, 2013). They should prefer to describe situations holistically using the present tense, rely on boundedness to move narrative time forward and focus on the events' endpoints rather than their internal stages (Von Stutterheim et al., 2012). Moreover, they should make use of temporal expressions to aid in plot progression and convey less evident temporal relations.

B3) Given that narrative tense is the most formal distinction between the deictic and the holistic narrative strategies, will L2 speakers produce fewer present-tense descriptions than native speakers? If so, will they differ substantially from bilingual and monolingual speakers in their choice of tense? Assuming that the preferred narrative strategy for Portuguese natives relies on deictic past reference, I would expect them to favor the conceptualization patterns of their L1, rather than adopting the preferred narrative strategy of the L2. Specifically, L2 speakers should produce fewer present-tense descriptions than German majority-language bilinguals and German monolinguals, who have a higher degree of exposure to German. It is unclear, however, whether German minority-language speakers will follow the same pattern or be closer to L2ers, mainly because of their acquisitional context and current exposure to German.

For screening purposes, the participants were asked to fill out a background questionnaire about their sociolinguistic experience (LEAP-Q; Kaushanskaya et al., 2020). The experiment was conducted online via the testing platform *Gorilla* (gorilla.sc) and comprised an informed consent, followed by the language background questionnaire and the experimental tasks. Statistical analysis was conducted in the RStudio Build 764 software using Bayesian hierarchical regression models with the *brms* package (Bürkner, 2021). The methodology, including procedure, participants, tasks, and data analysis, is described in more detail in the following chapter.

5. METHOD

This chapter outlines the methodological approaches used in this thesis. First, I describe the overall procedure, focusing on the experiment's design and application. Then, I characterize the participants based on general sociodemographic information and the data collected from the language background questionnaire. In the third section, I detail the three experimental tasks. Lastly, I explain the procedures adopted for the statistical analyses in depth.

5.1. Procedure

The present work aims at assessing the interpretation of the telicity entailments associated with resultative particles, adjectives and bounded objects by Portuguese-native L2 speakers of German, comparing them to German-Portuguese bilinguals and German monolinguals. Another research goal is to determine how these speakers structure boundedness and temporal information in narrative production and whether they display differences in their event conceptualization strategies. Before testing, the experimental design and recruitment policies were formally approved by the Ethics Committee for Research in Social and Human Sciences (CEICSH) of the University of Minho. Participation was entirely voluntary and included no monetary compensation.

Data was collected remotely through Gorilla (gorilla.sc) testing platform. Depending on their speaker profile, participants were provided with an individual participation ID and a link to the experiment. Upon accessing the link, they were asked to read and sign an informed consent form with general information about the experiment's aims, scope and participation criteria before taking part in the study. If they agreed to participate, they were transferred to the first component of the experiment, which included the language background questionnaire. Then, they moved to the production task where they were asked to watch a 5-minute clip of a famous silent film and to retell the events of the video afterwards (see task instructions in Appendix 5). If they did not agree to have their voices recorded, they were allowed to skip this task altogether and move to the next section. After the production task, participants were asked to complete the first interpretation task (SCT), in which they were presented with complex sentences that they had to judge using a Likert-type differential scale (see platform preview in Appendix 6). Then, they moved to the second interpretation task (TVJT), where they were asked to look at sequences of images depicting an event and to answer a yes-/no-question about what was happening in the pictures (see Appendix 8). Given its asynchronous nature, participants were not required to complete

all tasks consecutively. They were allowed to pause the experiment between tasks and finish it later if needed. Table 4 illustrates the experimental design and estimated duration.

Table 4. *Study design and estimated duration.*

Experiment	Estimated duration
Informed consent	2 minutes
Background questionnaire	5 minutes
Production task (FRT)	8 minutes
Interpretation task 1 (SCT)	10 minutes
Interpretation task 2 (TVJT)	5 minutes
30 minutes	

The experiment was approved by the Subcommittee of Social and Human Sciences under the Ethics Commission of the University of Minho (CEICSH 115/2020). Before the recruitment process, the experiment was pilot tested on ten voluntary subjects from the researcher's social and academic circle. Minor corrections and modifications were implemented during this period. Data collection spanned over the course of six months, as participants were gradually recruited from different sources. In the next section, I will describe the participants and the sociolinguistic data retrieved from the background questionnaires.

5.2. Participants

5.2.1. Preliminary information

129 adult speakers of German were tested in the interpretation tasks ($M_{Age} = 33.95$; $SD_{Age} = 10.6$). They were divided into four experimental groups: (i) 45 European Portuguese native speakers of L2 German (L2), (ii) 29 German-Portuguese early bilinguals who grew up in Portugal with German as their minority (or heritage) language (MIN), (iii) 34 German-Portuguese early bilinguals who grew up in Germany with German as a majority language (MAJ), and (iv) 21 L1 German speakers who acquired German in a monolingual setting (MON). Out of these, only 87 participants took part in the narration task ($M_{Age} = 31.97$;

$SD_{Age} = 10.09$)¹⁸, i.e., 28 L2 speakers ($M_{Age} = 32.86$, $SD_{Age} = 11.05$), 19 MIN speakers ($M_{Age} = 32.56$, $SD_{Age} = 12.25$), 22 MAJ speakers ($M_{Age} = 33.55$, $SD_{Age} = 9.09$), and 18 MON speakers ($M_{Age} = 28.06$, $SD_{Age} = 6.49$). The decision to include both monolinguals and early bilinguals in the sample consisted of an attempt to account for the diverse speaker profiles of German speakers in the current global landscape (for a discussion, see Davies, 2003; Dewaele, 2018; Putnam et al., 2018; Rothman et al., 2023). The L2 learners and the early acquirers are distinguished in terms of AoA (after age 12 in the L2 group), coupled with their acquisitional context (the L2 speakers started acquisition in a formal instructional setting)¹⁹. Table 5 reports descriptive data about the age of all participants across the different groups.

Table 5. *Participants' age across groups.*

	Age			
	N	Mean	SD	Range
L2	45	34.2	11.7	20-66
MIN	29	35.7	12.5	18-58
MAJ	34	35.4	8.5	22-51
MON	21	28.7	6.6	20-44
Notes: N = number of participants; SD = standard deviation				

Before testing, the participants had to sign an informed consent form with a general set of criteria to be included in the study, depending on their speaker profile (see Appendices 1 and 2). For inclusion in the L2 group, the participants had to be native Portuguese (early or late) learners of L2 German with a minimum of three years of formal instruction in Portugal or one year of acquisition in a German-speaking country²⁰. The MIN group had to be composed of German-Portuguese bilingual adults who grew up in Portugal and speak German as their minority language. In contrast, MAJ had to include German-

¹⁸ The productive component of this study was not mandatory, and there are many reasons why some participants chose not to partake in it: (i) there may have been technical issues with the recording; (ii) they may have not felt comfortable in taping their own voice and wanted to protect their privacy, or (iii) they just felt that the experiment was already too time-consuming.

¹⁹ Note that this sample includes L2 speakers who have started acquiring German quite early in their childhood (e.g., ages 4 and 7). These speakers are still considered L2ers because they have no direct genealogical ties to German native speakers, nor have they grown up in a German-speaking country. Their premature age of acquisition rests on the fact that they started their education at a bilingual German school in Portugal, in which German is one of the languages of instruction. Therefore, their exposure to German took place in an educational setting only, and there is no evidence that they communicated in or were exposed to German outside of the classroom (for a discussion on this matter, see Ellis & Laporte, 2014; Tsimpli, 2014).

²⁰ It is important to state that these requirements were determined in a relatively subjective way, given the external circumstances at the time of testing and the types of speakers that were available for recruitment. For the purposes of this experiment, not a lot of emphasis was put on proficiency restrictions, since L2ers were only needed to have a working understanding of German to be able to appropriately react to the task stimuli.

Portuguese bilingual adults who grew up in Germany and, therefore, speak German as their majority language and Portuguese as their minority language. Both MIN and MAJ were required to have been born in or moved to the country of their majority language as a child, having acquired both German and Portuguese either simultaneously or in quick succession. As for the MON group, participants were merely required to have grown up in a German-speaking country and had monolingual exposure to German from birth. When, even after testing, the participants turned out not to fulfil the desired speaker profiles, they were excluded from the sample.

5.2.2. Language history and self-reported L2 proficiency

As mentioned before, sociolinguistic data were retrieved using a version of the *Language Experience and Proficiency Questionnaire* (LEAP-Q; see Appendices 3 and 4). In the first part, the questionnaire contained questions about the participants' sociodemographic data, their spoken languages by order of dominance and acquisition, their degree of familiarity and comfort with those languages, and their cultural identification. Table 6 reports the participants' degree of exposure to their languages at the time of testing, their readiness to read a text and hold a conversation in those languages – when all of them are available –, and their identification with the culture of the countries where those languages are spoken.

Table 6. *Participants' degree of exposure, readiness to read a text and hold a conversation in their languages, and cultural identification with their countries.*

	L2			MIN			MAJ			MON		
	M	SD	Range	M	SD	Range	M	SD	Range	M	SD	Range
1. Degree of current exposure to:												
German	31.1	22.3	0-90	32.4	18.7	10-80	51.8	13.5	30-70	52.1	24.5	10-90
Portuguese	38.2	21.5	0-90	44.5	19.6	10-80	26.6	13.8	10-60	11.9	14	0-40
English	26.3	18.4	0-80	19.5	11.8	0-40	17.8	11.6	0-50	27.1	16.2	0-60
Other	4.3	11.0	0-70	3.6	5.8	0-20	3.8	6.5	0-30	6.9	6	0-20
2. Readiness to read a text in:												
German	18.4	17.1	0-70	36.4	24.7	0-100	56.2	25.9	0-100	60	22.9	20-100
Portuguese	44	25	0-100	37.8	23.7	0-100	22.5	20.1	0-80	3.8	9.2	0-30
English	33	23	0-100	24.5	24.9	0-100	18.4	19.1	0-100	29.5	21.4	0-70
Other	4.6	9.4	0-50	1.4	4.4	0-20	2.9	4.8	0-15	6.7	10.2	0-30
3. Readiness to hold a conversation in:												
German	22	20	0-70	38.6	20.9	0-100	47.6	22	0-80	63.1	26	10-100
Portuguese	56	32	0-100	45.2	21.5	0-90	35.6	20.8	0-100	8.1	15.7	0-50
English	17	19	0-100	13.8	13.2	0-40	10.4	10.3	0-30	18.8	21.1	0-70
Other	5.3	10.9	0-50	2.4	5.1	0-20	3.4	6.8	0-30	10	19.2	0-80
4. Cultural identification with:												
Germany*	5.9	2.4	0-10	6.9	2.4	2-10	7.2	1.6	4-10	8.8	1.9	4-10
Portugal	8.1	1.7	5-10	8.3	1.8	2-10	7.8	2.2	0-10	2.1	3.2	0-10

^a Range: 0 to 100 (%)
^b Range: 0 (no identification) to 10 (complete identification)
* or another German-speaking country

For each measure in Table 6, I performed the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test (using the *kruskal.test()* R function) after testing the data for normality using multiple Shapiro-Wilk tests (R function: *shapiro.test()*). The aim was to determine whether there were differences between groups regarding their exposure to German, inclination to read a text or have a conversation in German, and their cultural identification. After that, I performed the *post hoc* Dunn's test for pairwise comparisons using the *dunn_test()* function (*rstatix* package; Kassambara, 2023). In line with the expectations, the four groups differed from each other in almost every measure, i.e., the degree of current exposure to German ($H(3) = 29.63$, $p < .001$), the inclination to read a text ($H(3) = 51.11$, $p < .001$) and have a conversation ($H(3) = 41.26$, $p < .001$) in German, and the personal identification with the culture of a German-speaking country ($H(3) = 23.93$, $p < .001$). In particular, L2 and MIN speakers have less exposure to German than MAJ ($z_{L2MAJ} = 4.53$, p

< .001; $z_{\text{MIN-MAJ}} = 3.80$, $p < .001$) and MON speakers ($z_{\text{L2vMON}} = 3.53$, $p < .001$; $z_{\text{MINvMON}} = 3.02$, $p < .001$). Compared to MAJ and MON speakers, L2ers are less inclined to read a text ($z_{\text{L2vMAJ}} = 6.06$, $p < .001$; $z_{\text{L2vMON}} = 5.73$, $p < .001$) or have a conversation ($z_{\text{L2vMAJ}} = 4.81$, $p < .001$; $z_{\text{L2vMON}} = 5.74$, $p < .001$) in German when they could do so in any of the languages they speak. Regarding cultural identification, L2ers identify less with the culture of a German-speaking country than monolinguals ($z = 4.87$, $p < .001$).

The questionnaire also measured the participants' migration history, which is particularly interesting for L2 and bilingual speakers. L2 speakers were asked if they ever emigrated to Germany or another German-speaking country and for how long. Bilingual speakers were asked whether they were born in the country of their majority language or if they migrated there at a young age. They were also asked if they – at any point – returned to their country of origin²¹. In total, 32 out of 45 L2 speakers (71.1%) had emigrated to a German-speaking country at an average age of 25.52 (SD = 5.32, Range = [14, 41]) and stayed there an average of 9.36 years (SD = 9.49; Range = [2, 44]). About half of these 32 speakers (55.6%) were still there at the time of testing. In the MIN group, 18 speakers (62.1%) were born in Portugal, while only nine (31%) emigrated there at an average age of 3.67 (SD = 3.44, Range = [1, 10])²². At the time, only seven speakers (24.1%) had returned to their country of origin, an average of 16.1 years ago (SD = 10.7, Range = [2, 35]). As for the MAJ speakers, a little over half (52.9%) had relocated to the country of their majority language at an average age of 6.08 years (SD = 3.69, Range = [0.2, 11]). Almost all of them (77.8%) never returned to Portugal.

The second section of the questionnaire pertained to the L2 speakers' knowledge of German only²³, by including questions about AoA, type and quantity of input, and accent identification, as well as their self-assessment of the target language in its various competences (listening, speaking, reading and writing). The decisions for only including the L2 group in this part of the questionnaire are manifold: (i) first, bilingual groups were serendipitously introduced into the study at a later stage of the recruitment process; (ii) they were also initially only considered as baseline groups to make up for the lack of monolingual controls; (iii) their inclusion aimed at providing a more diverse view of different speaker profiles and to see how they differed – or if at all – from monolinguals, and (iv) this study never meant

²¹ For a discussion on the concept of 'returnees', see Flores, 2010, 2020; Kubota, 2019; Tomiyama, 2009 (note that most of the literature on this matter covers child and teenage returnees only, while the very few cases of returnees in this sample went back to their country of origin as adults).

²² Two MIN speakers (6.9%) did not give an answer as to whether they were born in Portugal or not, so these data points were treated as missing values.

²³ We excluded the section about Portuguese from the background questionnaire, since the present thesis was never intended to assess bilingual knowledge per se, but rather knowledge of German across different acquisitional settings.

to prioritize aspects of bilingual acquisition, for which a more centered sociolinguistic analysis would prove essential²⁴. Table 7 describes the L2ers' self-reported language history and proficiency.

Table 7. *Self-reported language history of proficiency of the L2 speakers.*

Language history measures	L2 German history		
	M	SD	Range
1. Self-assessment^a			
Listening	7.12	1.95	2.00-10.00
Speaking	6.37	1.88	2.00-9.00
Reading	7.02	1.77	3.00-10.00
Writing	5.59	2.03	2.00-9.00
2. Age milestones (in years)			
Age of onset of acquisition (AoA)	19.61	8.39	4.00-48.00
Years of acquisition (YoA)	14.10	11.00	1.00-50.00
3. Immersion duration			
In a country	6.87	7.47	0.00-30.00
In a family	3.11	7.65	0.00-32.00
At a school / work	5.58	5.86	0.00-20.00
4. Contribution to language learning^b			
Friends / colleagues	6.22	3.34	0.00-10.00
Family	2.76	3.78	0.00-10.00
Reading	5.90	3.01	0.00-10.00
German classes	8.12	2.00	2.00-10.00
Self-study	6.44	2.55	0.00-10.00
TV, radio, and music	6.07	2.66	0.00-10.00
Internet, social media and videogames	4.68	3.14	0.00-10.00
5. Extent of language exposure^c			
Friends / colleagues	4.80	3.30	0.00-10.00
Family	2.02	2.89	0.00-10.00
TV, radio, music	4.27	2.82	0.00-10.00
German classes	3.22	3.68	0.00-10.00
Self-study	3.44	2.91	0.00-10.00
Reading	4.80	2.75	1.00-10.00
6. Self-report of foreign accent^d			
Perceived by self	4.63	2.01	1.00-9.00
Perceived by others	5.95	3.24	1.00-10.00

^a Range: 0 (none) to 10 (perfect)

^b Range: 0 (not a contributor) to 10 (most important contributor)

^c Range: 0 (never) to 10 (always)

^d Range: 0 (none) to 10 (pervasive)

²⁴ We recognize that this decision constitutes a regrettable limitation of the current thesis, given that a lot of interesting information about the native speakers' knowledge of their L1 may have been lost in the process. Even though LEAP-Q is generally used to attest bilingual knowledge, the monolingual and bilingual groups were originally screened as controls and were, therefore, not required to complete the full questionnaire. This shortcoming can only be properly rectified in future research, preferably in a study with less explanatory variables and more focused research aims.

The L2 speakers' self-reported proficiency was categorized as intermediate to advanced, and averaged 7.12 points (SD = 1.95; Range = [2, 10]) for understanding spoken language, 6.37 (SD = 1.88; Range = [2, 9]) for speaking, 7.02 (SD = 1.77; Range = [3, 10]) for reading, and 5.59 (SD = 2.03; Range = [2, 9]) for writing. Their AoA averaged 19.61 (SD = 8.39, Range = [4, 48]²⁵), which qualifies most of them as late learners of German. At the time of testing, they had been learning German for an average of 14.10 years (SD = 11.00, Range = [1, 50]). Given the amount of dispersion in the data, it is interesting to examine the relationship between the measures reported in Table 7 and the participants' self-assessed proficiency. To that end, 20 measures (e.g., AoA, immersion in a German-speaking environment, learning contributors) were entered as independent variables into backward-stepwise multiple linear regression analyses²⁶ using the *step()* function of the *lmerTest* R package (Kuznetsova et al., 2017). Self-assessments of listening, speaking, reading, and writing were specified as dependent variables. It should be noted that these analyses were used as mere exploratory devices and were not intended as tools for hypothesis testing. Table 8 reports the extralinguistic measures selected as predictors for the L2 speakers' self-perceived proficiency in the four main competences.

²⁵ As mentioned in the introduction to this section, some L2 speakers started learning German quite early in a formal classroom context, because they attended a German bilingual school in Portugal. We still consider them (early) L2 speakers of German. They never relocated to a German-speaking country at an early age, nor were they continuously immersed in a social environment where German was the majority language.

²⁶ I am aware that the use of stepwise regression analyses has been criticized by some authors (e.g., Menard, 2002; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007) for numerous reasons, but given the large number of predictors, it seemed like the most appropriate way to describe the current dataset (see Marian et al., 2007).

Table 8. *Stepwise multiple regression analyses for the extralinguistic predictors of self-assessment, including regression coefficients (mean estimates β , standard errors SE, and p-values) and model fit evaluators (F-statistics).*

Response variables	Predictors	Regression coefficients		
		β	SE	p-value
Listening $F(9, 31) = 13.87, p < .001$	AoA	-0.07	0.02	.002**
	Years in L2 school / work	0.07	0.04	.093
	Learning from L2 friends	0.17	0.07	.026*
	Learning from L2 reading	-0.16	0.07	.038*
	Learning from L2 media	0.22	0.07	.002**
	Exposure to L2 friends	0.26	0.09	.005**
	Exposure to L2 classes	0.15	0.06	.022*
	Exposure to L2 self-study	-0.10	0.07	.186
	Self-perceived L2 accent	-0.16	0.10	.103
Speaking $F(10, 30) = 11.65, p < .001$	AoA	-0.03	0.02	.101
	Learning from L2 friends	0.20	0.07	.008**
	Learning from L2 reading	-0.13	0.08	.128
	Learning from L2 self-study	-0.20	0.08	.016*
	Learning from L2 internet	0.16	0.06	.009**
	Exposure to L2 friends	0.27	0.07	.001**
	Exposure to L2 classes	0.16	0.06	.013*
	Exposure to L2 self-study	-0.17	0.08	.057
	Exposure to L2 reading	0.26	0.09	.006**
Reading $F(3, 37) = 15.84, p < .001$	Self-perceived L2 accent	-0.15	0.09	.104
	AoA	-0.03	0.02	.153
	Exposure to L2 friends	0.34	0.06	< .001***
Writing $F(10, 30) = 6.25, p < .001$	Exposure to L2 reading	0.13	0.08	.100
	AoA	-0.06	0.03	.027*
	Years in L2 family	0.06	0.04	.135
	Learning from L2 reading	-0.22	0.10	.042*
	Learning from L2 classes	0.40	0.13	.006**
	Learning from L2 self-study	-0.26	0.12	.031*
	Learning from L2 internet	0.18	0.08	.029*
	Exposure to L2 friends	0.32	0.08	.001***
	Exposure to L2 family	-0.28	0.09	.005**
	Exposure to L2 reading	0.44	0.11	.001***
	Self-perceived L2 accent	-0.23	0.12	.061

The results suggest that the smaller the AoA is, the larger the speakers' perceived understanding of the L2 ($\beta = -0.07, p = .002$). Still, AoA does not seem to influence their assessment of speaking ($\beta = -0.03, p = .101$), reading ($\beta = -0.03, p = .153$) and writing skills ($\beta = -0.06, p = .027$) substantially. The L2ers' contact with German-speaking friends seems to contribute to their self-perceived listening ($\beta = 0.26, p = .005$), speaking ($\beta = 0.27, p = .001$), reading ($\beta = 0.34, p < .001$) and writing ($\beta = 0.32, p = .001$) competence. Speakers who have learned German from media and the internet also have an increased

perception of their listening ($\beta = 0.22, p = .002$) and speaking ($\beta = 0.16, p = .009$) ability. On the other hand, their formal instruction in L2 German seems to have improved their writing ($\beta = 0.40, p = .006$), but not the other skills. In the same way, their perceived writing proficiency also seems to improve with higher exposure to L2 reading ($\beta = 0.44, p = .001$). However, contrary to what would be expected, their reading proficiency is not affected ($\beta = 0.13, p = .100$). For now, this exposition serves the purposes at hand, by shedding light on the L2 speakers' sociolinguistic profiles.

Participants were recruited from different sources, including the researcher's own social and academic circle and through the professional social network *LinkedIn*. Most of the L2 speakers were contacted through ASPPA (*Associação de Pós-Graduados Portugueses na Alemanha*, 'Association of Portuguese Postgraduates in Germany') and the MIN speakers were recruited from the alumni communities of the German bilingual schools in Portugal (*Deutsche Schule zu Porto* "German School of Porto", *Deutsche Schule Lissabon* "German School of Lisbon" and *Deutsche Schule Algarve* "German School of Algarve").

5.3. Interpretation tasks

This section provides an overview of the interpretation tasks used in the present work. As mentioned before, two interpretation tasks were used to test the participants' knowledge of telicity markers and their understanding of the aspectual entailments associated with those markers: the Sentence Conjunction Task (SCT) and the Truth-Value Judgment Task (TVJT), which shall be described below.

5.3.1. Sentence Conjunction Task

The Sentence Conjunction Task (SCT; Slabakova, 2001; Slabakova & Montrul, 2002) aimed at assessing how sensitive speakers are to the aspectual entailments of telicity markers. The participants were presented with complex sentences whose felicity they had to judge using a 4-point Likert-type scale (from 0 to 3)²⁷. The sentences were composed of a main clause and a conjoined coordinated clause introduced by either an adversative (*aber* 'but') or a copulative conjunction (*und* 'and'), which specified that the event described in the main clause was not completed or interrupted by some external factor.

²⁷ We chose a differential scale with an even number (four points) to avoid an abundance of middle values, which – given the occasionally ambiguous nature of the target structures – would most likely be the case.

The stimuli were divided into three target conditions: (i) resultative particles (ResP) and (ii) adjectival resultatives (ResA), which are infelicitous in these contexts, and (iii) bounded Path DPs (bDP), which are felicitous. A fourth felicitous condition with partitive prepositional phrases (PPP) was included as a control to balance out the number of infelicitous stimuli. In contrast to the other conditions, partitive PP constructions are atelic, and the assumption of non-attainment of an endpoint is a natural entailment of these predicates (Filip, 1989; Krifka, 1992). Partitive PPs do not specify an endpoint, but rather “an attempt at the action” or the durative property of an atelic event (e.g., *an dem Fisch essen* ‘take a few bites of the fish’), and the subsequent negation of completion is a pleonastic elaboration of the derived predicate (check example 42; for a more elaborate discussion, see Broccias, 2001; Frense & Bennett, 1996; Perek & Lemmens, 2010).

42. Peter hat *vom* *Kaffee getrunken*, aber die Kaffeekanne
 Peter has from-the coffee drunk but the coffeepot
 ist noch fast voll.
 is still almost full
 ‘Peter took a few sips of coffee, but the coffeepot is still almost full.’

Recall that resultative particles (ResP) and adjectival resultatives (ResA) overtly identify a culmination point, with resultative adjectives further specifying a lexically salient resulting state. Speakers are, therefore, expected to reject conditions with these structures, since they are incompatible with conversational implicatures of endpoint cancellation. Bounded PATH DPs (bDP) also identify a culmination point, but they are weak telicity markers because the result subevent is not overtly specified, which makes them acceptable with cancellation implicatures (Ramchand, 2008; Schulz, 2018; Van Hout, 2008a).

The task comprised 40 items: 24 experimental items (six per condition) and 16 fillers. The verbs selected for the stimuli were not always consistent between conditions, given that not all verbs restrictively allow constructions of the different paradigms. The selection of the target verbs relied on the frequency criteria adopted in previous studies (Slabakova, 2001). Table 9 gives examples of the verbal predicates used in the SCT and their expected acceptability ratings (for a complete list, see Appendix 7).

Table 9. *Examples of verbal predicates used in the SCT with their expected acceptability ratings.*

Condition	Verbal predicate	Meaning	Expected ratings
Resultative	<i>das Wasser austrinken</i>	‘to drink up the water’	
Particle	<i>den Fisch aufessen</i>	‘to eat up the fish’	
(ResP)	<i>die Zeitschrift durchlesen</i>	‘to read the whole magazine’	0 = does not make sense or
Resultative	<i>das Glas leer trinken</i>	‘to drink the glass <i>empty</i> ’	1 = makes little sense
Adjective	<i>den Teller leer essen</i>	‘to eat the plate <i>empty</i> ’	
(ResA)	<i>den Tisch trocken wischen</i>	‘to wipe the table dry’	
Bounded	<i>den Kaffee trinken</i>	‘to drink the coffee’	
DP	<i>die Pizza essen</i>	‘to eat the pizza’	
(bDP)	<i>den Boden fegen</i>	‘to sweep the floor’	2 = makes sense or
Partitive	<i>vom Kaffee trinken</i>	‘to take a sip of the coffee’	3 = makes a lot of sense
PP	<i>von dem Fisch essen</i>	‘to eat <i>from</i> the fish’	
(PPP)	<i>aus dem Album hören</i>	‘to hear (songs) from the album’	

The SCT was administered online on the Gorilla platform after the language background questionnaire. On the opening screen, the participants were told that sentences would show up one at a time and they had to rate them using a 4-point differential scale from 0 to 3, in which 0 meant “does not make sense” and 3 meant “makes a lot of sense”. The scale was presented as a response slider; as the participants moved the slider along the scale, the tooltip showed the numerical value pertaining to each position. Each sentence had a time limit of 30 seconds to be judged, after which the screen would skip to the following item and the response would count as missing. Both the instructions and the labels for the scale were given in German; the order of the sentences was randomized for each participant.

As a first step, the items of the SCT were coded as ordered factors with four levels (0, 1, 2 and 3) and missing values, which were excluded from the analysis. The response values were counted per condition and group in the descriptive analysis. Thereafter, the proportion of each response type was calculated to ease visualization of the data distribution. For the inferential statistical analysis, the dataset was transformed into long format, in which each row described a single observation, and a column was created for the response variable, i.e., the corresponding acceptability ratings on the ordinal scale.

5.3.2. Truth-value Judgment Task

The Truth-Value Judgment Task (TVJT; Crain & Thornton, 2000) aimed at assessing how speakers of German interpret telicity markers when faced with visual cues about the event's culmination. The design was based on the experiments of Angeliek van Hout, Petra Schulz and colleagues in L1 acquisition (Schulz & Ose, 2008; Schulz & Penner, 2002; Van Hout, 1998). The participants were presented with a visual sequence depicting a situation that was either completed or interrupted. Then, they were asked to answer a polar question about the situation. The verbal prompt required them to make a judgment about the aspectual value of the situation. Contrary to some of the previously mentioned studies (e.g., Schulz & Ose, 2008; Schulz & Penner, 2002), the participants were not allowed to expand on their answers, even if they felt the context was ambiguous. That was the point, since I wanted to ensure that the speakers would be unequivocal in their choice to account for more clear-cut response trends, specifically regarding the aspectually ambiguous status of bounded objects. Figure 15 provides an example of the TVJT, as presented to the participants (see Appendices 9 and 10).

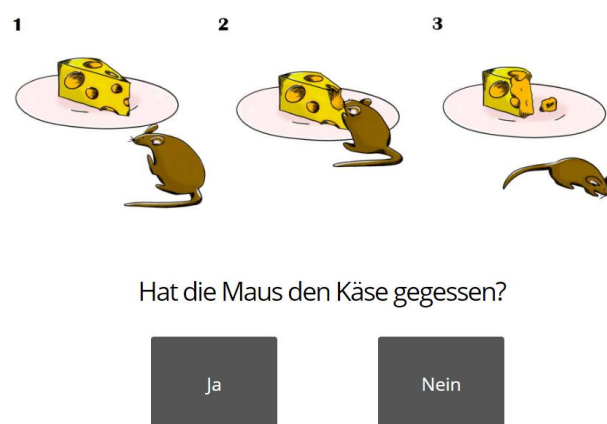


Figure 15. Example of the "mouse story" from the TVJT.

To account for a limited set of scenarios, only events of consumption were included in the design (*essen* 'to eat' vs. *trinken* 'to drink', as in Schulz & Penner, 2002). These events were distributed across six stories (three eating stories and three drinking stories). Each story comprised two versions of the same eventuality: (a) a telic situation, in which the event's culmination was visually depicted, and (b) an atelic situation, in which the event was depicted as unfinished. Each version of the story was assigned two experimental questions (and one filler question) from a range of four predicate types: (i) a simple verb construction (from now on, SVC; e.g., *essen* 'to eat'), (ii) a particle verb construction (PVC; e.g., *aufessen* 'to eat up'), (iii) a bounded object construction (BOC; e.g., *den Käse essen* 'to eat the cheese'), and (iv) an unbounded object construction (UOC; either a mass noun, e.g., *Käse essen* 'to eat cheese', or a bare plural, e.g., *Bananen essen* 'to eat bananas'). Overall, the task was composed of 12 visual stories (six telic variants vs. six atelic variants) with a total of 36 items (24 experimental questions and 12 filler questions). Table 10 illustrates the methodological design used for one of the stories of the TVJT (see Appendix 9 for the full task design and Appendix 10 for the complete set of picture stories).

Table 10. *Methodological design of the TVJT (example from the "mouse story")*.

Picture sequence	Predicate	Question	Expected answer(s)
A. Telic situation	SVC	<i>Hat die Maus gegessen?</i> 'Did the mouse eat?'	Yes.
	PVC	<i>Hat die Maus aufgegessen?</i> 'Did the mouse eat up?'	Yes.
B. Atelic situation	BOC	<i>Hat die Maus den Käse gegessen?</i> 'Did the mouse eat the cheese?'	Yes./No.
	UOC	<i>Hat die Maus Käse gegessen?</i> 'Did the mouse eat cheese?'	Yes.

In general, the experimental conditions can be summarized as follows: simple verbs (SVC) and unbounded objects (UOC) do not specify an endpoint, and their interpretation was not meant to be based on aspectual cues, but the mere confirmation of the existing truth-conditions. This means that the answer to questions predicated by SVC and UOC would always have to be positive, irrespective of whether the depicted situation was telic or atelic. On the other hand, particle verbs (PVC) are aspectually strong and, therefore, require a negative response when the portrayed situation is telic and a positive response when it is atelic. As weak telicity markers, questions with bounded objects (BOC) required a positive response

when the visual sequence depicted a telic situation; BOCs, however, are sensitive to contextual cues, which means that participants were expected to vary with respect to their responses when the depicted situation was atelic. Still, in line with previous research, positive answers were expected to be more prominent (see Schulz & Penner, 2002).

The TVJT was administered online on the Gorilla experimental platform. On the opening screen, the participants were instructed about the layout of the task. They were told that one visual story would appear at a time, accompanied by a yes-/no-question, which they had to answer by clicking the respective button. For each item, the participants had 25 seconds to provide an answer, after which the task would skip to the next screen and the response would count as missing. As with the other tasks, all the instructions were provided in German. After testing, the responses of the TVJT were converted into binary outcomes (0 for non-target-like responses; 1 for target-like responses). A target-like response implied that the predicate type used in the question was aspectually compatible with the situation depicted in the picture (e.g., a standard telic predicate combined with an atelic situation was deemed infelicitous, because telicity entails completion). To simplify the analysis, bounded object constructions were categorically understood as telic even though I expected the participants to find them felicitous with atelic stimuli.

5.4. Film retelling task

The Film Retelling Task (FRT) required participants to watch a 6-minute excerpt entitled *Alone and Hungry* from Charlie Chaplin's 1936 silent film *Modern Times* (following Bardovi-Harlig, 1995; Comajoan, 2006) and provide an oral description of the events in the film. The excerpt centers around the newfound relationship between Charlie Chaplin's character and a homeless woman, who is wandering around the streets alone and steals a loaf of bread from a bakery delivery vehicle. While running, she stumbles upon Charlie Chaplin, who takes the blame for her, so that she is not arrested. The woman is eventually captured, and Charlie Chaplin does whatever he can to get arrested so that he can see the woman again. In the end, Charlie Chaplin and the woman are reunited on the way to the police station, but manage to escape together.

This task aimed to determine how speakers of German from different acquisitional contexts conceptualize events and how they organize temporal information in discourse through boundedness, narrative tense, and temporal reference. As such, no special attention was paid to whether the video excerpt included an equally balanced number of situation types, since speakers were expected to vary

with respect to the specific situations they would choose to describe in their narratives. Specifically, I was interested in the different means the speakers would fall back on to express temporal information and whether they would adopt a deictic standpoint (using past tenses) or a non-participating perspective (using the present) in narration.

The experiment was conducted online on the Gorilla platform. At the beginning, the participants received instructions about the layout of the experiment. They were instructed to watch a 6-minute video entitled *Alone and Hungry* and to pay close attention to the events depicted in the scene. They were told that they had to provide an oral narration of the story after watching the video. When the video ended, they were automatically sent to another screen, which instructed them to perform a microphone check. Given the online format of the experiment, the participants had to use their own microphones, embedded in the device on which they were performing the experiment. After the microphone check, they were told that they would have two minutes to retell the events of the story they had just watched. After reading the instructions, they were asked to press the *Start* button as soon as they were ready to begin the recording, prompted by the verbal instruction *Was ist passiert?* ('What happened?'). The participants had a timer on the screen to coordinate their time to retell the story. The recordings were later downloaded and manually transcribed.

5.5. Data analysis and Bayesian methods

In this section, I explain the strategies and procedures surrounding the analysis of the three main tasks. All tasks are analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics. For effect estimation and hypothesis testing, the analysis will focus on Bayesian inference, rather than the more traditional frequentist approaches. One point of distinction between Bayesian and frequentist statistics is that Bayesian modeling assigns probabilities to hypotheses and reports a posterior distribution, which is a compromise between prior knowledge about the parameters (prior distribution) and the data at hand²⁸. Some of the advantages of Bayesian statistics are: (i) its natural expression of uncertainty (through the estimation of a distribution with credible intervals (or highest-density intervals, HDIs) instead of a single significance value); (ii) its ability to integrate prior information, and (iii) its modeling flexibility (Kruschke, 2021; McElreath, 2018; Schad et al., 2021). Overall, my main goals were to quantify effect sizes and to determine whether there is convincing evidence for the existence of such effects.

²⁸ For parsimony, we will refrain from providing a detailed description of Bayesian inference in this work and how it differs from more traditional statistical methods (for a more elaborate discussion on the Bayesian-frequentist debate, see Bayarri & Berger, 2004).

5.5.1. Bayesian analysis of the Sentence Conjunction Task

Given the ordinal nature of the response variable in the SCT, the 4-point rating scale was treated as an ordered factor with four distinct categories and flexible thresholds. An ordered probit model was applied to describe its acceptability ratings. This model assumes the existence of a normally distributed population and a latent continuous variable that underlies the ordinal scale (Liddell & Kruschke, 2018; Verissimo, 2021).

I fitted a mixed-effects regression model with an interaction between Condition and Group, as well as a “maximal” random-effects structure, which included by-participant random slopes for Condition and by-item random slopes for the interaction between Condition and Group. To ease interpretation, the categorical predictors were sum-coded (e.g., -0.25, 0.75, -0.25, -0.25; see Schad et al., 2020), and ResP (resultative particles) and L2 (L2 speakers) were set as the reference levels for Condition and Group, respectively. Model convergence was checked using the *R-hat*, *Bulk_ESS* and *Tail_ESS* diagnostics (Gelman et al., 2021) and plotted using the *mcmc_trace()* function of the *bayesplot* package (Gabry et al., 2019). Posterior predictive checks confirmed that the simulated data generated by the model suitably mimicked observed data (see Figure A1 in Appendix 12 for the posterior predictive checks).

For prior specification, I chose to use mildly informative priors that would not overwhelm the posterior distributions and coerce the model into calculating unrealistic effects²⁹. The priors followed a normal distribution of $N(1, 2)$ for the model intercept and of $N(0, 1)$ for the slopes (i.e., the parameters of interest). The priors for the random effects followed a normal distribution of $N(0, 0.5)$ for the random intercepts and of $N(0, 0.25)$ for the random slopes. For the correlation matrices, I used a standard regularizing prior $LKJ(2)$.

To determine whether there is evidence for or against the estimated effects, I computed Bayes factors (BF) using the Savage-Dickey density ratio method (Dickey & Lientz, 1970), in which the ratio of the heights of the posterior and the prior distributions was calculated at the point hypothesis (i.e., zero) for each target comparison. Interpretation of Bayes factors relied on Lee and Wagenmakers' (2014) scale, in which a BF10 greater than 1 indicates evidence for the alternative hypothesis (H_1), i.e., values between 1 and 3 indicate anecdotal evidence in favor of an effect, between 3 and 10 moderate evidence,

²⁹ The prior distribution is one of the most advantageous features of Bayesian statistics, because it allows us to feed preliminary research- or observation-based information into the model, so that it is able to predict more accurate outcomes (for a discussion on the specification of priors, see Gelman et al., 2008; Nicenboim et al., 2025).

between 10 and 30 strong evidence, between 30 and 100 very strong evidence and over 100 extreme evidence. In opposition, a BF10 below 1 indicates evidence against H_1 , i.e., values between 1 and 0.3 are considered anecdotal evidence, between 0.3 and 0.1 moderate evidence, and below 0.1 strong evidence. Given that the Bayes factor is sensitive to prior information, I also performed sensitivity analyses using a range of different prior standard deviations to determine how different priors could influence the results.

5.5.2. Bayesian analysis of the Truth-Value Judgment Task

For the statistical analysis of the TVJT, I fitted a Bayesian generalized mixed-effects model with a binomial likelihood and a logit link in the brms R package (Bürkner, 2021). The model included a three-way interaction between Group (i.e., the experimental group ID), Predicate (i.e., type of predicate used in the question) and Situation (i.e., type of situation depicted in the picture). The levels of the predictors were reordered to ensure that the model would estimate the comparisons of interest: this time, monolinguals (MON) were coded as the reference level for Group; bounded objects (BOC) were the reference level for Predicate, and atelic stimuli were the baseline for Situation. A maximal by-participant and by-story random effects structure was included (which essentially served to account for subject and item variability around the effects of interest and to avoid underestimating variance; see Barr et al., 2013). As in the SCT, the predictors were sum contrast coded (e.g., -0.5, 0.5) to ease interpretability of the model parameters, i.e., the effects of one predictor were averaged across the levels of the other independent variables (Schad et al., 2020).

For prior specification, I chose to use weakly informative priors to ensure that the model would estimate relatively plausible parameter values without overwhelming the data (see Gelman et al., 2008; Schad et al., 2021). The prior for the model intercept (i.e., the probability of giving a target-like response across the levels of all predictors) followed a normal distribution of $N(1, 1.5)$ on the log-odds scale. This prior assumed that 95% of the probability of giving a target-like response would fall between 12% and 98%. The model slopes (i.e., the probability of whether target-like responses would be more likely in a given level of the predictor relative to the reference level) followed a normal distribution of $N(0, 0.5)$. I also included a normally distributed prior of $N(0, 0.5)$ for the random effects and a standard $LKJ(2)$ prior for the correlation matrices.

Following the procedure used for the SCT, I used the Savage-Dickey density ratio method to compute Bayes factors (BF) between the alternative and the null hypothesis, as a way to quantify the

evidence for these effects. In all the parameters, the alternative hypothesis (H_1) was that there was a difference between the predictors in the probability of giving a target-like response, and the null hypothesis (H_0) was that there was no difference. As in the SCT, interpretation of BFs was based on Lee and Wagenmakers' (2014) evidential scale, as described in the previous section. I assumed a priori that anecdotal evidence either for or against H_1 (BFs between 0.33 and 3) was inconclusive regarding the presence or absence of an effect.

5.5.3. Coding and analysis of the Film Retelling Task

The oral narratives were coded in terms of event descriptions (for the whole corpus of narratives, see Appendix 11). Descriptions denoting complex situations – in which an event (or set of events) was embedded in the description of another – counted as single events. This applied to more general complement clauses (e.g., *Er fragt sie, ob sie sich an ihn noch erinnert*, 'He asks her if she still remembers him'; Participant L205), as well as reported clauses in instances of direct speech use (e.g., *(...) und die sagt: 'Nein, das war die Frau'*, '(...) and she says: 'No, it was the woman'; Participant MON09). In both cases, the event description in the embedded clause is an actual argument of the event denoted in the main clause, regardless of whether a complementizer is specified. Embedded events were not coded as individual descriptions and were only analyzed with respect to the matrix event. Each description was then coded for tense, telicity and boundedness.

Events were coded for tense according to the verbal morphology used in the main event description. The tenses used to describe the main temporal structure included: (i) *Präsens* (PRS; simple present), (ii) *Perfekt* (PRF; compound past), and (iii) *Präteritum* (PRT; simple past). Throughout the narratives, the participants made use of several other tenses, such as the *Plusquamperfekt* ('past perfect'), the *Futur I* ('simple future') and some conjunctive forms (*Konjunktiv I* 'present conjunctive' and *Konjunktiv II* 'past conjunctive'), which were coded as "Other", since they are not main narrative tenses and served particular temporal or modal purposes. To illustrate this, in example 43, the event description was coded as PRF for Tense.

43. Also, eine Frau hat einen Brot gestohlen (...)
 so a woman has a bread stolen
 'So, a woman stole some bread.'
 (Participant L218)

Events were coded for telicity according to the specification of a natural endpoint, irrespective of aspect-external factors. In problematic cases, the aspectual class of some predicates was determined using a combination of diagnostics, such as (i) the temporal-semantic entailment test (Nicolay, 2007); (ii) the almost-test (Dowty, 1979); (iii) the future entailment test (Shirai, 2013; Shirai & Andersen, 1995); (iv) the immediate past test (Nicolay, 2007); (v) the resultative modifier test (Egg, 2015; Nicolay, 2007), and (vi) the partitive modifier test (Nicolay, 2007). I refer to Appendix 14 for examples of the aforementioned aspectual diagnostic tests. The more traditional adverbial tests of the type *in / for X time* were avoided, given their coercive influence on certain predicates (see, e.g., Walková, 2012). Telicity was also coded in terms of its source. The most common source of telicity was inherent, i.e., intrinsically encoded by the verb's lexical semantics. Other sources of telicity were compositional in nature, achieved through the combination of the verb with other elements, which included: (i) bounded determiner phrases (DPs); prepositional (PPs) or adverbial phrases (AdvPs) specifying a source or a goal; complementizer phrases (CPs) as complements of transitive verbs; resultative adjectives in secondary predication, and extrinsic resultative verb particles (see examples in Appendix 14).

Event descriptions were then coded for (un)boundedness, either inherited from the aspectual value of the verb phrase or determined by aspect-external factors. These factors included: (i) the use of specific temporal adverbials that framed the eventuality in an aspectually different way from the predicate's telicity value; (ii) the use of modals, which result in stative-like readings (Boneh & Doron, 2010; Hacquard, 2006, 2009); (iii) the use of negation, which also seems to entail some kind of unboundedness (Csirmaz, 2008; Partee, 2008); (iv) sporadic uses of a perfect tense (either *Perfekt* or *Plusquamperfekt*), to convey completion with atelic predicates, and (v) the existence of pragmatic-contextual cues that reconfigured the aspectual framing of a given situation (see Appendix 14).

During the coding process, some event descriptions were excluded from the analysis. Item exclusion was based on a number of criteria, which included cases where: (i) the participant's intended meaning did not correspond to the actual meaning of the verb they used (e.g., *aber die Polizei hat ihn nicht ?betrauen*, 'but the police did not ?entrust him', Participant L202); (ii) the verb was omitted and could not be deduced from context (e.g., *als die Polizisten da hierher____*, 'when the police ____ this way', Participant L243); (iii) the verb used was unclear or inaudible (e.g., *wo die Polizisten was ____*, 'where the policeman ____ something', Participant L205); (iv) the description was interrupted mid-sentence because the participant exceeded the time limit or due to other technical issues in the recording (e.g., *Sie flieh-*, 'She fle-', Participant L205); (v) the same event description was repeated in an exact or near identical way (e.g., *geht aus ohne zahlen; er zählt nicht*, 'he gets out without paying; he does not

pay', Participant L212); (vi) a verb form was used in a different language (e.g., English) because the participant did not know or failed to remember the exact word (e.g., *So die Polizei hat die Frau arrested*, 'so the police arrested the woman', Participant L217); (vii) a given verb was used in the wrong context or with an incorrect meaning, probably due to crosslinguistic interference (e.g., *Dann er hat eine Polizei genannt*, 'then, he named the police', Participant L218); (viii) the participants made some personal commentary about their uncertainty or opinion about the events depicted in the film, which was not relevant for the plot (e.g., *würde ich mal sagen*, 'I would say so', Participant L245; *das hab' ich eigentlich nicht ganz verstanden*, 'actually, I did not completely understand that', Participant MAJ11), and, finally, (ix) a (near) synonymous verb was used to describe the same event that was previously described (e.g., *und (sie) rennt, flüchtet*, 'and (she) runs, flees', Participant MIN01), in which case only the correction was kept.

To check whether the participants' narratives reflect their knowledge and familiarity with German, they were also analyzed in terms of lexical diversity. Many studies have shown that measures of lexical diversity are good indicators of L2 proficiency (Engber, 1995; Treffers-Daller & Korybski, 2016; Treffers-Daller et al., 2018), even though some of them are pretty sensitive to text length (Bestgen, 2024; Covington & McFall, 2010; Cunningham & Haley, 2020; Koizumi, 2012; Treffers-Daller et al., 2018). In line with Zenker and Kyle's (2021) recommendation, I tokenized the whole corpus of oral narratives and applied a measure of lexical diversity (LD), i.e., the MTLD ('Measure of Textual Lexical Diversity'; McCarthy & Jarvis, 2010), using the *koRpus* R package (Michalke, 2021). The MTLD consists of the "mean length of sequential word strings in a text that maintain a given TTR value" (McCarthy & Jarvis, 2010: 384). It works by calculating the type-token ratio (TTR) for each word in the text sequentially until it reaches a default factor size value (here, .720, in accordance with the literature), at which point the factor count increases by one and the TTR evaluations are revamped. Upon calculation, the MTLD was included in the analysis as a potential predictor of lexical knowledge.

To test whether the participants' choice of tense in the narratives differs, I fitted a Bayesian generalized mixed-effects model using the *brms* R package. This model followed a logistic binomial distribution, and the dependent variable consisted of the proportion of present-tense counts, i.e., the higher the estimated parameter, the higher the percentage of present-tense descriptions. Group was included as a fixed effect and the model was fitted without an intercept term, so that the estimates would consist of the log-odds of proportions per Group. Differences between groups were then computed using the *hypothesis()* function of the *brms* package. I also included a by-participant random intercept to account for the different narrative lengths. Following a series of prior predictive checks, I opted for a

normally distributed prior of $N(0, 2.5)$ for the slopes and an exponentially distributed prior of $\exp(1)$ for the random intercept. The Savage-Dickey density ratio method was once again used to compute BFs between hypotheses, and their interpretation was based on Lee and Wagenmakers' (2014) scale, just like in the previous analyses. A sensitivity analysis containing different prior specifications was used to test the validity of the BF results.

6. RESULTS

In this chapter, I present the results of the analyses conducted for each experimental task. First, I detail the results of the SCT by showcasing the model's main effects, interactions, and nested effects for each of the target predictors. Next, I describe the results of the TVJT, emphasizing interactions and simple effects. Finally, I present the findings of the FRT, which include: (i) a qualitative analysis of the participants' oral narratives and their temporal patterns; (ii) a quantitative analysis of the sources of boundedness and telicity found in the corpus; and (iii) a statistical analysis of the differences between groups regarding tense choice.

6.1. Results of the Sentence Conjunction Task

6.1.1. Descriptive analysis

This section reports the descriptive statistics of the SCT per group of speakers. As previously explained, the SCT is essentially a felicity judgment task with an ordinal rating scale. Each rating on the scale represents an abstract level of acceptability (0 = does not make sense, 1 = makes little sense, 2 = makes sense, 4 = makes a lot of sense). Data tidying and visualization were performed in the RStudio software, using the tidyverse (Wickham et al., 2019) and ggplot2 (Wickham, 2016) packages. Figure 16 reports the proportions of the acceptability ratings per condition for each experimental group.

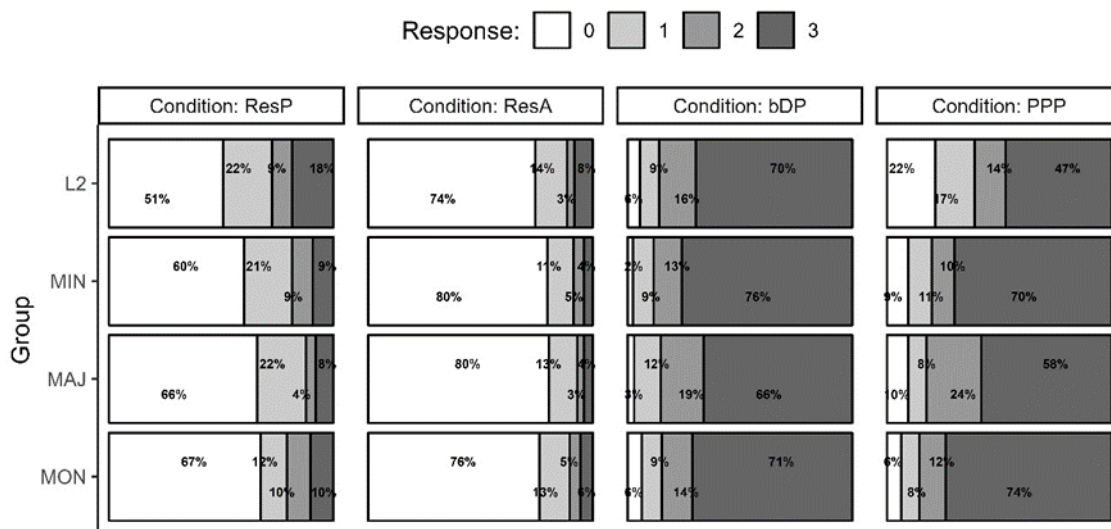


Figure 16. Acceptability ratings (%) in the SCT per Condition and Group.

Figure 16 confirms that the speakers' intuitions about the conditions are congruent with their expected acceptability ratings (see Section 5.3.1). Conditions ResP (resultative particles) and ResA (resultative adjectives) were assigned lower values on the scale, relative to conditions bDP (bounded DPs) and PPP (partitive PPs). The generally similar acceptability rates of bDP and PPP indicate that the latter worked as a control condition in the way it was expected to, showing that the participants understood the task. Speakers also appear to be less accepting of cancellation implicatures with adjectival resultatives than with resultative particles, as seen by the higher density of 0-responses (L2: 74% (ResA) v. 51% (ResP); MIN: 80% (ResA) v. 60% (ResP); MAJ: 80% (ResA) v. 66% (ResP); MON: 76% (ResA) v. 67% (ResP)). The differences between these two conditions, however, do not seem substantial. Both non-native and native speakers of German are also evidently more accepting of bounded Path DPs than both particles and adjectival markers, showing a much higher proportion of 3-responses in this category (L2: 70%; MIN: 76%; MAJ: 66%; MON: 71%).

6.1.2. Main effects of Condition and Group

For parsimony, I will only report the posterior distributions of the target conditions, i.e., resultative particles (ResP), resultative adjectives (ResA), and bounded DPs (bDP). The estimates for partitive PPs (PPP) can be checked in Table A1 in Appendix 12. Figure 17 plots the posterior distributions of the target main effects as estimated by the model. The main effects are estimated across the levels of the other variables (for example, the effects of Group are estimated across the four conditions taken together). Positive values specify an increase in log-odds of the estimated parameter (relative to the reference level), while negative values indicate a decrease.

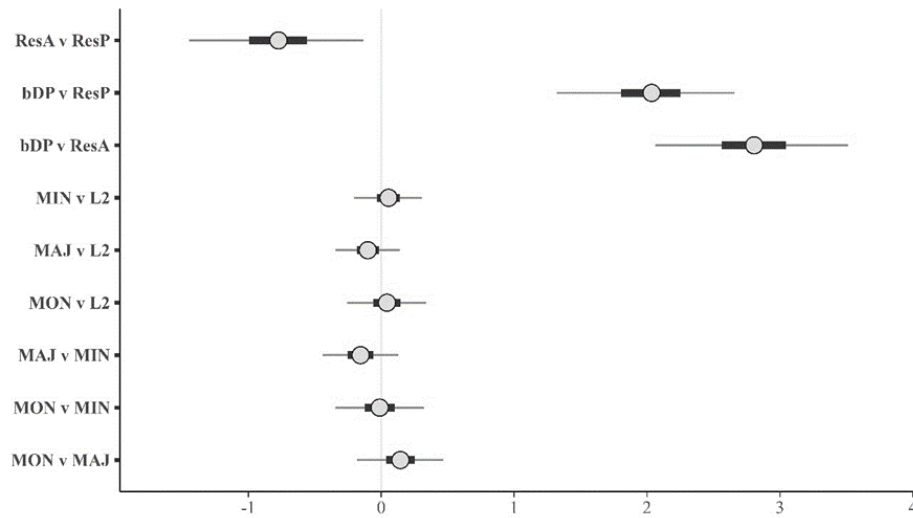


Figure 17. Posterior distributions of the target main effects of Condition and Group, plotted in log space. The circle in the middle represents the mean estimate of the distribution and the lines illustrate the credible intervals (Crls). The thick line represents the 50% Crl and the thin line represents the 95% Crl.

Regarding research question A1, the posterior estimate of the difference between bounded DPs and particles was 2.02 [1.32, 2.66], with the entirety of the probability mass covering positive values. A Bayes factor of 1×10^{17} indicated extreme evidence for a difference between bDP and ResP. As for the difference between DPs and adjectival resultatives, the posterior estimate was 2.80 [2.06, 3.51]. A Bayes factor of 5×10^{19} indicated extreme evidence in favor of a difference between bDP and ResA. A sensitivity analysis showed that the evidence in favor of a difference between bounded DPs and strong telicity markers did not decrease substantially with wider prior standard deviations (see Figure A2 in Appendix 12). Concerning research question A2, the posterior mean of the difference between resultative adjectives and particles was -0.78 log-odds with its 95% Crl ranging from 1.44 to 0.13. Although the credible interval was relatively wide, it also contained values consistent with a predictive effect. A Bayes factor of 5.66 indicated moderate evidence in favor of a difference between these two conditions. A sensitivity analysis using different prior standard deviations showed that this Bayes factor was sensitive to prior information, with both smaller and larger priors decreasing the support for a difference between resultative adjectives and particles (see Figure A2 in Appendix 12).

As for the effects of Group, the posterior distributions are clustered together around zero with very narrow credible intervals, suggesting that all groups performed quite similarly across conditions. The posterior estimates were 0.05 [-0.20, 0.31] for the difference between MIN and L2 ($BF_{10} = 0.14$), -0.10 [-0.34, 0.14] for the difference between MAJ and L2 ($BF_{10} = 0.17$), and 0.04 [-0.26, 0.34] for the

difference between MON and L2 ($BF_{10} = 0.16$). The reported Bayes factors indicated moderate evidence against a difference between each group of native speakers and the L2 group. As for the comparisons between groups of native speakers, the posterior estimates were -0.15 [-0.44, 0.13] for the difference between MAJ and MIN ($BF_{10} = 0.18$), -0.01 [-0.35, 0.32] for the difference between MON and MIN ($BF_{10} = 0.12$), and 0.14 [-0.18, 0.47] for the difference between MON and MAJ ($BF_{10} = 0.17$). The Bayes factors indicated moderate evidence against differences between native speakers. A sensitivity analysis using wider prior standard deviations increased the support against H_1 (see Figure A2 in Appendix 12).

6.1.3. Interactions between Condition and Group

I looked more closely at the model's interaction parameters to determine whether the differences between conditions are substantially larger or smaller in one group relative to the others. Figure 18 plots the posterior distributions of the interactions between groups and target conditions.

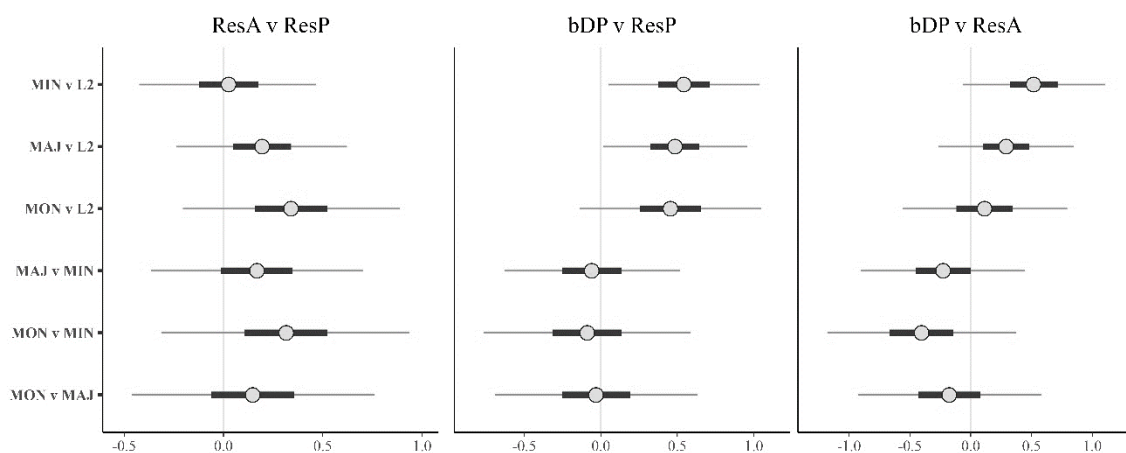


Figure 18. Posterior distributions of the interactions between Condition and Group, plotted in log space. The contrasts between conditions are specified at the top of each facet. The corresponding group comparisons are described on the y-axis. Once again, the circle represents the mean estimate of the distribution, and the lines indicate the 50% (thick line) and 95% CrIs (thin line). The interactions not estimated by the model were calculated manually by extracting the model's posterior draws.

At first glance, there seems to be no indication of potentially relevant interactions. The posterior distributions have very wide intervals, covering both negative and positive values. For example, the difference between ResA and ResP in the MIN vs. L2 comparison yielded a mean posterior estimate of

0.03 with the 95% CrI ranging from -0.42 to 0.46, suggesting that the difference between adjectives and particles is similar in both groups. A series of Bayes factors showed that most of the interaction parameters yielded no evidence in favor of a predictive effect, indicating either anecdotal or moderate evidence against H_1 (see Table A2 in Appendix 12). However, the posterior estimate for the interaction between bDP vs. ResP and MIN vs. L2 was 0.54 [0.05, 1.04]. A Bayes factor of 2.80 indicated anecdotal evidence in favor of an effect. Similarly, the interaction between bDP vs. ResP and MAJ vs. L2 rendered a posterior estimate of 0.48 [0.01, 0.96], with a Bayes factor of 1.80 also suggesting anecdotal evidence for an effect. Only the interaction between bDP vs. ResP and MON vs. L2 yielded anecdotal evidence against an effect (0.45, [-0.14, 1.05], $BF_{10} = 0.96$). A sensitivity analysis using different prior standard deviations confirms that the evidence for these interactions decreases with wider, less informative priors (see Figure A3 in Appendix 12). To attempt to answer research question A3 concerning the differences between native and non-native speakers in all target conditions, I will now estimate the differences between conditions nested by Group.

6.1.4. Nested effects of Condition by Group

The posterior estimates for the nested effects of Condition were calculated using the emmeans R package (Lenth, 2022) and the Bayes factor analyses were conducted with bayestestR (Makowski et al., 2019). Figure 19 plots the posterior distributions of the target parameters.

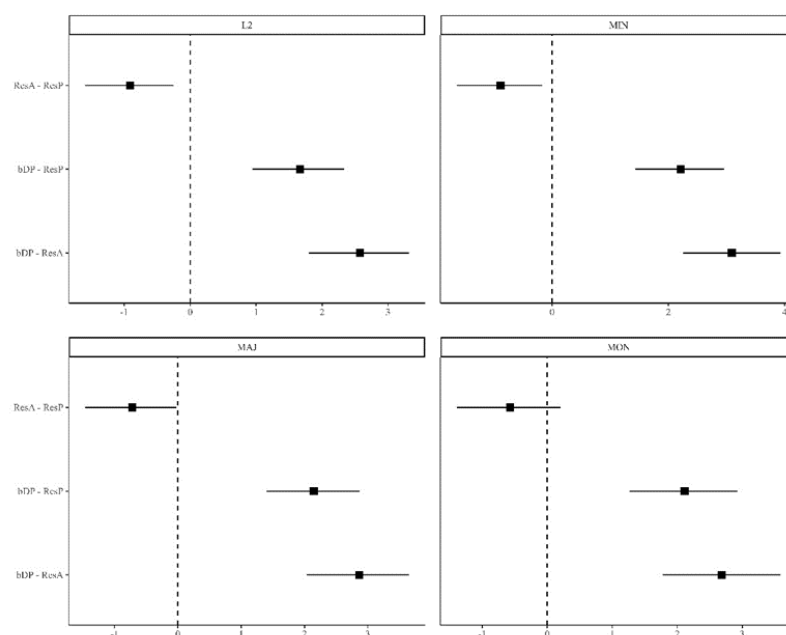


Figure 19. Forest plots reporting the posterior distributions of the nested effects of Condition.

Overall, the differences between bDP and both ResP and ResA have very similar effect sizes in all groups. The center of the distribution deviates from zero and the credible intervals cover only positive values, which is indicative of an increase in acceptability. The Bayes factor analyses indicated extreme evidence in favor of these differences in all groups (see Table A3 in Appendix 12 for the posterior distributions and respective Bayes factors). The subsequent sensitivity analysis confirmed that the evidence for a difference between bounded DPs and both particles and adjectives does not change substantially with larger prior standard deviations (see Figure A4 in Appendix 12).

On the other hand, the posterior estimates for the difference between ResA and ResP were quite different across groups. In general, most of the probability mass covered negative values, consistent with a decrease in acceptability. However, the evidence decreases as we go from L2 to MON. The posterior estimate for L2 was -0.92 [-1.59, -0.25], with a Bayes factor of 11.94 indicating strong evidence in support of a predictive effect. As for MIN, the posterior estimate was -0.89 [-1.64, -0.17], and a Bayes factor of 5.72 indicated moderate evidence in favor of a difference. In the MAJ group, the posterior estimate was -0.72 [-1.47, -0.03] and the evidence decreased once again, with a Bayes factor of 2.12 suggesting moderate evidence in favor of H_1 . Finally, the MON group rendered a posterior estimate of 0.58 [-1.39, 0.20], with a Bayes factor of 0.87 indicating anecdotal evidence against an effect. The sensitivity analysis showed that, across all groups, the evidence supporting H_1 decreased substantially with weakly informative priors, particularly in the groups of native speakers (see Figure A4 in Appendix 12).

6.2. Results of the Truth-Value Judgment Task

6.2.1. Descriptive analysis

Figure 20 plots the proportions of target vs. non-target responses in each predicate condition across the four experimental groups and situation types.

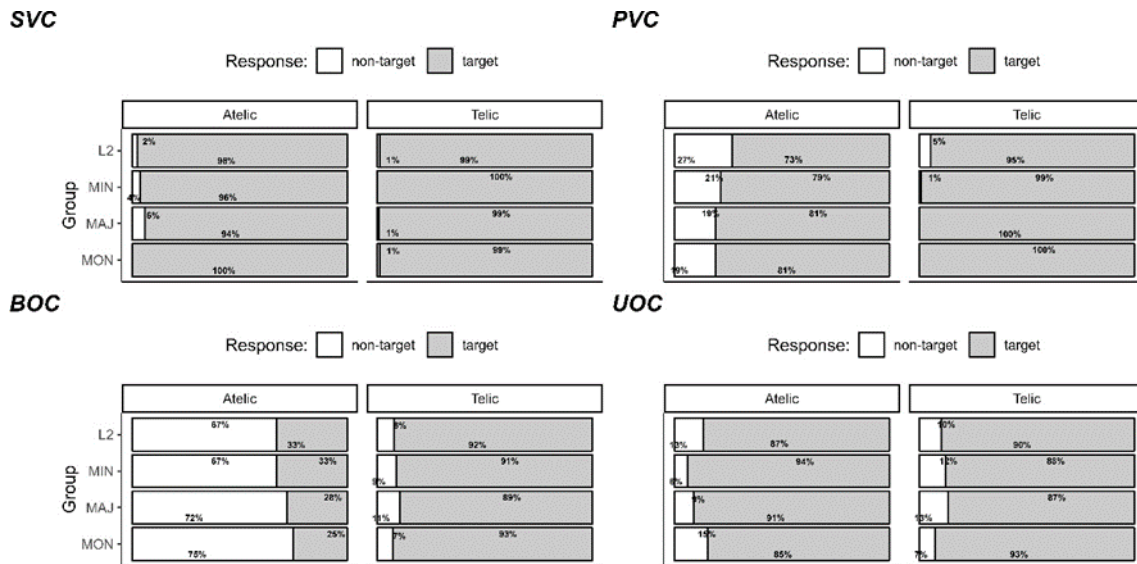


Figure 20. Proportion of non-target and target responses (in %) in each of the four predicate types across all groups of participants and situation types. Notes: SVC = simplex verb construction. PVC = particle verb construction. BOC = bounded object construction. UOC = unbounded object construction.

Figure 20 clearly shows that the participants' proportion of target responses was near ceiling in most of the predicate conditions, ranging from 94% to 100% in simplex verb constructions (SVC), 73% to 100% in particle verb constructions (PVC) and 85% to 94% in unbounded object constructions (UOC). Conversely, the percentage of target responses to bounded object constructions (BOC) ranged from 25% to 33% in atelic situations (non-target: 67% to 75%), a significantly lower proportion compared to the other predicate types in both telic and atelic settings. These patterns were expected and are consistent with the literature (see Schulz & Ose, 2008; Schulz & Penner, 2002). Figure 20 also suggests that the participants' response patterns in the remaining predictors are very similar across groups.

6.2.2. Three-way and two-way interactions of Group, Predicate, and Situation

Figure 21 plots the posterior distributions of the three-way Group x Predicate x Situation interactions. All the assessed interaction parameters yielded inconclusive results. As expected, the subsequent sensitivity analysis revealed that the evidence for H_0 in most cases tended to increase with wider prior standard deviations (see Figures B1 to B3 in Appendix 13; for a discussion, see Schad et al., 2021).

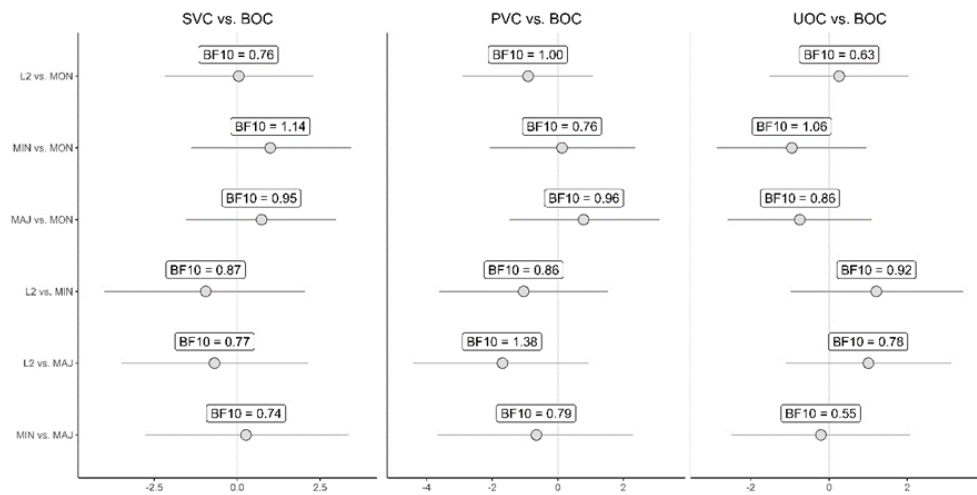


Figure 21. Posterior distributions of effect sizes of the three-way Group x Predicate x Situation interaction. The circle represents the posterior mean, and the lines represent the 95% CrIs. The label above each interval indicates the result of the Bayes factor analysis.

The results of the two-way Group x Predicate interactions were also inconclusive in most cases, as reported in Figure 22. There was moderate evidence suggesting that the difference between particle verbs and bounded objects was greater in the L2 group than in the groups of monolinguals (-1.48 [-2.80, -0.20], $BF_{10} = 5.70$) and German majority-language speakers (-2.00 [-3.64, -0.47], $BF_{10} = 8.88$), which remained stable with wider prior SDs (see Figures B4 to B6 in Appendix 13).

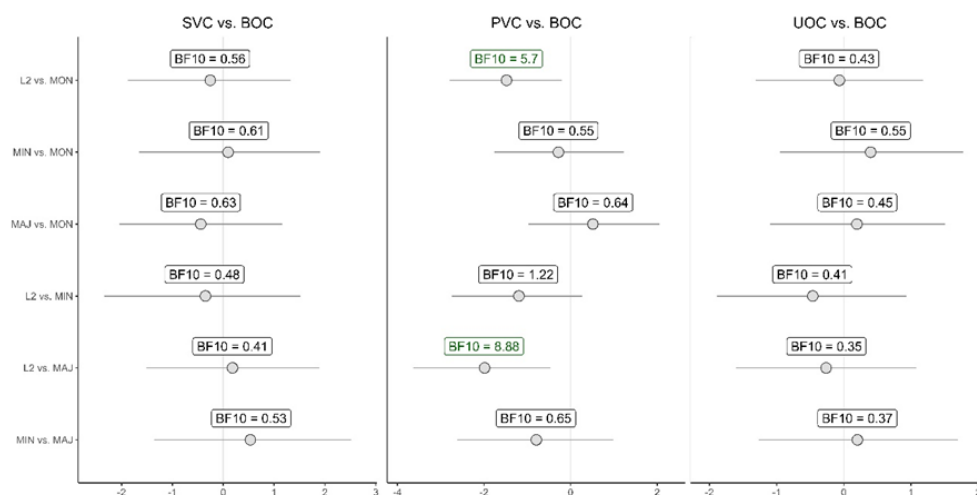


Figure 22. Posterior distributions of effect sizes of the two-way Group x Predicate interaction. The circle represents the posterior mean, and the lines represent the 95% CrIs. The label above each interval indicates the result of the Bayes factor analysis. Green-labelled BFs indicate moderate evidence in favor of H_1 .

Figure 23 plots the two-way Predicate x Situation interaction. There is some evidence suggesting that the difference between simple verbs and bounded objects was greater in telic than in atelic contexts (-1.70 [-3.45, 0.16], $BF_{10} = 3.45$); there is also moderate evidence indicating that the difference between unbounded and bounded objects was greater in telic settings (-2.08 [-3.87, -0.19], $BF_{10} = 6.93$). However, the evidential weight decreased with wider priors (see Figure B7 in Appendix 13).

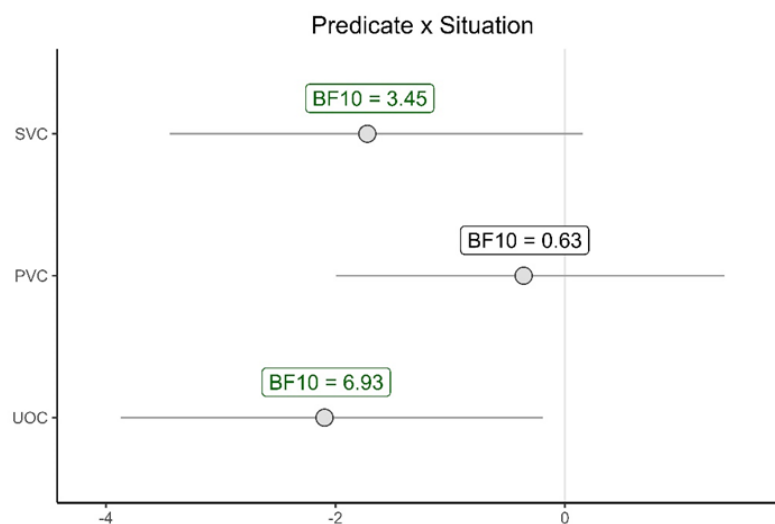


Figure 23. Posterior distributions of effect sizes of the two-way Predicate x Situation interaction. The circle represents the posterior mean, and the lines represent the 95% CrIs. The label above each interval indicates the result of the Bayes factor analysis. Green-labelled BFs indicate moderate evidence in favor of H_1 .

Based on these results, I conducted a follow-up analysis to see whether there was evidence in favor of a within-group Predicate x Situation interaction. Figure 24 plots the posterior distributions and corresponding BFs of this interaction for each group of speakers.

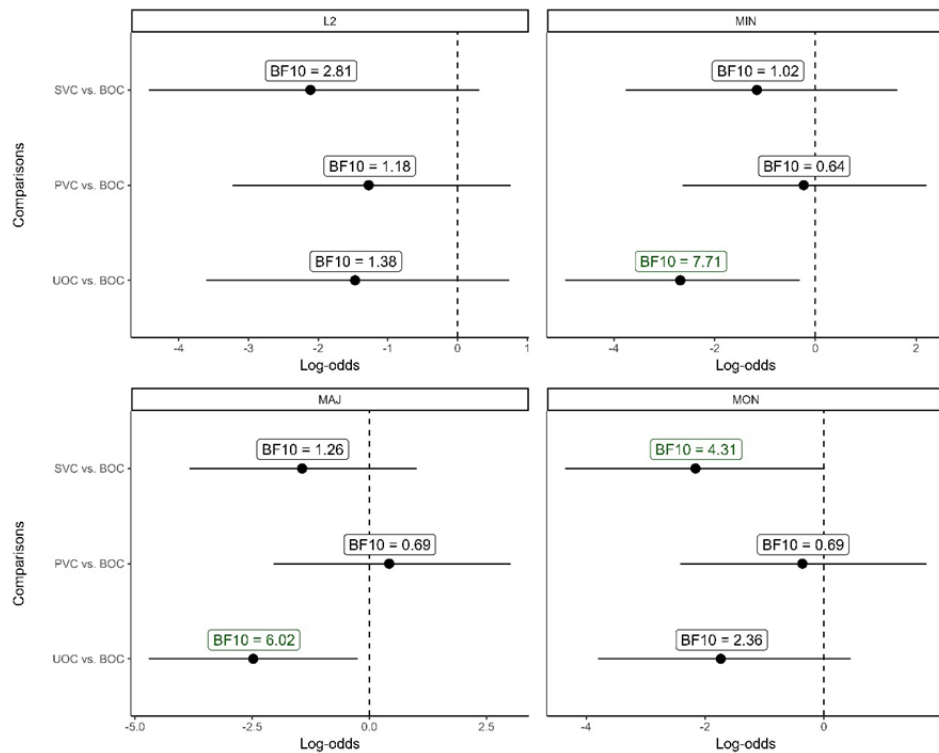


Figure 24. Posterior distributions of effect sizes of the two-way Predicate x Situation interaction for each experimental group. The circle represents the posterior mean, and the lines represent the 95% CIs. The label above each interval indicates the result of the Bayes factor analysis. Green-labelled BFs indicate moderate evidence in favor of H_1 .

My follow-up analysis confirmed there is moderate evidence in favor of a difference between simple verbs and bounded objects in telic relative to atelic situations, but only in the group of monolinguals (-2.16 [-4.36, 0.016], $BF_{10} = 4.31$). A sensitivity analysis showed that the evidential weight decreased with a narrower prior ($BF_{10} = 2.20$; see Figure B8 in Appendix 13). There is also moderate evidence for a greater difference between unbounded and bounded objects in telic situations, but it is restricted to German minority (-2.68 [-4.97, -0.31], $BF_{10} = 7.71$) and majority-language speakers (-2.48 [-4.70, -0.25], $BF_{10} = 6.02$). However, the sensitivity analysis showed that the evidence decreases with narrower and wider priors, i.e., the smallest BFs are 2.54 in the MIN group and 2.32 in the MAJ group (see Figure B10 in Appendix 13).

6.2.3. Simple effects of Predicate and Situation

Since most of the evidence regarding between-group differences was inconclusive, I wanted to determine whether the differences between predicates were conditional on the nature of visual stimuli only. Table

11 reports the simple effects of Predicate and Situation with the corresponding BFs. The model-estimated posterior distributions are consistent with the existence of a difference between the predictors, with the BFs indicating very strong to extreme evidence in favor of H_1 .

Table 11. *Model-estimated effect sizes (in log-odds) and corresponding BFs of the simple effects of Predicate and Situation.*

	Mean	95% CrI	BF10
SVC vs. BOC	3.43	[2.12, 4.62]	1×10^{14}
PVC vs. BOC	2.18	[0.83, 3.46]	49.90
UOC vs. BOC	2.26	[1.13, 3.40]	446.07
Telic vs. Atelic	2.77	[1.59, 3.96]	2×10^4

I then computed the differences between predicate types for each situational setting (telic vs. atelic). Figure 25 plots the posterior distributions and respective BFs of the simple effects of Predicate grouped by situation type.

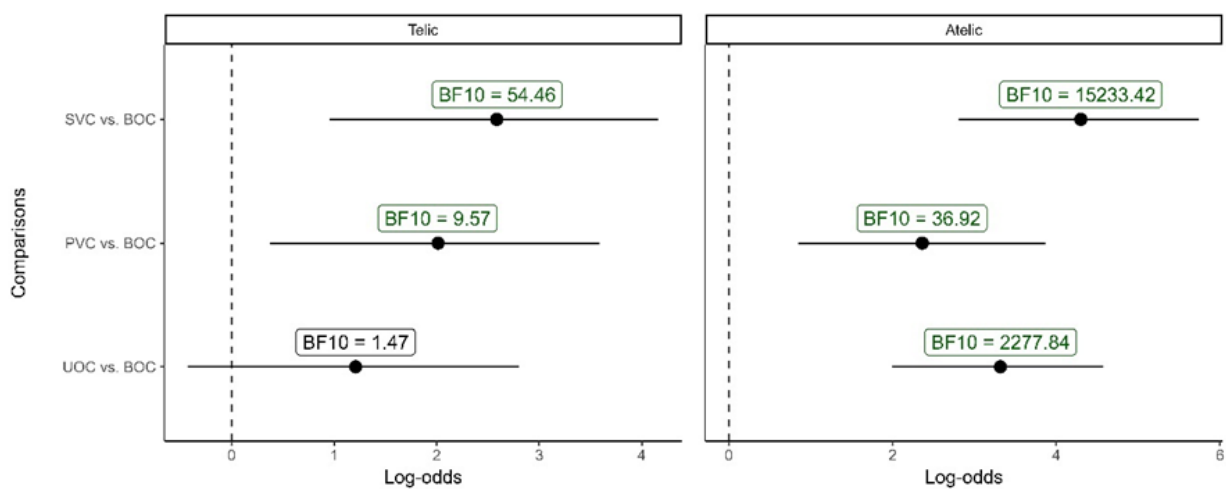


Figure 25. Posterior distributions of the effect sizes of Predicate per Situation across all groups. The circle represents the posterior mean, and the lines represent the 95% CrIs. The label above each interval indicates the result of the Bayes factor analysis. Green-labelled BFs indicate moderate to extreme evidence in favor of H_1 .

The posterior estimate for the difference between simple verbs and bounded objects was 2.59 [0.95, 4.16] in the telic condition, with a BF10 of 54.46 suggesting very strong evidence in favor of an effect.

The sensitivity analysis showed a decrease in evidence with a narrower prior, but BF_s were higher than 16.62 in all models with wider priors (see Figure B11 in Appendix 13). In the atelic condition, the posterior estimate was 4.30 [2.81, 5.74] with a BF₁₀ of 1.52x10⁴ indicating extreme evidence for this difference. The sensitivity analysis indicated a substantial increase in evidential weight with larger prior SDs (above 2x10⁵; see Figure B12 in Appendix 13). The results also indicated very strong evidence for a difference between particle verbs and bounded objects (2.36 [0.85, 3.87], BF₁₀ = 36.92) and extreme evidence for a difference between unbounded and bounded objects (3.32 [1.99, 4.58], BF₁₀ = 2277.84), both in atelic settings. The sensitivity analysis showed that the evidence remained relatively stable with wider priors, i.e., above 54.22 in the difference between particles and bounded objects, and above 1x10⁴ in the difference between unbounded and bounded objects (see Figure B12 in Appendix 13).

6.3. Results of the Film Retelling Task

6.3.1. Descriptive analysis of boundedness and narrative tense

Table 12 reports the counts and proportions of the participants' narratives in the FRT, divided by group, tense used and the boundedness value of the situations. As described earlier, the main tenses were the simple present (PRS; *Präsens*), the compound past tense (PRF; *Perfekt*) and the simple past tense (PRT; *Präteritum*). As mentioned in Section 5.5.3, embedded events and infinitive clauses were not counted for analysis, neither were instances of other non-target tense forms (e.g., conjunctive past).

Table 12. *Counts and proportions (%) of the event descriptions in the FRT.*

Tense	[±b]	L2 (<i>N</i> = 28)		MIN (<i>N</i> = 19)		MAJ (<i>N</i> = 22)		MON (<i>N</i> = 18)	
		<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
PRS	[+b]	141	29.8	259	52.4	270	55.4	278	62.9
	[-b]	64	13.5	81	16.4	90	18.5	93	21
PRF	[+b]	166	35.1	63	12.8	82	16.8	52	11.8
	[-b]	3	0.6	1	0.2	0	0	0	0
PRT	[+b]	41	8.7	56	11.3	28	5.7	8	1.8
	[-b]	58	12.3	34	6.9	17	3.5	11	2.5
Total		473	100	494	100	487	100	442	100

Notes: PRS = *Präsens*; PRF = *Perfekt*; PRT = *Präteritum*; [+b] = bounded; [-b] = unbounded.

Table 12 clearly shows that the participants from the groups of native speakers (i.e., MIN, MAJ, and MON) had somewhat similar preferences regarding their choice of narrative tense. Over 83% of the situations were described using the present tense in the monolingual group (bounded: 62.9%, unbounded: 21%). The groups of bilinguals manifested the same patterns with slightly lower proportions, i.e., German minority-language speakers used the present approximately 69% of the time, and German majority-language speakers 74%. The patterns found in the group of non-native speakers are substantially different, with L2ers using the present to describe about 43% of the situations (bounded: 29.8%, unbounded: 13.5%). Most of their event descriptions were made using past tenses (about 57% of the time; PRF: 35.7%, PRT: 20.9%), as opposed to the remaining groups which made use of past tenses only 16% (MON), 26% (MAJ), and 31% (MIN) of the time.

Unsurprisingly, most event descriptions consisted of bounded sentences (about 74% in the L2 group; 77% in MIN; 78% in MAJ; 76% in MON). Note that the PRF was overwhelmingly tied with bounded descriptions, with only a few occurrences with unbounded situations in all groups (also due to the context-dependent bounding nature of the PRF; see Section 5.5.3). Use of the PRT was balanced across bounded and unbounded events. Overall, L2 speakers produced approximately 25% of the event descriptions in the sample, German minority and majority-language bilinguals produced 26% each, and monolinguals about 23%. However, it should be noted that not only was the number of participants different across groups (see Table 12), but there was also a fair amount of within-group variability in the duration of their narratives and the number of descriptions they performed. Table 13 illustrates this variation in the data. Instead of the mean and standard deviation, I report the median and interquartile range (IQR) to better reflect the non-normal data distribution. The IQR represents the middle 50% of the distribution and can be obtained by subtracting the third (75%) and the first (25%) quartiles.

Table 13. *Descriptive summary of the participants' event descriptions per group and tense.*

	L2		MIN		MAJ		MON	
	m	IQR (Q1, Q3)	m	IQR (Q1, Q3)	m	IQR (Q1, Q3)	m	IQR (Q1, Q3)
PRS	3.5	10 (1, 11)	22	11.5 (13.5, 25)	17.5	16 (8.5, 24.5)	22	7 (18.5, 25.5)
PRF	4.5	10 (1, 11)	1	4.5 (1, 5.5)	1	3 (0, 3)	1	2.75 (0.25, 3)
PRT	3.5	5 (0, 5)	1	2 (0, 2)	0	1 (0, 1)	0	0.75 (0, 0.75)

Notes. m = median; IQR = interquartile range; Q1 = first quartile (25%); Q3 = third quartile (75%).

Notice how both the median and the IQR for the present is higher in the groups of native speakers than in L2 (m = 3.5, IQR = 10 [1, 11]). In addition, the medians of both present-tense and past-tense descriptions are more balanced in L2, with PRF displaying a slightly higher median value (m = 4.5, IQR = 10 [1, 11]) than PRS and PRT. Conversely, the values for PRS in the groups of native speakers are substantially larger than in L2, suggesting a higher propensity for native speakers to use the present as their main narrative tense. However, the IQR is smaller in MON (18.5, 25.5) than in MIN (13.5, 25) and MAJ (8.5, 24.5), which indicates that there is more variation of present-tense use in the groups of bilinguals, relative to the group of monolinguals. This data suggests that the choice of narrative tense is a good indicator of the speakers' different conceptualization patterns and narrative strategies and requires further investigation.

6.3.2. Analysis of sources of boundedness and telicity

Table 14 summarizes the sources of (un)boundedness found in the participants' narratives. Most descriptions rested on the verb phrase's aspect-internal semantics to establish temporal (un)boundedness (VP). Other forms of expression included adverbials (ADV), specific uses of the *Perfekt* tense (PRF), modal verbs (MOD), negation (NEG) or narrative context (CONT).

Table 14. *Sources of (un)boundedness in the participants' event descriptions per Group.*

[±b]	Type	L2		MIN		MAJ		MON	
		<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
bounded	VP	294	84.5	347	91.8	339	89.2	314	92.9
	ADV	10	2.9	9	2.4	5	1.3	6	1.8
	CONT	12	3.4	16	4.2	20	5.3	7	2.1
	PERF	32	9.2	6	1.6	16	4.2	11	3.3
Total		348	100	378	100	380	100	338	100
unbounded	VP	96	76.8	73	62.9	80	74.8	76	73.1
	ADV	2	1.6	11	9.5	6	5.6	5	4.8
	CONT	2	1.6	0	0	0	0	4	3.8
	MOD	20	16	24	20.7	10	9.3	16	15.4
	NEG	5	4	8	6.9	11	10.3	3	2.9
Total		125	100	116	100	107	100	104	100

Notes: VP = verb phrase; ADV = adverbial; CONT = context; PERF = Perfekt; MOD = modal; NEG = negation.

There was a slightly higher tendency for L2 speakers to use PRF forms to frame inherently atelic situations as aspectually bounded (about 9%), as compared to bilinguals (MIN: 2.4%, MAJ: 4.5%) and monolinguals (3.3%). This could be explained by the fact that the L2 speakers, in general, used more past-tense descriptions than the native speakers (see Table 12). All groups were proportionally similar in their sources of (un)boundedness.

Table 15 reports the proportions of telic events used in the narratives according to the source of their telicity, which was either the verb's intrinsic lexical semantics (coded as LEX) or the verb's cooccurrence with some grammatical aspectual marker, such as a determiner or noun phrase (DP), a complementizer phrase (CP), a prepositional phrase (PP), a verb particle (PART), a resultative adjective in secondary predication (ADJ) or even an aspectual verb (ASP).

Table 15. *Sources of telicity in the participants' telic event descriptions per Group.*

	L2		MIN		MAJ		MON	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
LEX	237	73.1	274	70.8	269	73.1	237	68.5
DP	34	10.5	32	8.3	25	5.8	14	4
CP	4	1.2	2	0.5	4	1.1	11	3.2
PP	22	6.8	32	8.3	27	7.3	29	8.4
PART	24	7.4	41	10.6	39	10.6	49	14.2
ADJ	1	0.3	3	0.8	3	0.8	5	1.4
ASP	2	0.6	3	0.8	1	0.3	1	0.3
Total	324	100	387	100	368	100	346	100

As expected, most of the telic events used in the speakers' narratives were built with inherently telic verbs (see LEX in Table 15), which is unsurprising, given the types of situations depicted in the film (e.g., stealing, escaping, falling, being arrested). These were followed by complex predicates with determiner phrases (e.g., *hat ein großes Mahlzeit gegessen*, 'ate a big meal', Participant L234), predicates with prepositional phrases (e.g., *geht zur Kasse*, 'goes to the checkout', Participant MAJ26), and resultative particle verbs (e.g., *die Frau springt auf*, 'the woman leaps up', Participant MON05). Regarding particle telicity markers, L2 speakers produced slightly less (about 5%) than native speakers (e.g., MON: 11%). Monolinguals, on the other hand, produced slightly fewer DPs (approximately 3%) than both L2 speakers (about 7%) and bilinguals (MIN: 7%, MAJ: 5%). Apart from these slight differences, all groups were similar with respect to their use of different types of telic events, which appears to be a consequence of the limited types of situations depicted.

6.3.3. Conceptualization patterns and temporal structure

Analysis of the participants' oral narratives yielded two different temporal organizational strategies: (i) the typical German conceptualization pattern observed in previous studies (e.g., Von Stutterheim et al., 2003), in which speakers mainly used the present tense and described situations as a string of self-contained units, and (ii) a deictic conceptualization pattern, in which speakers described events as if they had actually happened through the use of past tenses. Both bilinguals and monolinguals showed a higher

preference for the typical event conceptualization pattern of German narratives, while L2 speakers oscillated between this one and the deictic perspective strategy.

By using the present as their narrative tense, German monolinguals implemented a specific perspective-taking strategy, in which events were viewed as fictitious and described as a list of circumstances, almost as if they were prefaced by something like “these are the things I have seen in the film” (see Von Stutterheim et al., 2003: 108). Given the lack of forms of temporal and aspectual marking in German, the monolinguals mostly relied on boundedness to move narrative time (via implicit reference) and used adverbials to establish non-deductive temporal relations or express several types of aspectual information. Table 16 illustrates this preferred pattern in the monolinguals’ narratives.

Table 16. *Example from the narrative of Participant MON13.*

	Text	[±b]	Temporal structure	Forms of representation
a)	Eine Frau kommt an einem Laden vorbei 'A woman comes around a shop'	[+b]	TT established	Implicit reference
b)	und schaut in das Schaufenster 'and looks through the window'	[+b]	TT shifted	
c)	und nutzt dann die Gelegenheit, Brot aus einem Lastwagen zu klauen, 'and then takes the opportunity to steal bread from a truck,'	[+b]	TT shifted	Implicit reference + adverbial (dann)
d)	der gerade den Laden beliefert. 'that is supplying the shop.'	[-b]	TT maintained	Progressive (adverbial)
e)	Doch eine Frau hat sie gesehen 'However, a woman saw her'	[+b]	TT shifted	Context (past)
f)	und die erste Frau rennt davon, 'and the first woman runs off,'	[+b]	TT shifted	Implicit reference
g)	stösst mit einem Mann zusammen 'bumps against a man'	[+b]	TT shifted	
h)	und beide fallen hin auf den Boden. 'and both fall on the ground.'	[+b]	TT shifted	

As seen in Table 16, German monolinguals resort to boundedness to move narrative time forward and make use of temporal adverbials such as *dann* ('then') to explicitly link the current topic time (TT) to the preceding time of situation (TSit), although their specification is usually redundant. On the other hand, unbounded situations maintain an already established TT, which can be determined by implicit reference, some temporal adverbials (e.g., *gerade* 'right now') or simply context. Perspective shifts are present, but not common, and they are mainly used to refer to unmentioned events occurring in a temporal frame prior to an already described situation (see description e)). Overall, situations are presented as single units and little to no attention is paid to their phasal structure.

Some aspects of the monolinguals' narratives set them apart from those of L2 speakers and even bilinguals. For example, some speakers conveyed imperfectivity using complex participial noun phrases to express that a background event was occurring concomitantly with the event described in the main structure (see 44a). This strategy was also found in some of the German majority-language bilinguals' (see 44b) and German minority-language bilinguals' (see 44c) narratives, but no L2 speakers produced structures like these. In fact, progressivity was overwhelmingly avoided by the L2ers, with only a few speakers attempting to express it in terms of temporal overlapping (see 44d).

44. a) (...) und schlägt *den gerade zu sich kommenden*
 (...) and hits the right-now to himself coming
Polizisten bewusstlos.
 policeman unconscious
 '(...) and (he) knocks the policeman, who is starting to come to his senses, unconscious.'
 (Participant MON05)

- b) (...) gibt *vorbeigehenden Kindern* mehrere Süßigkeiten.
 (...) gives passing children several sweets
 '(...) and (he) gives many sweets to children, who are passing by.'
 (Participant MAJ09)

- c) (...) eine barfuß laufende Frau klaut
 (...) a barefoot walking woman steals
 ein Stück Brot (...)
 a piece bread (...)
 ‘(...) a woman, who is walking barefoot, steals a piece of bread (...)’
 (Participant MIN12)
- d) Als die Frau verfolgt wird, hilft ihr der Mann.
 when the woman followed is helps her the man
 ‘While the woman is being followed, the man helps her.’
 (Participant L224)

Some monolinguals used multiple adverbials in the same event description to express different kinds of temporal information (see 45a), or to emphasize a specific type of temporal relation (see 45a and 45b). L2 speakers, on the other hand, rarely used more than one temporal expression in the same event description, and their inclusion was, in most cases, merely additional to the role of boundedness (e.g., *dann* 'then').

45. a) Der Mann mit Hut (...) hat *daraufhin* *dann* *später*
the man with hat (...) has thereafter then later
wieder etwas gestohlen (...) again something stolen (...)
'Thereafter, the man with the hat, then, stole something else again later.'
(Participant MON08)
- b) (...) und *danach* sind sie *dann* geflohen, gemeinsam.
(...) and after are they then escaped together
'(...) and then, after that, they escaped together.'
(Participant MON15)

Monolinguals' narratives were also distinguishable from those of L2 speakers because of how they used the PRT in past-referring situations. In the few cases where they used PRT forms, they were restricted to

passive constructions (e.g., *wurde festgenommen*, ‘was arrested), stative verbs (e.g., *war* ‘was’; *saßen* ‘sat’), deictic motion verbs (e.g., *kam*, ‘came’) and modals (e.g., *konnte*, ‘could’). Their choice of PRT seemed to rely on aspectual or usage-based reasons (see 46). In the L2 and MIN groups, however, there was a greater deal of variation. Some of these speakers chose the PRT as their main narrative tense, using it to describe the whole plot, a pattern that was not found in any of the monolinguals’ narratives. I posit that this decision is related to some trends found in formal instruction. PRT is often presented as a stylistic tense, used in more formal (often written) contexts. This preconception may have pushed some speakers to choose it over the more “casual” tense forms. However, they still show an inclination towards narrating eventualities from a deictic perspective.

46. (...) *wurde* von der Polizei dann auch mitgenommen und
 (...) was.PRT of the police then too taken.along and
 sein Plan *ging* dann auf, indem er die Frau danach
 his plan went.PRT then up, as he the woman after
 im Polizeiauto (...) gefunden hat, (...)
 in.the police.car (...) found has, (...)
 ‘(...) (he) was also taken by the police and his plan worked out, since he found the woman in the police car (...)’

(Participant MON15)

As mentioned above – and contrary to monolinguals – L2 speakers produced many past-tense descriptions in their narratives. Table 17 provides an example of the deictic pattern found in the L2 speakers’ corpus. They resorted to boundedness to link the TT to the previous TSit but avoided more complex temporal structures. Instead, they relied on pragmatic factors, like chronological order (see description f) in Table 17). Only some speakers described events out of order or switched between PRF and PRT forms, with most of them maintaining the same tense throughout the narrative. For most speakers, choice of narrative tense was moved by stylistic purposes, not aspectual ones. In cases where perspective shifts did indeed take place, PRT was preferred for scene setting with modals and stative constructions (see description a)). There was also a tendency to extend situations by decomposing events into various phases (leading to or during the process; as in descriptions a) to e)), and there was a substantial focus on the characters’ motivations and intentions (see description d)).

Table 17. *Example from the narrative of Participant L210.*

	Text	[±b]	Temporal structure	Forms of representation
a)	Ein Frau stand vor ein Bäckerei 'A woman was standing in front of a bakery'	[-b]	TT established (interval)	Implicit reference
b)	und sie hat kein Geld für Brot 'and she has no money for bread'	[-b]	TT maintained	
c)	und sie hat ein Brot gesehen 'and she saw a (piece of) bread'	[+b]	TT shifted	
d)	und sie hat diese Möglichkeit gefunden, Brot dann zu klauen, 'and she found this chance to steal bread'	[+b]	TT shifted	
e)	und sie hat den Brot geklaut. 'and she stole the bread.'	[+b]	TT shifted	
f)	Ein Frau hat das gesehen 'A woman saw that'	[+b]	TT shifted	Context (past)
g)	und dann hat die Polizei angerufen. 'and then she called the police'	[+b]	TT shifted	Adverbial (<i>dann</i>)

Although many L2 speakers chose to conceptualize events using the deictic perspective strategy, others adopted the typical temporal organizational pattern found in the monolinguals' strategies, as exemplified in Table 18. Here, events were viewed holistically and described as single units, but some unconventional features could still be observed, such as the tendency for a phasal decomposition of the events (see description b)), and a special focus on the characters' motivations and point of view (see f) and g)).

Table 18. *Example from the narrative of Participant L205.*

	Text	[±b]	Temporal structure	Forms of representation
a)	Als sich ein Polizist an Situation annähert, 'As a policeman approaches the situation,'	[-b]	TT established (interval)	Temporal overlap (adverbial)
b)	fängt sie einmal an, sich zu entschuldigen, 'she starts to apologize,'	[+b]	TT shifted	
c)	doch ein Passant nimmt die Schuld auf sich. 'but a pedestrian takes the blame.'	[+b]	TT shifted	Implicit reference
d)	Der Polizist glaubt ihm 'The policeman believes him'	[-b]	TT maintained	
e)	und verlässt die Szene. 'and abandons the scene.'	[+b]	TT shifted	
f)	Die Frau wirkt verwirrt, 'The woman seems confused,'	[-b]	TT maintained	
g)	denn sie versteht nicht, warum... 'because she does not understand why...'	[-b]	TT maintained	

The bilingual speakers' narratives displayed patterns common to both strategies. Overall, the narratives of MAJ speakers were closer to those of monolinguals, in that they preferred to describe situations in the present and assumed a holistic descriptive strategy. Table 19 provides an example of a German majority-language bilingual's narrative. Relative to L2 speakers, they made use of a wider variety of adverbial expressions to establish various temporal relations, such as simultaneity (see description e)) and temporal overlapping (see descriptions a)-b) and f)-g)).

Table 19. *Example from the narrative of Participant MAJ22.*

	Text	[±b]	Temporal structure	Forms of representation
	Als der Kurier die Ware in die Bäckerei bringt,		TT	
a)	'While a courier is bringing the goods into the bakery,'	[-b]	established (interval)	Temporal overlap (adverbial)
b)	ergreift die Frau, [], die Möglichkeit 'the woman takes, (...), the opportunity'	[+b]	TT shifted	
c)	[die sehr am Verhungern zu sein scheint] 'who appears to be starving'	[-b]	TT maintained	Implicit reference
d)	und klaut ein Brot. 'and steals a piece of bread.'	[+b]	TT shifted	
e)	Dabei wird sie von einer anderen etwas reicheren Frau gesehen. 'At the same time, she is being watched by another, somewhat richer woman.'	[-b]	TT maintained	Simultaneity (adverbial)
f)	Als die Frau versucht zu flüchten, 'While the woman is trying to escape,'	[-b]	TT maintained	Temporal overlap (adverbial)
g)	rennt sie gegen Charlie Chaplin. '(she) bumps into Charlie Chaplin.'	[+b]	TT shifted	

The preferred organizational strategy for the MIN bilinguals is the one found in the MON and MAJ narratives. Nevertheless, they showed a higher tendency to describe situations deictically using PRT forms (see Table 12). Their focus on the characters' standpoint was also present in some contexts, as was the L2-specific trend to decompose eventualities into various internal stages, albeit not substantially. Table 20 provides an example of the preferred strategy used in the German minority-language bilinguals' narratives.

Table 20. *Examples from the narrative of Participant MIN27.*

	Text	[±b]	Temporal structure	Forms of representation
a)	Das schöne, hübsche Mädchen läuft barfuss durch die Stadt, 'The lovely, pretty woman is walking barefoot through the city,'	[-b]	TT established (interval)	Implicit reference
b)	sieht eine Bäckerei, '(she) sees a bakery,'	[+b]	TT shifted	
c)	sie hat Hunger 'she is hungry'	[-b]	TT maintained	
d)	und bei dieser Bäckerei wird gerade Brot angeliefert, unter anderen. 'and bread, among other things, is being delivered to this bakery.'	[-b]	TT maintained	Progressive (adverbial)
e)	Der dicke Bäcker ist gerade dabei, was von dem Kofferraum des Wagens in die Bäckerei reinzutragen, 'The fat baker is carrying something from the trunk of the car to the bakery,'	[-b]	TT maintained	
f)	und dann sieht sie eine Chance, 'and then, she sees a chance,'	[+b]	TT shifted	Implicit reference + adverbial (dann)
g)	klaut sich ein Baguette (...) '(she) steals a baguette (...)'	[+b]	TT shifted	

In conclusion, the participants resorted to two main strategies of temporal organization in their narratives: (i) most monolingual and bilingual speakers chose to describe situations in the present, treating them as fictitious and describing them as a string of factual units. Some L2 speakers also resorted to this strategy, but many chose to describe situations deictically – using past tenses – as if they had witnessed it happen in real life. Overall, speakers relied on points of completion and overall boundedness to move narrative time forward. Monolinguals and bilinguals used different expressions to convey various temporal meanings, while L2 speakers avoided more complex temporal structures. Regarding event construal, L2

speakers tended to extend situations, describing them from different perspectives and decomposing them into several stages. They also tended to focus more on the characters' intentions and points of view than monolinguals. Bilingual speakers showed patterns that were closer to monolinguals, with MIN bilinguals steering more towards the organizational strategies of L2 speakers than MAJ bilinguals, although not extensively.

6.3.4. Bayesian analysis: Differences between groups in the proportions of present-tense vs. past-tense event descriptions

I fitted a mixed-effects binomial model with Group as a fixed effect to assess whether there were differences between groups in the proportions of present-tense and past-tense descriptions. Group was coded in a way that would allow each estimate to reflect only one mean – i.e., each estimate was coded with 1 for the relevant group and 0 for the others – and the intercept was removed. The model was set up like this so that the estimates would provide the proportion of present-tense (vs. past-tense) responses in each group. These proportions were subsequently compared against one another to assess potential differences between groups. Figure 26a plots the (model-based) predicted proportions of present-tense use in each group, across the average number of trials (i.e., total count of event descriptions).

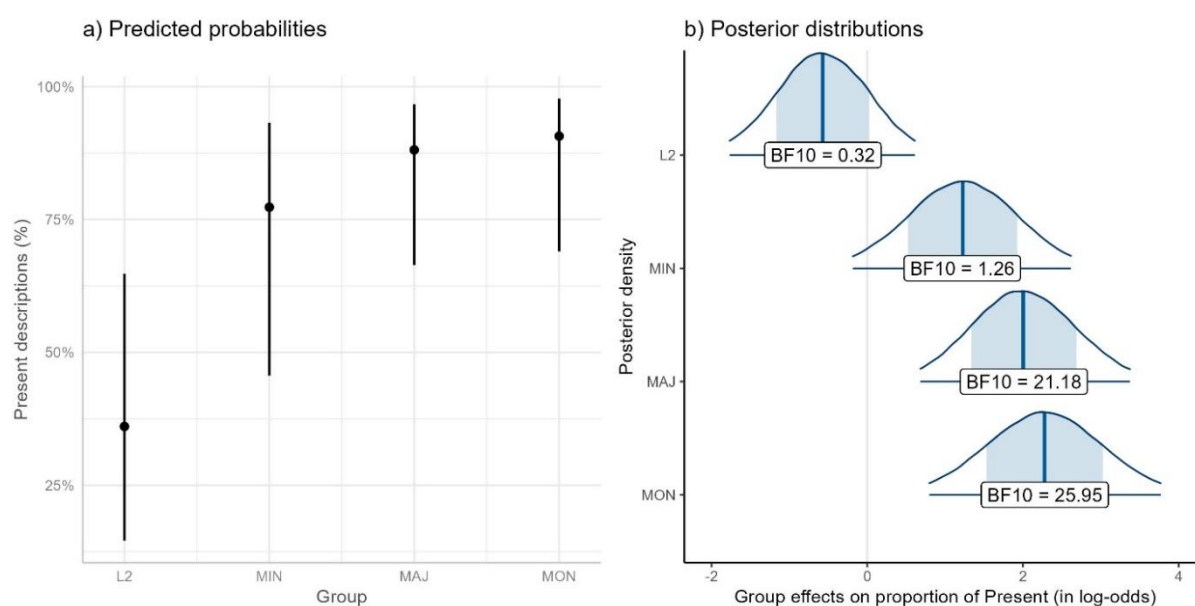


Figure 26. Left panel: Means (circles) and 95% CIs (vertical bars) of predicted proportions of present-tense descriptions per group of speakers, averaged across the total number of counts ($N = 21$). Right panel: Posterior distributions of the effects of Group in the log-odds scale. The vertical line indicates the mean estimate, and the shaded areas show the 68% and 95% CIs. The numeric label under each vertical line indicates the Bayes factor in favor of the alternative hypothesis.

Figure 26b shows the posterior distributions for Group, i.e., the proportions of present-tense descriptions in each group, plotted on the log-odds scale. Only the 95% CIs of MAJ and MON are above zero (50%), indicating a credible preference for present over past. The 95% CIs for L2 and MIN cross the zero threshold and are, therefore, less reliable. The Bayes factors (also plotted in the figure) present evidence for the alternative hypothesis, i.e., that the proportion of present counts lies higher than 50% in the groups of German majority language ($BF_{10} = 19.33$) and German monolingual speakers ($BF_{10} = 27.11$). Between-group comparisons were performed using the *hypothesis()* function of the *brms* package. The difference between MIN and L2 was 1.81 [-0.03, 3.66] with a BF of 1.71, suggesting that L2ers and MIN speakers do not differ in their proportions of present-tense descriptions. However, the differences between MAJ and L2 (2.58 [0.81, 4.40], $BF_{10} = 13.94$) and MON and L2 (2.85 [0.95, 4.74], $BF_{10} = 20.60$) were substantially larger, with both BFs indicating strong evidence in favor of MAJ and MON having a statistically larger proportion of present counts than the non-native speakers. A sensitivity analysis showed that these effects hold for a range of priors, while the BFs for L2, MIN, and their differences decrease with wider priors. Comparisons between native speakers did not yield any evidence

in favor of a statistical difference, which was further corroborated by the respective BFs and sensitivity analyses (see Figure C1 in Appendix 14).

7. DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the empirical results. To enhance readability, the discussion is structured around the research questions introduced in Chapter 4. First, I address the results of the interpretation tasks – namely, the Sentence Conjunction Task (SCT) and the Truth-Value Judgment Task (TVJT) – in relation to Research Questions A. Then, I analyze the participants' performance in the Film Retelling Task (FRT), corresponding to Research Questions B. Each research question is restated for clarity.

7.1. Interpretation of telicity entailments associated with resultative particles, resultative adjectives and bounded object constructions

7.1.1. Aspectual entailment differences between strong and weak telicity markers

Research question A1 pertains to both interpretation tasks (i.e., Sentence Conjunction Task and Truth-Value Judgment Task) and goes as follows:

A1) How do various types of speakers of German interpret the aspectual entailments of strong telicity markers (i.e., resultative particle and adjective) compared to those of weak telicity markers (i.e., bounded objects)? I expect the patterns found in child L1 acquisition (e.g., van Hout, 1998, 2008a, 2008b; Schulz, 2018) to hold for adult speakers as well, independently of their acquisition profile, i.e., being weak telicity markers, bounded DP objects are expected to be more easily accepted as felicitous when describing a non-culminated event than resultative particles and adjectives.

Based on the existing research, I postulated that speakers, in general, would be less accepting of resultative adjectives and particles with endpoint cancellation than of bounded direct objects (Schulz & Ose, 2008; Schulz & Penner, 2002; Van Hout, 1998). The main effects analysis of the SCT confirmed that speakers tend to reject endpoint cancellation with resultative particles and adjectives. At the same time, they have no problems accepting bounded object events whose culmination was halted or interrupted. This shows that, regardless of more focused differences, speakers tend to understand that resultative particle and adjectival constructions are intrinsically linked to an aspectually determined boundary, which is, in principle, not reversible by any pragmatic means. By inspecting these differences

further, the nested-effects analysis showed that this pattern applies to every group of speakers individually, i.e., both non-native and native speakers show higher acceptability of bounded DPs relative to both types of strong telicity markers.

Regarding the TVJT, the results are not as conclusive. Although there was some evidence pointing towards a difference between resultative particles and bounded objects, this was confined to the comparison between L2ers and both monolinguals and German majority-language bilinguals (this discussion will be unraveled when I attempt to answer research question A3). Across groups, the interaction between predicate type – i.e., simple verb, particle verb, bounded object and unbounded object – and situation type – i.e., telic vs. atelic – yielded indefinite results. There does not seem to be any effect of an interaction between these variables. However, subsequent analysis of the simple effects showed that the rate of target responses was higher for particle markers than for bounded objects. By zooming in on these simple effects, the results confirmed that the participants had indeed more target-like responses in the particle condition, both in telic and atelic settings. In any case, the evidence for the difference between particles and bounded objects was still smaller than the evidence for the remaining comparisons, which – I assume – has to do with the lower proportion of target responses in the L2 group. Overall, the participants seem to have a more target-like performance regarding resultative particles than bounded objects. I reiterate that this is not a matter of accuracy but instead shows that speakers are more flexible in their interpretation of the aspectual implications of bounded object constructions, which is consistent with the findings of previous studies (Schulz & Ose, 2008; Schulz et al., 2001; Van Hout, 1998, 2008a, 2008b; Weicker et al., 2024).

Another goal of the TVJT was to determine whether the speakers' judgment of bounded objects depended on the situation type expressed by the visual stimulus. In other words, I wanted to assess whether the participants would provide more non-target answers to bounded object questions when the depicted situation was atelic, given that there was a mismatch between the base telicity value of the bounded object construction and the visually salient non-culmination of the event. The results show that there is extreme evidence in favor of a difference between all the predicate types and bounded objects in atelic settings. As mentioned before, the proportion of non-target answers in the bounded object condition means that the speakers are more likely to accept the aspectual flexibility of bounded objects when the appropriate context is provided. As such, they seem to understand that the object implies telicity – since they mainly interpret these constructions as felicitous in telic contexts – but they also overwhelmingly accept the felicity of bounded objects to refer to non-culminated actions. Even though there were some differences in the rate of target responses between bounded object constructions

relative to the other predicates in the telic condition (see Figure 20), these could be influenced by external factors. Once again, these results are congruent with previous findings (Schulz & Ose, 2008; Schulz & Penner, 2002). Moreover, having a binary response as a categorical outcome allows us to infer that the speakers not only accept bounded object descriptions of atelic situations but also seem to prefer them, since the proportion of non-target responses in these scenarios is significantly above chance (see Figure 20).

These findings seem to corroborate the theoretical proposals put forward in previous research (Pustejovsky, 1998; Ramchand, 2008). Suppose we assume that the aspectual (im)permeability of telicity markers also rests on the event's internal structure, and not only on discourse-pragmatic factors. In that case, we can argue that speakers allow endpoint cancellation when a result subevent is not encoded in the verb phrase's denotation. Ramchand (2008) argued that resultative particles and adjectives in secondary predication are merged within a result subphrase of the event (see Sections 2.2.4 and 2.3). Bounded object constructions, however, do not project a result subevent, but rather a process phase with an overt PATH argument, which is delimited by some specified quantity. The speakers' clear leniency towards accepting non-culmination with bounded objects could support Ramchand's proposal that bounded objects are not internally resultative, in the sense that they merely delimit a reconfigurable process. Pustejovsky (1998) explained this difference in terms of orientation (see Section 2.3). For the author, bounded object constructions are process-oriented transitions, enabling atelic interpretations when required by the linguistic or non-linguistic environment. Therefore, describing non-culminated events with bounded object constructions does not constitute a semantic mismatch, because the event's internal structure allows aspectual reconfigurations. Resultative constructions are end-state-oriented because the resulting state is overtly expressed in the event's description.

Note that these lexicalization patterns consist of conscious choices on the speaker's part. In principle, a speaker will only resort to a peripheral resultative marker when the communicative setting asks for it. If a parent wants to make it clear to their child that they have to eat everything on their plate, they might say something like *Eat **up** the food*. This particle marker makes it explicit that the parent wants the child to consume every bite of food without leaving any leftovers. Similarly, if a child drops their toy in the sink and gets it wet, their parents might tell them to *wipe the toy **dry***, making it clear that the child must wipe every bit of moisture off the toy until it is no longer wet. In such conversational settings, expressing the final goal through a resultative marker is the most efficient way to convey the desired intent. What this shows us is that resultative structures arise from specific communicative needs, which should further validate the status of bounded objects as permeable telicity markers, meaning that if the

expression of culmination is required to serve some discourse goal, speakers will most likely resort to the available language-specific means to specify that this final state ought to be attained (Bylund, 2011; Levelt, 1993; Levinson, 1997; Slobin, 1996).

7.1.2. Aspectual entailment differences between resultative particles and adjectives

Research question A2 pertains to the Sentence Conjunction Task only and goes as follows:

A2) Regarding strong telicity markers, how do speakers of German interpret the aspectual entailments of resultative particles compared to those of resultative adjectives? In the context of the Sentence Conjunction Task, are speakers more lenient to reject cancellation implicatures with resultative adjectives than with resultative particles? Based on the *Transparency Principle* (van Hout, 1998) and the assumption that lexical saliency plays a prominent role in language processing (Ellis, 2017; Lempert, 1990; Rodina & Westergaard, 2017), I expect late L2 learners to have less difficulty assigning telicity to resultative adjectives than to resultative particles.

The main goal of research question A2 was to determine whether lexical transparency played a role in the speakers' interpretation of telicity entailments with strong aspectual markers, i.e., resultative particles and adjectives. In the contexts of endpoint cancellation, the question was whether speakers would be less accepting of resultative adjectives – given that they overtly specify a resulting state – than resultative particles – in which the associated end state is not as salient. The main-effects analysis showed a general tendency for speakers to reject endpoint cancellation with resultative adjectives relative to resultative particles, with considerable evidence in favor of this difference. This suggests that speakers are less tolerant of the aspectual flexibility of these adjectival constructions, which I assume rests on the overt specification of their ensuing state. While a cancellation implicature of a telic event marked by a resultative particle may yield some reprocessing of the state-of-affairs, it is unlikely that such a proposition with a resultative adjective would require much revaluation, since it mainly constitutes a very noticeable semantic contradiction (e.g., *Samuel hat die Hausarbeit fertig geschrieben und morgen schreibt er sie weiter*, 'Samuel has finished writing the school paper and he will continue writing it tomorrow'). It is apparent that these observations are not categorical and allow for various degrees of variation even among native speakers, which shows how complex these structures are and how far we probably are

from reaching a comprehensive understanding of the phenomena under study. Theoretically, both types of strong telicity markers should be interpreted similarly. However, speakers show a clear leniency towards accepting some resultative particle constructions with a cancelled endpoint, a disposition that is not extended to their adjectival counterparts. It should also be noted that this behavior may be confined to the specific stimuli used in this experiment. In other words, without addressing the current limitations of the study, it cannot be inferred that this trend applies to all speakers of German – regardless of their context of acquisition – nor should it be extrapolated to other potentially untested paradigms.

An important detail of these findings concerns the types of stimuli used in the task. I have clarified that most – if not all – experimental items containing resultative adjectives consisted of very transparent contradictions. In other words, the expression of a resulting state through a secondary adjectival predicate overtly refuted any endpoint cancellation strategy. One cannot “lick the plate clean” (*den Teller sauber lecken*) and then state that there is still food on it; similarly, one cannot claim to have “finished writing the assignment” (*die Hausarbeit fertig schreiben*) and then say that they will continue writing it tomorrow, etc. As such, it should be considered whether the nature of the stimuli played a role in the speakers’ skewed interpretation of resultative adjectives as immutable endpoint markers, since most of these cases are evident semantic contradictions, even when the event-aspectual domain is not taken into account. According to previous studies (Haider, 2016; Wechsler, 2001; Weicker et al., 2024), in most cases, an adjective can only be integrated into a resultative construction if it has a gradable nature with a closed scale and a fixed maximal value (e.g., clean vs. dirty, dry vs. wet). Note, however, that this scale can hold several different values. A table, for example, can be *a little bit* clean, *relatively* clean, *very* clean or even *extremely* clean. The actual mental representation of what a “clean table” looks like should be shared by all speakers; however, a speaker may still accept a scenario in which someone “wipes the table clean” but unintentionally leaves a few stains on it, without it resulting in incongruity. At this point, these are mere conjectures that should be considered in future research. As it stands, there is no reason to believe – following the results of the experimental tasks – that adjectival resultative constructions are acceptable with depictions of incomplete events. As previously mentioned, telicity markers usually follow very specific communicative intentions. In principle, speakers do not produce these structures if they have no intent in emphasizing the event’s culmination, which does not mean that they are completely inflexible in their interpretations.

7.1.3. Between-group differences in the interpretation of telicity markers

Research question A3 concerned itself with the potential between-group differences regarding the interpretation of telicity markers. It goes as follows:

A3) Are there differences between speakers in their interpretations of telicity markers? As stated above, L2 speakers are expected to have more difficulty interpreting the telicity entailments of resultative verb particles. They will most likely be driven by lexical transparency to assign completion to adjectival resultatives, being potentially less certain about particle markers, while early bilingual and monolingual native speakers are expected to treat them both similarly (Martínez Vera et al., 2023). Should any differences between bilingual speakers arise, I would expect an effect of exposure defined in terms of dominant environmental language to take place, i.e., German minority-language bilinguals' performance should be closer to that of L2ers, while German majority-language bilinguals should have a similar performance to that of monolinguals.

As expected, the results of the SCT showed that non-native and native speakers are not substantially different regarding their interpretations of bounded DPs, i.e., they tend to be much more accepting of bounded objects with a cancelled endpoint than of resultative particles and adjectives in the same contexts. This shows that all speakers understand these objects as weak telicity markers, allowing for aspectual reinterpretations of the main event when the appropriate contextual framing is specified.

However, when comparing the participants' acceptability of resultative adjectives versus resultative particles, non-native speakers are sensibly different from the three groups of native speakers. The nested-effects analysis shows that L2 speakers tend to reject adjectival constructions more often than resultative particle structures in contexts of endpoint cancellation. As mentioned before, this trend may be justified by the *Transparency Principle* (Van Hout, 1998), in which the overt specification of a consequent state may move the speakers away from accepting these sentences, not necessarily because of their sensitivity to aspectual mismatches, but rather due to the expression of a conspicuous contradiction between clauses. It could also be the case that L2 speakers have not yet fully acquired the aspectual intricacies of resultative particle verbs, which leads them to interpret their telicity more flexibly. Another explanation could rest on each speaker's individual perceptions of the target items, i.e., if the verb used allows for a more pliable interpretation of the end state, they may be more lenient in evaluating the state-of-affairs in a "non-target-like" way, as in the case of, e.g., *abzeichnen* 'to draw' versus *aufessen*

‘to eat up’ (a future study targeting the individual differences between speakers should provide clearer answers to these questions; see Oliveira, Flores & Veríssimo, in preparation). Still, the evidence in favor of this trend decreases as we move from non-native to native speakers. In other words, while L2 speakers are more opposed to cancellation with resultative adjectives than particles, this distinction is less salient for early bilinguals and monolinguals. Suppose we were to assume that this decrease in evidence, as we go from L2 to native speakers, is scientifically motivated. Could we be observing an “acquisitional continuum” (L2 → MIN → MAJ → MON), in which a more target-like acquisition of German or an increased degree of exposure results in a stricter interpretation of particle markers? Research suggests that telicity entailments are acquired very early in the developmental process, and their principles should be transferable across languages, as long as there is a correspondence of aspectual parameters. Still, given the semantic-conceptual nature of this phenomenon, one should not expect it to be completely impermeable to the influence of the majority language’s conceptual system.

As for the TVJT, the results showed that the experimental groups are not substantially different in their judgments of telicity markers. Nevertheless, these results were also inconclusive regarding whether the groups were remarkably similar, given that the evidence favoring the alternative hypothesis was merely anecdotal in most cases. Some evidence suggests that German L2ers performed differently than German monolinguals and German majority-language speakers, but only regarding the difference between particles and bounded objects. In particular, the difference in the proportion of target vs. non-target responses was smaller in the group of L2 speakers compared to the other two groups. This indicates that L2 speakers have decreased knowledge of the telicity entailments of resultative particles, probably because Portuguese lacks these explicit aspectual markers and L2ers did not accumulate enough input to acquire them fully. Still, the overall interpretation of particle markers by L2ers was near target, which could mean that these effects resulted from potential individual differences (even though these were accounted for in the model structure). Further research is needed to answer these specific questions. However, based on the current design, there is no reason to believe that monolinguals have any advantage relative to bilinguals – and even highly proficient L2 speakers – in their judgments of telicity entailments in German.

7.2. Expression of boundedness and event conceptualization patterns

In the Film Retelling Task (FRT), I analyzed the oral retellings of a silent film, containing multiple sequential events, in terms of: (i) the main narrative tenses used; (ii) the boundedness value of the

depicted situations; (iii) the sources of their (un)boundedness, as well as of the aspect-internal structure of the chosen event descriptions (i.e., telic events), and (iv) the temporal expressions used to convey explicit temporal meanings and relations. Apart from that, I also followed previous work on event construal and conceptualization to identify the main narrative patterns found in the speakers' descriptions (e.g., Von Stutterheim & Nüse, 2003; Von Stutterheim et al., 2003), in order to better understand how these speakers differ from or are similar to each other in the way they structure narrative time. I will attempt to answer the research questions put forward in Chapter 4 in a sequential fashion. Sections 7.2.1 and 7.2.2 will attempt to answer the first two research questions based on qualitative evidence retrieved from analyzing the narratives (see Sections 6.3.1 to 6.3.3). Section 7.2.3 will focus on the actual statistical analysis of the FRT to describe the existing between-group differences in the main predictor of Tense.

7.2.1. The role of boundedness

Research question B1 pertained to the role of boundedness in the temporal organization of the speakers' narratives. It goes as follows:

B1) What is the role of boundedness in the oral narratives of various types of speakers of German across different acquisitional profiles? I expect speakers from all groups to resort to boundedness to move narrative time, either by focusing on the telicity value of the verb phrase or by using aspect-external elements to frame situations as bounded (Carroll, von Stutterheim, & Klein, 2003; von Stutterheim & Nüse, 2003).

The answer to this question is relatively straightforward: consistent with previous research (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig, 1995; Von Stutterheim & Lambert, 2005; Von Stutterheim et al., 2003, 2009), all groups of speakers seemed to heavily rely on boundedness to establish temporal sequencing in their event descriptions. As expected, most event descriptions in the speakers' narratives were bounded situations, whose value was directly inherited from the telic property associated with the chosen predicate. There were also cases where atelic verbs or verb phrases were externally framed as bounded using a specific tense (i.e., *Perfekt*) or because of a particular contextual-pragmatic setting. Regardless of the strategies employed by the speakers of the different experimental groups, all of them seemed to understand that a temporal boundary would close a given event and allow an ensuing one to occur. Overall, there did not seem to be a relationship between the chosen tense and the boundedness value of situations, in that

tenses were a mere rhetorical device chosen to perspective events in a given way. Still, when a *Perfekt* tense form was used to describe an inherently atelic event, it caused an external aspectual shift that would frame the eventuality as bounded by establishing a closed temporal boundary in which the described entity was contained. Where past-referring tenses were used, there was also a tendency to use the *Präteritum* tense to describe unbounded situations. However, I reckon it was mainly due to stylistic and usage-based reasons (i.e., usually applied with modals and certain passive constructions) and did not seem to depend on aspectual subcategorization principles.

7.2.2. Conceptualization patterns and narrative framing

Research question B2 is related to how speakers framed situations temporally in discourse. It goes as follows:

B2) How do native German speakers structure temporal-aspectual information in discourse? I assume that German monolinguals will adhere to the prototypical conceptualization patterns of their L1, as found in previous studies (Schmiedtová, 2013). They should prefer to describe situations holistically using the present tense, rely on boundedness to move narrative time forward and focus on the events' endpoints rather than their internal stages (von Stutterheim et al., 2012). Moreover, they should make use of temporal expressions to aid in plot progression and convey less evident temporal relations.

The second research question pertained to the temporal-organizational principles and conceptualization patterns of German monolinguals. Their preferred patterns of narrative structure coincide with those found in previous studies (Von Stutterheim & Nüse, 2003; Von Stutterheim et al., 2003). They resorted to boundedness to allow temporal sequencing and move narrative time and presented events in a holistic fact-listing manner, focusing on points of completion and results to establish relations of posteriority with the subsequent event chunks. Straightforward sequential event units characterized most of the temporal structure found in the monolinguals' narratives. However, there were many instances where temporal expressions were used to establish relations of anteriority or simultaneity, or even to convey the notion of temporal overlapping (see Section 6.3). Given that German verbal morphology is aspectually underspecified, most of these more complex temporal-aspectual notions had to be expressed using different lexical (e.g., temporal clauses) or grammatical means (e.g., aspectual verbs or *am*-progressive

constructions; see, e.g., Anthonissen et al., 2016). Most of the monolinguals' narratives used the present tense and many speakers explicitly prefaced their descriptions by setting the scene at the beginning of the narrative, with sentences such as *In dem Video geht es darum,...* ('The video is about...', Participant MON12), further making it clear that German L1 speakers tend to conceptualize situations as fictitious and present them as if they are listing items. Although a few speakers chose to frame situations using past tenses, the typical strategy was to use the present as the main narrative tense, even though the verbal prompt for the narratives was past-framed (*Was ist passiert?*, 'What happened?').

7.2.3. Between-group differences in the choice of tense and event conceptualization strategies

Research question B3 deals with between-group differences in the choice of narrative tense. It goes as follows:

B3) Given that narrative tense is the most formal distinction between the deictic and the holistic narrative strategies, will L2 speakers produce fewer present-tense descriptions than native speakers? If so, will they differ substantially from bilingual and monolingual speakers in their choice of tense? Assuming that the preferred narrative strategy for Portuguese natives relies on deictic past reference, I would expect them to favor the conceptualization patterns of their L1, rather than adopting the preferred narrative strategy of the L2. Specifically, L2 speakers should produce fewer present-tense descriptions than German majority-language bilinguals and German monolinguals, who have a higher degree of exposure to German. It is unclear, however, whether German minority-language speakers will follow the same pattern or be closer to L2ers, mainly because of their acquisitional context and current exposure to German.

For the purposes of the FRT, this question is potentially the most intriguing one. I was interested to see whether the L2 speakers' and bilinguals' narrative patterns differ substantially from those of monolinguals. Overall, both German minority and majority-language bilinguals show the same organizational strategies and temporal patterns in their narratives as monolinguals. In other words, they show a higher tendency for present-tense use, present situations as self-contained or independent units and resort to boundedness to structure temporal sequencing. It should be noted that this type of perspective-taking strategy represents a tendency of monolingual and bilingual speakers of German.

However, it is not categorical, with some speakers choosing to present situations deictically with past-referring tenses. Interestingly, German minority-language bilinguals show a higher tendency to use the *Präteritum* as their main narrative tense, compared to both monolinguals and German majority-language bilinguals. I argue that this difference could be due to specific storytelling purposes. Since German minority-language bilinguals had formal exposure to German in Portuguese bilingual schools, they may have employed the standard approach used in instructional settings to distinguish the *Perfekt* from the *Präteritum* based on their stylistic uses (i.e., ignoring instances of linguistic variation, the *Präteritum* is usually employed in more formal written contexts, while the *Perfekt* tends to be employed in more colloquial uses of the language; see, e.g., Fuchs et al., 2016).

The statistical analysis also showed that there is a clear preference for a present-tense framing in the groups of monolinguals and German majority-language bilinguals. German minority-language bilinguals showed more variation in their choice of tense and, although the descriptive analysis indicates a leniency towards the present, the evidence to support this assumption is not as striking as in the case of the other groups of native speakers. It is assumed that some external factor may be playing a role in this gradience, potentially related to the German minority-language speakers' current degree of exposure to German or a latent conflation of typical Portuguese conceptualization patterns, in which – assuming that EP shares the prototypical narrative framing of other Romance languages – deictic retellings in the past seem to be preferred (see, e.g., Bylund & Jarvis, 2011). Overall, the results did not yield any evidence in favor of a difference between groups of native speakers. Even though there was some variation in the group of German minority-language bilinguals, there is no evidence that German minority-language speakers are any different from either German majority language or monolingual speakers. Statistically speaking, all groups of native speakers performed as expected, and any observed variation is most likely linked to extralinguistic aspects of their acquisitional process or the result of an interaction between language-specific conceptualization strategies (cf. Athanasopoulos & Bylund, 2023; Bylund, 2011; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Pavlenko, 2006).

As for the L2 speakers, they show more variation regarding the specific organizational patterns of their narratives. For starters, L2ers chose past tenses to a higher degree than the other groups of speakers. This is expected, since I assumed that Portuguese native speakers would still adhere to the (presumed) prototypical event construal strategies of their L1 to describe situations in German. Given that Portuguese has an aspectual distinction at the level of past verbal morphology that allows speakers to frame situations as either closed (with a perfective verb form) or temporally open (with an imperfective verb form), as well as the means to convey other aspectual properties (e.g., progressivity and habituality),

it would be expected that L2 speakers still conformed to these principles in German. This attempt to retell a story from a past-referring angle could be considered a case of language transfer. As discussed in Section 3.3, this transfer could be *conceptual* in nature, i.e., the L2 speakers may have tried to merge conceptual aspects of their L1 in their L2, resulting in aspectual incompatibility and, consequently, the inability to convey their potentially intended temporal meanings. Speakers who resorted to past-referring strategies adopted a deictic perspective on the story, by presenting events as if they had really happened; they avoided framing complex temporal notions that would require them to resort to other lexical-pragmatic means, and mostly relied on boundedness to move the narrative forward with reiterated use of the adverbial *dann* ('then') to mark sequentiality. Still, there was also a significant number of speakers in the L2 group who chose the present as their main narrative tense, which steered their narratives closer to those of monolingual and early bilingual speakers. What is particularly intriguing, however, is that, even though they adopted a strategy similar to the typical German temporal structure, they still mostly showed a behavior closer to their "canonical" deictic strategies. For example, they showed an overwhelming tendency to overextend situations by describing multiple stages of the same event or decomposing them according to their phasal structure (see Section 6.3.3). Regardless, some L2 speakers still managed to structure their narratives just like monolinguals and early bilinguals, which could result from increased proficiency or higher exposure to German. On the other hand, it could be speculated that it is just an effect of structural transfer, i.e., L2ers may have assumed that the typical aspectual distinction of Portuguese past tenses holds for German too and alternated between *Perfekt* and *Präteritum* forms. This does not necessarily explain why Portuguese natives make lower use of present-tense descriptions, nor does it seem to correspond to their understanding of German past tenses, since many participants consistently used one tense or the other, paying little to no attention to aspectual criteria. This discussion, however, enters the realm of speculation and more target-focused research is needed to explore these issues further.

The statistical results confirmed the patterns observed in the qualitative analysis of the narratives. There is indeed increased variation in the choice of tense by L2 speakers, especially compared to German minority-language bilinguals, whose retellings also revealed a mixed intersection of temporal framing patterns. However, their tendency to choose the past as their preferred narrative tense was not overwhelming, and the evidence yielded is insufficient to determine a clear preference for one tense or the other. Considering that the L2 group is comprised of speakers with different levels of linguistic competence (subjectively speaking, intermediate to advanced proficiency) and have different contexts of acquisition and exposure to German, one could argue that this variation rests on the premise that some

speakers may be somewhat further ahead in their L2 development, which would suggest that: (i) either cognitive aspects of event conceptualization and construal are indeed part of the acquisitional process and should be available to speakers as their input increases and their actual linguistic knowledge develops or (ii) an increase in proficiency results in less transfer of past tenses, whose aspectual differences help shape narrative sequencing, and may not at all be related to cognitive aspects. The results also show that L2 and German minority-language speakers are not substantially different from each other in their choice of tense. Numerically speaking, German minority-language bilinguals produced more utterances with the present tense than L2 speakers, but there is no statistical evidence suggesting that this difference is anything but marginal. On the other hand, there is enough evidence supporting the assumption that German majority-language bilinguals and German monolinguals produce far more present-tense descriptions than L2ers. Taking these findings into account, one could argue in favor of the existence of a *language continuum* (as proposed in Section 7.1.3), in which speakers will develop the linguistic- cognitive aspects of a language as their degree of contact with said language increases or based on specific setting in which this language is acquired. Ignoring potential effects of proficiency, the data shows that speakers with seemingly lower levels of competence and exposure – i.e., L2ers – linger on the conceptualization of their native language, and it may take some time for them to acquire the specific conceptual parameters of their second language. In comparison, German minority-language bilinguals have had a more extended history of exposure to German, and their narrative strategies, although heterogeneous, draw nearer to those of German majority-language bilinguals and German monolinguals. These latter two groups, however, seem to perform in a very similar way, with an overwhelming preference for framing situations in the present. These observations give rise to a couple of assumptions, including that the competence of bilinguals in their majority language seems tantamount to that of monolinguals and that aspects of the bilinguals' societal language may still influence their competence in the heritage language. However, there is no indication that even late learners cannot achieve native-like performance, given that the necessary circumstances are present. The primary source of distinction between the experimental groups is the degree and quality of exposure to German. As such, by devising a so-called *language continuum*, I am saying that different levels of exposure will result in different levels of linguistic competence (see Putnam et al., 2018, in which the authors argue in a similar direction for other speaker profiles).

It should also be noted that most of these so-called narrative strategies may not be strictly linguistic and depend on discourse-pragmatic parameters specific to each language. For example, if someone wants to express that they are cold in German, they will materialize the idea of “being cold” as

something that affects them, by using a dative object instead of framing themselves as the subject (e.g., *Mir ist kalt*, 'Me-DAT is cold'). In English, the same notion is also given by a copula, but the person who feels cold is also the subject of the sentence (e.g., *I am cold*). In Portuguese, however, speakers conceptualize "coldness" as something you own, hold or possess, and verbalize this notion with a verb of possession instead of a regular copular verb (e.g., *Tenho frio*, 'I-have coldness'). These are just a few examples of how different languages can frame the same situation in several different ways. In the case of narrative temporal framing, languages seem to differ in perspective-taking, which may be linked to each language's specific typological features.

CONCLUSION

This final chapter comprises three sections: (i) I begin by summarizing the experiment, covering the research objectives, hypotheses, and outcomes; (ii) next, I explore possible gaps and limitations in the experimental design; and (iii) I conclude the thesis by offering suggestions for future research.

Summary

As thoroughly discussed in this thesis, German and European Portuguese resort to different lexical-grammatical means to convey inner aspectual information. Telicity is understood as a compositional property, which can either be contained in a verb's lexical semantics or be explicitly marked in a sentence through specific markers with varying degrees of aspectual implication. Typologically, German differentiates itself from Portuguese in that it allows different types of resultative structures – i.e., resultative particle verbs and adjectival resultatives – that zoom in on an event's endpoint and may or may not lexicalize its resulting state, conveying telicity via semantic entailment (Müller, 2002; Richter & Van Hout, 2013; Schulz, 2018; Van Hout, 1998; Weicker et al., 2024). In Portuguese, the most frequent type of telicity marker is the bounded object of a homomorphic event – which is also a viable option for encoding telicity in German – but it only derives it pragmatically, meaning that it allows endpoint cancellation without risk of semantic anomaly (Pustejovsky, 1998; Schulz, 2018). These types of telicity markers have been categorized into two types: weak telicity markers (bounded objects) – if the event's endpoint can be cancelled via pragmatic implicature or contextual cues – and strong telicity (resultative particles and adjectives) – if the event's endpoint is resistant to cancellation (Filip, 2014; Schulz, 2018; Van Hout, 1998). Studies have shown that L1 speakers of German start acquiring the telicity entailments of strong markers quite early; in fact, many of the children's first utterances consist of specific particles or prepositions that convey the attainment of an endpoint or a goal-oriented path (e.g., *ab* 'off', *auf* 'up', etc.). The research on L2 speakers, however, is sparse. To my knowledge, no other study has attempted to describe this phenomenon in contrast to Portuguese, whose grammar lacks these strong telicity markers and makes predicates more pliable to aspectual shifts. Several of the previously mentioned studies (Schulz & Ose, 2008; Van Hout, 1998, 2008b, 2018; Weicker et al., 2024) have shown that both children and adult speakers of German tend to reject endpoint cancellation when resultative markers are present, but that they accept aspectual reconfigurations with bounded object constructions.

This pattern also holds for higher levels of discourse. It has been shown that speakers have preferred strategies for describing situations, which are particular to the conceptual organization of each linguistic system (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Levelt, 1992; Von Stutterheim & Lambert, 2005; Von Stutterheim et al., 2002). Speakers of German tend to resort to the present tense to tell a story, which removes individual perspective from the narrative and frames events in a holistic manner. Moreover, there is a specific focus on boundedness (or telicity) to move the narrative forward; events are also described as completed wholes, i.e., there is no systematic pattern of describing the internal phases of a complex event – as is common for English and other Romance languages (see Bylund & Jarvis, 2011; Von Stutterheim et al., 2003). Based on research on Spanish (Athanasopoulos & Bylund, 2023; Bylund, 2009; Bylund & Jarvis, 2011), I assume that Portuguese may allow different conceptualization patterns, i.e., speakers are expected to frame situations as if they had happened to them personally, by resorting to past tenses to create a deictic frame of reference and describing complex events according to their phasic structure. These assumptions are also based on the typological features of each language, i.e., German lacks extensive paradigms of verb inflection with specific temporal meanings, whereas Portuguese has a wide array of verbal forms expressing different types of temporal-aspectual information. In essence, presenting an event as a sequence of stages is more viable in Portuguese, as it has the necessary grammatical resources to convey, e.g., progressivity.

The present thesis aimed to determine if adult speakers of German and Portuguese with different acquisitional profiles will follow the assumptions put forward by previous research on the acquisition of telicity marking and temporal-aspectual production in narrative discourse. In short, late L2 speakers of German with Portuguese as their L1 were expected to have more difficulty assigning telicity to particle markers than to resultative adjectives, mainly because adjectives are more salient in their depiction of the event's end state (Kim et al., 2020; Richter & Van Hout, 2013; Weicker et al., 2024). However, they were not expected to differ from early bilingual and monolingual speakers regarding the aspectual implications of bounded objects. Bilingual speakers were expected to behave native-like. No differences were expected between heritage bilinguals and the other native speakers, because I assume this property to be acquired quite early, along with verbal semantics and argument selection (Schulz & Penner, 2002; Schulz et al., 2001; Van Hout, 1998). As for the event conceptualization patterns, L2 speakers were expected to resort to the assumed preferred strategies in Romance languages, by retelling stories deictically using past tenses. Some variation was expected, also because the selected participants are at different stages of their acquisitional process, and it is not known to what extent the speakers have already started incorporating German patterns of event construal in their mental grammar. Based on the

literature, both early bilingual and monolingual speakers were expected to prefer the holistic strategy by framing events as complete units and describing them non-deictically using the present tense (Von Stutterheim & Nüse, 2003; Von Stutterheim et al., 2003). Table 21 summarizes the main findings of each experimental task as they relate to their corresponding research questions.

Table 21. *Main findings of each experimental task sorted by research question.*

Research question	Task	Results
A1 Bounded objects vs. resultative particles/adjectives	SCT	Higher acceptability of endpoint cancellation with bounded objects than with resultative particles and adjectives
	TVJT	Higher rate of target responses for resultative particles than for bounded objects (i.e., interpretation of bounded objects was more flexible)
A2 Resultative particles vs. resultative adjectives	SCT	Slightly higher acceptability of endpoint cancellation with resultative particles than with resultative adjectives (potentially inflated by the L2ers' acceptability patterns)
A3 Between-group differences		Higher acceptability of endpoint cancellation with bounded objects than with resultative particles and adjectives in every group
	SCT	Slightly higher acceptability of endpoint cancellation with resultative particles than with resultative adjectives in every group (evidence for MON is merely anecdotal)
	TVJT	Difference in rate of target responses was smaller in L2 relative to MAJ and MON No differences between the remaining groups
B1 Role of boundedness	FRT	All speakers resort to boundedness and telicity to move narrative time forward; boundedness enables temporal sequencing
B2 Preference for narrative strategy		L2 shows preference for deictic narrative strategy
	FRT	MIN, MAJ, and MON show preference for holistic narrative strategy
B3 Present-tense vs. past-tense event descriptions		L2 and MIN show no statistical differences in choice of tense (although use of past tenses is preferred)
	FRT	MAJ and MON show higher preference for present-tense use

Concerning the first experimental aim of the present work, which consisted in determining how speakers of German from diverse acquisitional backgrounds interpret the aspectual entailments of telicity markers, the results were consistent with the theoretical assumptions of the previously mentioned studies (Richter & Van Hout, 2013; Schulz & Ose, 2008; Schulz & Penner, 2002; Van Hout, 1998, 2008a, 2008b, 2018;

Weicker et al., 2024). Data from the Sentence Conjunction Task showed that resultative verb particles and adjectives are interpreted as holders of semantic telicity, in that they do not combine well with conversational implicatures that imply an interruption of the event's culmination. Bounded objects, on the other hand, are understood as holders of pragmatic telicity because speakers do not interpret their specified endpoints as fixed and can reconfigure the event's structure when the appropriate context is present. A similar pattern was observed in the data from the Truth-Value Judgment Task, which showed that speakers link resultative particle constructions to telic situations more often than they do bounded object constructions. In fact, speakers of German – regardless of their acquisitional profile – seem more flexible with their readings of bounded object constructions, which may even account for individual differences. It is not clear whether there is any language-internal or language-external factor that can explain this variation. However, these findings help support theoretical models of telicity and event structure (e.g., Pustejovsky, 1998; Ramchand, 2008), in that an event's internal structure may be able to explain this aspectual adaptability of bounded objects. Assuming that resultative particles and adjectives are projected within a result subevent and that bounded objects are realized within a process subphrase, this – along with aspects of lexical saliency – could explain why the culmination of bounded object events is not resistant to cancellation.

Regarding strong telicity markers, some speakers show a slight leniency towards accepting endpoint cancellation with resultative particles more often than with adjectival resultatives. The evidential weight of this difference is only impactful in the group of L2 speakers (and potentially German minority-language bilinguals, too). At this point, the evidence is insufficient for me to make any assumptions about the reasons underlying this variation. As suggested many times before, I attribute these differences to effects of lexical saliency, as proposed in Van Hout's *Lexical Transparency Principle* (1998). If an event's end state is lexicalized in a way that makes telicity logically explicit, the speakers will have no choice but to reject any aspectual reconfigurations that would yield a semantic anomaly. This is evidently not immutable; otherwise, we would have seen no deviation from the theoretically motivated expected responses. Still, being lexical words, these adjectives set up expectations of completion and change-of-state. If these expectations are unmet, speakers interpret those sentences as semantically deviant. I believe this could explain why the difference in acceptability between resultative particles and adjectives is so substantial in the group of L2ers. This aspectual contradiction is already quite apparent for them, regardless of how far ahead they are in their language development. What does not yet seem to be apparent, however, is the aspectual status of verb particles, which – being functional morphemes – do not contain lexical material that allows them to establish such form-meaning relations.

I also posit that there are potential external factors underlying L2 speakers' interpretation of particle markers. For reasons of data inflation, these extralinguistic variables were not included in the statistical analyses. Nevertheless, this clear differentiation between particle and adjectival resultatives in the SCT may be the result of contrasting stages of language development, which, in turn, can be tied to the speakers' overall degree of exposure to German, their cumulative years of acquisition or even individual factors. It is expected, therefore, that some of these speakers have still not acquired these forms and their lexical-semantic properties. However, as mentioned before, a higher target-like performance with adjectives also does not mean that speakers have already acquired adjectival resultatives – in principle, these are of higher complexity and should be acquired later than particle verb constructions (Richter & Van Hout, 2013). Including speakers at different acquisition stages and proficiency levels, without accounting for these differences in this analysis, is an explicit limitation of the present work, which will be addressed in the next section.

The second experimental aim of the present thesis was to determine how speakers of German convey temporal-aspectual information in narrative discourse, what role they attribute to boundedness at the propositional level and what kind of conceptualization patterns they lean towards when retelling a story. Generally, there is a clear pattern of preference for German, i.e., speakers prefer a holistic description of events, by presenting them as whole units with clear bounds that help move narrative time forward. They also tend to present situations as completed wholes without focusing on their internal stages (Von Stutterheim et al., 2003). Another pattern of event conceptualization was found – which was more prominent in the L2 speakers' narratives –, where they prefer to adopt a deictic perspective and depict situations as if they had experienced them personally. In this case, speakers tend to “overextend” some situations by describing their multiple subparts (as observed for English and Spanish; see Bylund & Jarvis, 2011; Von Stutterheim et al., 2003). Regardless of the narrative strategy adopted, all speakers relied on boundedness and telicity to establish temporal relations and enable temporal sequencing. The speakers' choice of tense further demonstrates these contrasting patterns. German monolinguals and majority-language bilinguals show an evident preference for present-tense use, consistent with their preferred narrative strategy. Speakers are distancing themselves from the story by describing situations in the present and adopting a non-participating viewpoint. L2 speakers and German minority-language bilinguals, on the other hand, show some variation in their choice of tense. L2ers seem to lean towards a past-referring depiction of events, by positioning themselves inside the action as if it actually happened and they were witnesses to its development. Still, they do not outrightly reject present-tense descriptions. German minority-language bilinguals prefer the present tense, even though the degree of preference is

not as high as that of other native speakers. Given that this variation decreases in evidential weight as we go from L2 acquirers to monolinguals, I posit that a “language continuum” might be at play here. We cannot infer from these results that L2 speakers will eventually adhere to German's prototypical event construal and conceptualization patterns in every respect. However, some non-native speakers already resort to these patterns spontaneously, which leads one to think that conceptual aspects of human language can also be acquired and incorporated into the L2 system. It remains the question of whether this pattern completely replaces the canonical pattern of their L1 or if both patterns coexist in their mind and they activate them depending on the communicative setting. Since this variation is also present in the native speakers' narratives – albeit to a lesser extent – it seems reasonable to assume that two or more conceptualization patterns can coexist in a language user's mind. Another argument in favor of this transitional stage is the fact that the German minority-language bilinguals' patterns are closer to those of the L2ers than to those of the other native speakers. As with every bit of information retrieved from these tasks, differences are not categorical. I am analyzing speakers' tendencies and preferences, which possess a linguistic foundation but can also be dependent on unobserved factors. I assume that, at some stage of their acquisitional process, L2 speakers develop a contrasting conceptualization pattern to their L1 that can be activated when they communicate in German.

Limitations

This section addresses some of the most striking gaps and limitations of the methodology adopted for the present thesis. Multiple external factors have contributed to these shortcomings, but the purpose of this segment is to raise the awareness of future researchers on the acquisition of telicity, boundedness, or general aspect, so that these faults can be avoided in future endeavors.

One of the most important gaps is the absence of a proficiency measure that accurately quantifies the speakers' linguistic knowledge. The pilot version of the experiment contained a proficiency test aimed at assessing the lexical knowledge of L2 speakers, dividing them into groups, and better pinpointing the potential effect of proficiency level. However, the original version of this test presented some problems, in that it was too complex and did not accurately describe the speakers' knowledge (e.g., speakers with three years of formal German would sometimes yield a higher proficiency score than speakers who had been speaking German and living in Germany for more than six years). Another reason why the proficiency test was discarded is timing. The experiment would be conducted in person, and its design looked very different at conception. However, this coincided with the peak of the COVID-19

pandemic, which led to a complete reformulation of the methodological design, mainly because participants now had to be tested remotely. At this point, there was little time to revise the original lexical knowledge test. This led to its being included in the final experiment in its present condition and subsequently removed due to the aforementioned concerns that it would not yield plausible results. A self-assessment task was part of the sociolinguistic questionnaire, in which the participants had to rate their current knowledge of German in all competences (i.e., speaking, listening, reading, writing) using a 10-point scale. At some point, this task was considered as an alternative, mainly due to some research pointing towards a positive effect of self-assessments in determining a speaker's level of proficiency (see, e.g., Edele et al., 2015; Flores et al., 2022; Ma & Winke, 2019). Still, two factors led to its exclusion from the statistical analysis: first, this self-assessment measure was only administered to the group of L2 speakers; secondly, preliminary analyses showed that there were no visible effects of this dependent variable in any of the tasks' conditions, which also led to some convergence issues. A measure to test proficiency should always be a priority when conducting studies with L2 speakers and bilinguals, so that potential effects can be fine-tuned to specific stages of acquisition. However, this decision was made with the expectation that this work would function as a blueprint for future researchers who specifically want to analyze the role of proficiency in a narrower population of speakers.

Another limitation is the lack of systematic sociolinguistic information about the participants. Initially, only L2 speakers had been considered the study's target population. As such, two versions of the questionnaire were built, a more elaborate one for L2 speakers and a smaller version for monolingual controls. However, later in the recruitment process, there was a unique opportunity to include not only German-Portuguese bilinguals living in a German majority environment, but also German-Portuguese bilinguals living in Portugal with German as a minority language. The latter group is quite rare in Portugal and has not, at least at the time of data collection, been studied formally. By the time these participants were included in the experiment, the method was already designed, and I decided to treat them as German native speakers by prompting them to fill out the smaller version of the questionnaire destined for the monolingual native controls. This version of the questionnaire did not assess their specific acquisitional process with regards to German (i.e., in general, questions about the degree of exposure to German, type of input and even foreign accent identification would not make much sense for German monolinguals), which meant that a lot of extralinguistic information about bilingual speakers could not be tested for. Moreover, the experiment in itself was already quite cumbersome and time-consuming for participants, which also contributed to the decision to disregard these external factors in the native

groups. At the time, this was not a severe issue because I would not have been able to model most of these variables anyway, which leads me to the next point.

Perhaps one of the most justifiable limitations of this study is the fact that there was an excessive amount of data under analysis. Ultimately, no extralinguistic variable could be included in the statistical models because these would result in non-convergence issues and yield inconclusive results. An extensive number of datapoints for what is, in comparison, such a small sample leads to errors in model convergence, multicollinearity, and unreliable results. Simultaneously, however, some uncontrolled intralinguistic variables (e.g., aspects of verbal semantics, argument selection, types of adjectives used in the stimuli, types of particles used, etc.). For example, some research has shown that aspectuality results from an interaction of multiple semantic and grammatical processes, with some authors proposing that unaccusativity and transitivity play an important role in aspect construal (see, e.g., (Kratzer, 2004), while others make an argument for the affectedness of the object as an underlying factor (see, e.g., Borer, 2005; Travis, 2010). It is possible that the stimuli used could have been more controlled for these variables, and maybe even support the observed variation.

Lastly, methodological adequacy may be a potential limitation of this thesis. Although the interpretation tasks have been used multiple times in studies on the acquisition of telicity and aspect (see Schulz & Ose, 2008; Schulz & Penner, 2002; Slabakova, 2001; Slabakova & Montrul, 2002; Van Hout, 1998, 2008a, 2008b), the “semi-controlled” production task (FRT) may not have been the best strategy to describe the actual aspectual knowledge of speakers at the discourse level, especially in contrast to Portuguese. It was indeed enough to determine the speakers’ narrative event construal and conceptualization strategies, but one can only wonder how these results would have looked if the production task had a higher degree of control, i.e., if the speakers were specifically elicited to produce specific structures. That would have allowed me to test their productive knowledge of the telicity markers accounted for in the interpretation tasks. This would also have helped make the FRT more pliable for actual statistical analysis, i.e., if I could have introduced more fine-tuned categorical variables in the model’s specifications.

Directions for future research

Given the methodological limitations presented above, the first step for future research would be replicating the study and verifying whether similar results are observable. This replication would benefit from a series of methodological adjustments to fine-tune the factors underlying these results. Devising

an adequate measure of proficiency and including it as a control variable would help determine groupwise differences between L2 speakers, maybe even pinpointing the specific stages where aspect-related forms and concepts are acquired. Another possibility is creating a more restrictive set of criteria for the population(s) under study. For example, if both late L2 and early bilingual speakers are included, the proficiency of L2ers should be homogeneous, so that researchers do not need to concern themselves with potential differences in linguistic competence. Conversely, if only L2 speakers with varying proficiency levels are included, there should be a precise and well-supported classification that objectively determines their degree of knowledge in the target language. These guidelines would help with several unanswered questions of the present work, including whether there are specific acquisitional stages in which speakers acquire the different semantic properties of telicity markers and at what point this knowledge starts being activated in production.

Additionally, if researchers want to take a closer look at extralinguistic factors, they should incorporate them systematically for all groups of speakers, including controls. This will allow them to generalize about expected patterns and establish better comparisons between L2ers, bilinguals, and monolinguals. If the sample includes all these different types of speakers, groups should be large enough to allow for inferences about all these external variables. This would help researchers answer several questions, such as: (i) whether AoA has an effect on the acquisition of aspectual markers; (ii) whether context of acquisition plays a role not only on how fast they acquire these forms, but also on the way they start conceptualizing situations in the target language, or (iii) whether different types of language exposure and use warrant a rapid and successful acquisition of aspect-related phenomena. Attempting to answer these questions without first ensuring that the sample and the experimental design fulfill specific methodological requirements will lead to the same obstacles encountered in this thesis. Therefore, the best way to analyze these effects is to reduce data points by focusing on fewer groups of speakers at a time or fine-tuning the variables that researchers may want to control. Homing in on one to two of these research questions is a good starting point to avoid potential statistical errors or unreliable results. Conversely, researchers can also go the alternative route of recruiting a larger sample of participants, which should guarantee that there is enough statistical power to account for a significant number of control variables. If more than one experimental group is included, the length of the sample should reflect this diversity numerically, i.e., if a reduction of data points cannot be achieved due to the inclusion of different populations, researchers should be able to collect enough data to justify the complexity of their model. Of course, this might be a more challenging task for practical and logistical reasons.

Finally, researchers should also focus on linguistic and experimental aspects of the adopted methodology. First, fine-tuning the specifics of every piece of stimulus used – ensuring that all experimental items belonging to the same task condition are virtually identical in the variables under control – could help mitigate potential individual differences that rest more on the nature of the stimulus than its actual experimental features. This could also help answer more theoretical questions on the nature of telicity and its linguistic expression, including whether aspectually similar verbs or predicates can be subcategorized according to different lexical-semantic properties and whether these properties license different interpretations. Naturally, understanding these properties comes from conducting enough research to pinpoint where exactly these differences may lie and whether they exist at all. As such, future research should always start with the contributions made to the field by previous studies, albeit acknowledging their gaps and limitations and offering objective solutions to attempt to overcome them. Maybe there is no intrinsic relation between the observed within-subject variation and specific stimulus-related features, but this and other questions can only be answered with a methodologically sound and goal-oriented design that tries to build on the foundation laid on by previous studies, by correcting their flaws and maintaining a stable course of research that will eventually lead to more precise conclusions about these phenomena.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Consent form (Portuguese Version)

CONSENTIMENTO INFORMADO, LIVRE E ESCLARECIDO PARA PARTICIPAÇÃO EM INVESTIGAÇÃO

de acordo com a Declaração de Helsínquia e a Convenção de Oviedo

Por favor, leia com atenção a seguinte informação. Se achar que algo está incorrecto ou que não está claro, não hesite em solicitar mais informações.

Título do estudo

Boundedness and telicity marking in the acquisition of German as a first, second, and heritage language

Enquadramento

Projeto de Tese de Doutoramento em Ciências da Linguagem, na Especialidade de Linguística Alemã, desenvolvido pelo doutorando Duarte Nuno Carvalho Oliveira, filiado no Centro de Estudos Humanísticos da Universidade do Minho (CEHUM). O projeto de investigação é orientado pela Professora Doutora Cristina Maria Moreira Flores do Departamento de Estudos Germanísticos e Eslavos (DEGE) do Instituto de Letras e Ciências Humanas (ILCH) da Universidade do Minho.

Explicação do estudo

O presente estudo consiste na realização de um questionário e de quatro tarefas de conhecimento linguístico, estando, como tal, dividido em cinco etapas:

1ª Etapa: Preenchimento de um questionário sociolinguístico propedêutico, no qual o/a participante fornecerá dados relativos à sua exposição e identificação com o português e o alemão, assim como à sua proficiência na(s) língua(s) não-nativa(s).

2ª Etapa: Realização de uma tarefa de produção oral, na qual o/a participante terá de assistir a um vídeo curto e descrever, em alemão, os acontecimentos da história ao investigador. Esta prova será realizada oralmente para garantir que o discurso é o mais espontâneo e natural possível. O áudio da resposta será gravado para futura transcrição e destruído até seis meses após a conclusão da investigação, caso seja necessária reanálise dos dados.

3ª Etapa: Realização de uma tarefa de interpretação sem suporte visual, na qual o/a participante terá de avaliar uma série de frases alemãs quanto à sua aceitabilidade, recorrendo, para o efeito, a uma escala numérica com pontos negativos e positivos, de acordo com o nível de aceitação da frase.

4ª Etapa: Realização de uma tarefa de interpretação com suporte visual, na qual o/a participante será confrontado/a com sequências de imagens que ilustram uma determinada situação. Serão feitas questões de resposta binária relativas às sequências e o/a participante terá de responder Ja ('sim') ou Nein ('não') às mesmas, tendo a liberdade de expandir a resposta se assim achar necessário.

5ª Etapa: Realização de um teste de proficiência linguística, no qual o/a participante terá de completar espaços em branco num texto em alemão.

O/A participante deve ser falante adulto/a nativo/a de português, tendo começado a aprender e/ou adquirir alemão em idade adulta. No que toca ao grupo de controlo, o/a participante deve ser falante

adulto/a nativo/a de alemão. O procedimento de recolha será efetuado digitalmente, por meio de um formulário eletrónico e através de videoconferência, para garantir um melhor acompanhamento da realização das tarefas por parte do investigador. Consistirá numa sessão única que não deverá exceder os 65 minutos. Os dados pessoais e identificáveis do/a participante serão destruídos após a recolha completa e as gravações áudio até seis meses após a conclusão do doutoramento.

Condições e financiamento

O presente estudo é financiado por uma Bolsa de Doutoramento da Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (FCT), com a referência SFRH/BD/145452/2019. O carácter da participação é voluntário, não havendo contrapartidas ao estudo, nem constituindo qualquer risco ou situação de desconforto para o/a participante. A não-participação no estudo também não representa qualquer prejuízo, de índole assistencial ou outros. Este estudo mereceu parecer favorável da Comissão de Ética para a Investigação em Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade do Minho.

Confidencialidade e anonimato

Estão garantidos o anonimato e a confidencialidade no tratamento dos dados recolhidos. Será atribuído um código alfanumérico aos dados pessoais e identificáveis do/a participante, assim como à sua gravação áudio. Estes estarão armazenados num ficheiro protegido por palavra-passe, apenas acessível pelo investigador. Após atribuição do código alfanumérico a todos os dados recolhidos, o ficheiro em que consta a informação identificável do/a participante será destruído. A gravação áudio será destruída até seis meses após a conclusão do estudo. O contacto com o/a participante será feito em ambiente de privacidade e a sua identificação nunca será fornecida a terceiros, nem divulgada em qualquer tipo de fórum público.

O investigador agradece a colaboração do/a participante,

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☐ Declaro ter lido e compreendido este documento, bem como as informações verbais que me foram fornecidas pela pessoa que acima assina. Foi-me garantida a possibilidade de, em qualquer altura, recusar participar neste estudo sem qualquer tipo de consequências. Desta forma, aceito participar neste estudo e permito a utilização dos dados que de forma voluntária forneço, confiando em que apenas serão utilizados para esta investigação e nas garantias de confidencialidade e anonimato que me são dadas pelo investigador.

Appendix 2 Consent form (German version)

FREIE EINWILLIGUNG NACH VORHERIGER AUFKLÄRUNG

gemäß der Einklärung von Helsinki und der Konvention von Oviedo

Bitte lesen Sie genau die folgende Aufklärung. Wenn Sie finden, dass etwas inkorrekt oder nicht deutlich ist, zögern Sie nicht, weitere Informationen anzufordern. Wenn Sie dem Vorschlag zustimmen, unterzeichnen Sie bitte das Dokument.

Titel der Studie

Boundedness and telicity marking in the acquisition of German as a first, second, and heritage language

Rahmen

Doktorarbeit in Sprachwissenschaften, Fachgebiet Deutsche Linguistik, von Duarte Nuno Carvalho Oliveira durchgeführt, Zentrum für Humanistischen Studien der Universität Minho (CEHUM). Das Forschungsprojekt wird von Frau Professorin Doktorin Cristina Maria Moreira Flores betreut, Abteilung für Germanistische und Slavistische Studien (DEGE), Institut für Humanwissenschaften (ILCH), Universität Minho.

Erklärung der Studie

Die vorliegende Arbeit umfasst das Ausfüllen einer soziolinguistischen Befragung und die Durchführung von vier linguistischen Aufgaben: einer mündlichen Produktionsaufgabe mit Audioaufnahme und drei schriftlichen Aufgaben. Der/Die Teilnehmende(r) soll portugiesische(r) Muttersprachler(in) sein und Deutsch im Erwachsenenalter erworben haben. Was die Kontrollgruppe betrifft, soll der/die Teilnehmende(r) deutsche(r) Muttersprachler(in) im Erwachsenenalter sein. Der Datensammlungsprozess wird online mittels eines elektronischen Formulars bzw. Videokonferenz erfolgen und aus einer einzelnen Sitzung bestehen, welche insgesamt zwischen 50 und 65 Minuten für die Versuchsgruppe und zwischen 35 und 45 Minuten für die Kontrollgruppe dauern soll. Die persönlichen und bestimmbar Daten des/der Teilnehmenden werden zerstört, sobald die Sammlung fertig ist, und die Audioaufnahmen spätestens sechs Monate nach dem Abschluss der Doktorarbeit, in dem Fall, dass eine Datenüberprüfung notwendig ist.

Bedingungen und Finanzierung

Die vorliegende Studie wird von einem Doktorandenstipendium der Stiftung für Wissenschaft und Technologie (FCT; Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia), Ref. SFRH/BD/145452/2019, finanziert. Es gibt keine Gegenleistungen für die Studie. Die Teilnahme ist freiwillig und stellt weder ein Risiko noch ein Unbehagen für den/die Teilnehmende(n) dar. Durch die Nichtbeteiligung an der Studie entsteht auch kein fürsorglicher Schaden, u.a. Diese Studie wurde von der Ethikkommission für die Forschung in den Sozial- und Humanwissenschaften der Universität Minho zugestimmt.

Datenschutz und Anonymität

Es ist gewährleistet, dass die Daten mit Anonymität und Vertraulichkeit verarbeitet werden. Ein alphanumerischer Code wird den persönlichen und bestimmbar Daten des/der Teilnehmenden und seiner/ihrer Audioaufnahme zugeordnet, welche in einer durch Passwort geschützten Datei gespeichert werden. Diese Datei ist nur vom Forscher zugreifbar. Nachdem die alphanumerischen Codes allen gesammelten Daten zugeordnet geworden sind, wird die Datei zerstört, in der sich die bestimmbar

Information des/der Teilnehmenden befindet. Die Audioaufnahme wird spätestens sechs Monate nach dem Abschluss der Studie zerstört. Der Kontakt zu dem/der Teilnehmenden wird in privater Umgebung aufgenommen und seine/ihre Identifizierung wird zu keiner Zeit an Dritte weitergegeben bzw. öffentlich bekannt gemacht werden.

Falls Sie irgendwelchen Aspekt zum Schutz ihrer Daten melden möchten, müssen Sie es schriftlich machen, indem Sie sich an den Beauftragten für den Datenschutz der Universität Minho wenden (protecaodados@uminho.pt).

Der Forscher bedankt sich für die Mitwirkung des/der Teilnehmenden,

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☐ Hiermit erkläre ich, das vorliegende Dokument, sowie die Informationen, die die oben unterzeichnende Person mir mündlich übermittelt hat, gelesen und verstanden zu haben. Mir wurde versichert, dass ich es vermöge, die Teilnahme an der Studie jederzeit abzulehnen, ohne dass es irgendwelche Folgen gibt. Somit erkläre ich mich bereit, an dieser Studie teilzunehmen, und erlaube die Verwendung der Daten, die ich freiwillig vorlege, im Vertrauen darauf, dass diese nur für Forschungszwecke und unter Einhaltung der Garantien für Datenschutz und Anonymität, die mir vom Forscher gegeben worden sind, verwendet werden.

Appendix 3

Language Experience and Proficiency Questionnaire (Portuguese version)

A. Primeira Secção

Nome

Apelido

Data de nascimento

____ / ____ / ____

B. Segunda Secção

1. Por favor, liste as línguas que fala por **ordem de dominância**:

Língua 1

Língua 2

Língua 3

Língua 4

2. Por favor, liste todas as línguas que fala por **ordem de aquisição** (língua nativa primeiro):

Língua 1

Língua 2

Língua 3

Língua 4

3. Qual é a percentagem de tempo em que está, **atualmente e em média**, em contacto com cada língua?

(A soma das percentagens de todas as línguas que escolher deve perfazer 100%)

Língua 1

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

Língua 2

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

Língua 3

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

Língua 4

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

4. Se escolher ler um texto (ex.: livro, artigo, publicação, etc.) que está disponível em todas as línguas que fala, qual seria a percentagem das vezes em que escolheria lê-lo em cada uma dessas línguas? Suponha que o texto original esteja escrito numa língua que não domina.

(A soma das percentagens de todas as línguas que escolher deve perfazer 100%)

Língua 1

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

Língua 2

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

Língua 3

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

Língua 4

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

5. Se estiver a falar com uma pessoa que é igualmente fluente em todas as línguas que você fala, qual será a percentagem de vezes em que escolherá falar cada língua?

(A soma das percentagens de todas as línguas que escolher deve perfazer 100%)

Língua 1

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

Língua 2

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

Língua 3

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

Língua 4

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

6. Liste as culturas com as quais se identifica. Numa escala de 0 a 10, classifique em que medida se identifica com cada cultura.

(Exemplos podem incluir a cultura portuguesa, a alemã, a francesa, etc.)

Cultura 1

0 Nenhuma identificação	1 Pouquíssima Identificação	2	3	4	5 Identificação moderada	6	7	8	9	10 Identificação total
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Cultura 2

0 Nenhuma identificação	1 Pouquíssima Identificação	2	3	4	5 Identificação moderada	6	7	8	9	10 Identificação total
-------------------------------	-----------------------------------	---	---	---	--------------------------------	---	---	---	---	------------------------------

Cultura 3

0 Nenhuma identificação	1 Pouquíssima Identificação	2	3	4	5 Identificação moderada	6	7	8	9	10 Identificação total
-------------------------------	-----------------------------------	---	---	---	--------------------------------	---	---	---	---	------------------------------

Cultura 4

0 Nenhuma identificação	1 Pouquíssima Identificação	2	3	4	5 Identificação moderada	6	7	8	9	10 Identificação total
-------------------------------	-----------------------------------	---	---	---	--------------------------------	---	---	---	---	------------------------------

7. Por favor, selecione o seu nível de escolaridade:

- ☐ Sem escolaridade
- ☐ 1º ciclo
- ☐ 2º ciclo
- ☐ 3º ciclo
- ☐ Ensino Secundário
- ☐ Licenciatura
- ☐ Mestrado
- ☐ Doutoramento

☐ Outro (por favor, especifique)

8. Data de emigração para a Alemanha, se for o caso:

Se já emigrou para outro país, por favor, escreva o nome do país e a data de emigração aqui:

C. Terceira Secção

Língua: Alemão

Todas as perguntas abaixo referem-se ao seu conhecimento de **alemão**.

1. Com que idade começou a aprender alemão?

2. Já passou tempo em alguns destes ambientes? Se sim, especifique quantos anos e/ou meses:

Um país em que se fala alemão

Uma família em que se fala alemão

Um ambiente escolar/de trabalho em que se fala alemão

3. Numa escala de 0 a 10, selecione o seu nível de proficiência em alemão nas diferentes competências:

Fala / produção oral

0 nenhum a	1 Muit o baix a	2 Baix a	3 Razoáv el	4 Menos que adequad a	5 Adequad a	6 Mais que adequad a	7 bo a	8 Muit o boa	9 Excelent e	10 Perfeit a
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Compreensão oral

0 nenhum a	1 Muit o baix a	2 Baix a	3 Razoáv el	4 Menos que adequad a	5 Adequad a	6 Mais que adequad a	7 bo a	8 Muit o boa	9 Excelent e	10 Perfeit a
------------------	-----------------------------	----------------	-------------------	-----------------------------------	-------------------	----------------------------------	--------------	-----------------------	--------------------	--------------------

Produção escrita

0 nenhum a	1 Muit o baix a	2 Baix a	3 Razoáv el	4 Menos que adequad a	5 Adequad a	6 Mais que adequad a	7 bo a	8 Muit o boa	9 Excelent e	10 Perfeit a
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Leitura / compreensão escrita

0 nenhum a	1 Muit o baix a	2 Baix a	3 Razoáv el	4 Menos que adequad a	5 Adequad a	6 Mais que adequad a	7 bo a	8 Muit o boa	9 Excelent e	10 Perfeit a
------------------	-----------------------------	----------------	-------------------	-----------------------------------	-------------------	----------------------------------	--------------	-----------------------	--------------------	--------------------

4. Numa escala de 0 a 10, especifique o quanto os seguintes fatores contribuem/contribuíram para a sua aquisição do alemão:

Interação com amigos e/ou colegas

0 Não contribui(u)	1 Contribui(u) minimamente	2	3	4	5 Contribui(u) moderadamente	6	7	8	9	10 Contribui(u) de forma mais importante
--------------------------	----------------------------------	---	---	---	------------------------------------	---	---	---	---	--

Interação com a família

0 Não contribui(u)	1 Contribui(u) minimamente	2	3	4	5 Contribui(u) moderadamente	6	7	8	9	10 Contribui(u) de forma mais importante
--------------------------	----------------------------------	---	---	---	------------------------------------	---	---	---	---	--

Leitura

0 Não contribui(u)	1 Contribui(u) minimamente	2	3	4	5 Contribui(u) moderadamente	6	7	8	9	10 Contribui(u) de forma mais importante
--------------------------	----------------------------------	---	---	---	------------------------------------	---	---	---	---	--

Aulas de alemão

0 Não contribui(u)	1 Contribui(u) minimamente	2	3	4	5 Contribui(u) moderadamente	6	7	8	9	10 Contribui(u) de forma mais importante
--------------------------	----------------------------------	---	---	---	------------------------------------	---	---	---	---	--

Estudo autónomo

0 Não contribui(u)	1 Contribui(u) minimamente	2	3	4	5 Contribui(u) moderadamente	6	7	8	9	10 Contribui(u) de forma mais importante
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Televisão, rádio e música

0 Não contribui(u)	1 Contribui(u) minimamente	2	3	4	5 Contribui(u) moderadamente	6	7	8	9	10 Contribui(u) de forma mais importante
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Internet, redes sociais e/ou jogos de vídeo

0 Não contribui(u)	1 Contribui(u) minimamente	2	3	4	5 Contribui(u) moderadamente	6	7	8	9	10 Contribui(u) de forma mais importante
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5. Numa escala de 0 a 10, especifique quanto contacto tem com o alemão nos seguintes contextos:

Interação com amigos e/ou colegas

0 Nunca	1 Quase nunca	2	3	4	5 Metade do tempo	6	7	8	9	10 Sempre
------------	---------------------	---	---	---	----------------------------	---	---	---	---	--------------

Interação com a família

0 Nunca	1 Quase nunca	2	3	4	5 Metade do tempo	6	7	8	9	10 Sempre
------------	---------------------	---	---	---	----------------------------	---	---	---	---	--------------

Televisão, rádio e música

0 Nunca	1 Quase nunca	2	3	4	5 Metade do tempo	6	7	8	9	10 Sempre
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Aulas de alemão

0 Nunca	1 Quase nunca	2	3	4	5 Metade do tempo	6	7	8	9	10 Sempre
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Estudo autónomo

0 Nunca	1 Quase nunca	2	3	4	5 Metade do tempo	6	7	8	9	10 Sempre
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Leitura

0 Nunca	1 Quase nunca	2	3	4	5 Metade do tempo	6	7	8	9	10 Sempre
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6. Na sua percepção, quanto sotaque acha que tem em alemão?

0 Nenhu m	1 Quase nenhu m	2 Mui to leve	3 Lev e	4 Algu m	5 Modera do	6 Consider ável	7 Carrega do	8 Muito carrega do	9 Extremam ente carregado	10 Inten so
-----------------	--------------------------	------------------------	---------------	----------------	-------------------	-----------------------	--------------------	-----------------------------	------------------------------------	-------------------

7. Com que frequência outras pessoas o identificam como um falante não-nativo, com base no seu sotaque em alemão?

0 Nunca	1 Quase nunca	2	3	4	5 Metade do tempo	6	7	8	9	10 Sempre
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Appendix 4

Language Experience and Proficiency Questionnaire (Abridged German version)

A. Erster Teil

Vorname

Nachname

Geburtsdatum

____ / ____ / ____

B. Zweiter Teil

1. Bitte listen Sie alle Sprachen, die Sie beherrschen, **in der Reihenfolge Ihres Kenntnisstands**, auf:

Sprache 1

Sprache 2

Sprache 3

Sprache 4

2. Bitte listen Sie alle Sprachen, die Sie beherrschen, **in der Reihenfolge nach Zeitpunkt des Erlernens**, auf (beginnend mit Ihrer Muttersprache):

Sprache 1

Sprache 2

Sprache 3

Sprache 4

3. Geben Sie an, in welchem Maß Sie **derzeit durchschnittlich** (in %) mit jeder der Sprachen konfrontiert sind?

(Insgesamt sollten Ihre Angaben 100% ergeben)

Sprache 1

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

Sprache 2

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

Sprache 3

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

Sprache 4

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

4. Sie möchten einen Text lesen, der in allen von Ihnen beherrschten Sprachen verfügbar ist. Wie häufig (in %) würden Sie sich beim Lesen für welche Sprache entscheiden? Gehen Sie davon aus, dass das Original in einer Ihnen unbekannten Sprache geschrieben wurde.

(Insgesamt sollten Ihre Angaben 100% ergeben)

Sprache 1

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

Sprache 2

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

Sprache 3

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

Sprache 4

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

5. Sie unterhalten sich mit jemandem, der alle von Ihnen gesprochenen Sprachen gleichermaßen beherrscht. Wie häufig (in % und anteilig an der Gesamtzeit) würden Sie welche Sprache im Gespräch wählen?

(Insgesamt sollten Ihre Angaben 100% ergeben)

Sprache 1

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

Sprache 2

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

Sprache 3

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

Sprache 4

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

6. Welchen Kulturkreisen fühlen Sie sich zugehörig? Geben Sie auf einer Skala von 0 bis 10 an, wie sehr Sie sich dem jeweiligen Kulturkreis zugehörig fühlen.

(Mögliche Kulturkreise sind der deutsche, türkische, arabische, russische, etc.)

Kulturkreis 1

0 Keinerlei Zugehörigkeits- gefühl	1 Sehr geringes Zugehörigkeits- gefühl	2	3	4	5 Mäßiges Zugehörigkeits- gefühl	6	7	8	9	10 Vollständiges Zugehörigkeits- gefühl
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Kulturkreis 2

0 Keinerlei Zugehörigkeits- gefühl	1 Sehr geringes Zugehörigkeits- gefühl	2	3	4	5 Mäßiges Zugehörigkeits- gefühl	6	7	8	9	10 Vollständiges Zugehörigkeits- gefühl
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--

Kulturkreis 3

0 Keinerlei Zugehörigkeits- gefühl	1 Sehr geringes Zugehörigkeits- gefühl	2	3	4	5 Mäßiges Zugehörigkeits- gefühl	6	7	8	9	10 Vollständiges Zugehörigkeits- gefühl
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--

Kulturkreis 4

0 Keinerlei Zugehörigkeits- gefühl	1 Sehr geringes Zugehörigkeits- gefühl	2	3	4	5 Mäßiges Zugehörigkeits- gefühl	6	7	8	9	10 Vollständiges Zugehörigkeits- gefühl
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--

7. Bitte kreuzen Sie das Feld an, das Ihrem höchsten Bildungsstand entspricht:

- ☐ Ohne Schulabschluss
- ☐ Hauptschulabschluss
- ☐ Realschulabschluss
- ☐ Hochschulreife
- ☐ Berufsausbildung
- ☐ Hochschulabschluss
- ☐ Promotion
- ☐ Sonstiges (spezifizieren Sie)

8. Zeitpunkt des Zuzugs nach Deutschland, falls zutreffend:

Wenn Sie in einem anderen Land gelebt haben, wo haben Sie gelebt und wie lange sind Sie dort geblieben?

Appendix 5 Film Retelling Task (Platform instructions)

Page 1

Aufgabe I

Sie werden sich ein kurzes Video ansehen.

Passen Sie auf die Geschichte auf. Sie werden danach mündlich erzählen, was passiert ist.

Klicken Sie auf 'Weiter', wenn Sie bereit sind.

Weiter

Page 2



Weiter

Page 3

Erzählen Sie jetzt bitte mündlich, was im Video passiert ist:

Wenn Sie bereit sind, klicken Sie auf 'Weiter'. Die Audioaufnahme startet automatisch. **ACHTUNG:** Passen Sie auf das Zeitlimit auf. Sie haben nur **2 Minuten!**

Weiter

Page 4

Jetzt wird's aufgenommen! Bitte erzählen Sie mündlich, was im Video passiert ist!

■ Stop Recording



Weiter

Appendix 6 Sentence Conjunction Task (Platform preview)

Instructions

Aufgabe II

Sie werden 40 Sätze lesen. Bitte bewerten Sie jeden Satz, indem Sie sagen, ob der Satz nicht sinnvoll (0) oder sehr sinnvoll (3) ist. Ziehen Sie dazu den Slider.

Klicken Sie auf 'Weiter', wenn Sie bereit sind, mit der Aufgabe zu beginnen.

Weiter

Example

Lena hat die E-Mail fertig gelesen, aber es fehlen ihr noch ein paar ungelesene Zeilen.

nicht sinnvoll



sinnvoll

Weiter

Appendix 7 List of items in the Sentence Conjunction Task

Condition	Item	Expected answer(s)
Resultative particle (ResP)	Igor hat das Wasser ausgetrunken, aber es ist noch Wasser in der Flasche.	0, 1
	Sonja hat den Fisch aufgeessen und morgen isst sie den Rest.	
	Clara hat die Zigarettenschachtel aufgeraucht, aber es sind noch ein paar Zigaretten in der Schachtel.	
	Irina hat die Zeitschrift durchgelesen und später liest sie die Zeitschrift zu Ende.	
	Lena hat den Staub vom Tisch abgewischt, aber es gibt noch Staub auf dem Tisch.	
	Ella hat das Haus abgezeichnet und später zeichnet sie das Haus weiter.	
Resultative adjective (ResA)	Heidi hat ihr Glas Wein leer getrunken, aber es ist noch Wein in ihrem Glas.	0, 1
	Thea hat den Teller leer gegessen, aber es gibt noch Kartoffeln auf dem Teller.	
	Lena hat die E-Mail fertig gelesen, aber es fehlen ihr noch ein paar ungelesene Zeilen.	
	Samuel hat die Hausarbeit fertig geschrieben und morgen schreibt er sie weiter.	
	Vera hat den Tisch trocken gewischt, aber es gibt noch Wein darauf.	
	Lorenz hat sich die Schuhe kaputt gelaufen, aber sie sind noch nicht verbraucht.	
Bounded DP (bDP)	Alex hat den Kaffee getrunken, aber es ist noch ein Schluck in der Tasse.	2, 3
	Emma hat die Pizza gegessen, aber sie hat die Salami übrig gelassen.	
	Hans hat das Buch gelesen, aber er hat ein Kapitel übersprungen.	
	Thomas hat das Haus gezeichnet, aber es fehlte die Tür.	
	Michael hat den Boden gefegt, aber der Boden ist noch nicht sauber.	
	Julia hat den Tisch gewischt, aber es gibt noch Schokoladenflecken darauf.	
Control: Partitive PP (PPP)	Peter hat vom Kaffee getrunken, aber die Kaffeekanne ist noch fast voll.	2, 3
	Robert hat von dem Fisch gegessen und später isst er den Rest.	
	Der Polizist hat nach dem Dieb gegriffen, aber der Dieb ist davongekommen.	
	Lukas hat nach dem Ball getreten, aber der Ball liegt immer noch auf dem Rasen.	
	Anna hat aus dem neuen Album von Metallica gehört, aber es fehlt ihr noch fünf Lieder.	
	Fabian hat an seiner Masterarbeit geschrieben und nächste Woche schreibt er sie zu Ende.	
Fillers	Klaus ist in Urlaub gefahren, aber er hat den Reisepass vergessen.	-

Christian hat als Koch gearbeitet, aber er wollte gerne Bäcker werden.

Claudia hat einen Deutschkurs gemacht, aber sie kann kaum noch Deutsch sprechen.

Das Baby wurde mit 3 Kilo geboren, aber es hat schon 200 Gramm abgenommen.

Esther hat in Philosophie promoviert, aber sie kann keine Arbeit finden.

Die Studenten haben gestern eine Party gemacht und heute haben sie einen üblen Kater.

Philip ist nach Rom geflogen und wird das Wochenende dort verbringen.

Alice ist aus Brasilien gekommen, aber ihre Eltern wohnen seit Jahren in Deutschland.

Meine Mutter hat das Hähnchen gegessen und später hat sie es gebraten.

Marina ist ausgegangen, aber sie ist zu Hause geblieben.

Sonja hatte gestern Geburtstag, aber sie hat nächste Woche Geburtstag.

Emil hat einen Job gefunden, aber er ist noch arbeitslos.

Edna hat einen Kuchen gebacken, aber sie hat gar nicht gebacken.

Nora war letzte Woche in Berlin, aber sie war nicht in Deutschland.

Noah hat das Abitur gemacht und nächstes Jahr geht er in die Grundschule.

Henri hat den Kaffee getrunken und danach hat er ihn gekocht.

Appendix 8 Truth-Value Judgment Task (Platform preview)

Instructions

Aufgabe III

In den folgenden Seiten werden Ihnen Bildergeschichten vorgestellt. Zu jeder Bildergeschichte gibt es eine Frage.

Sehen Sie sich jede Sequenz genau an und beantworten Sie die Frage mit 'Ja' oder 'Nein'.

Klicken Sie auf 'Weiter', um mit der Aufgabe zu beginnen.

Weiter

Example

1



2



3



Hat die Frau getrunken?

Ja

Nein

Appendix 9 Truth-Value Judgment Task (Test Design)

Note: SVC = simple verb construction PVC = particle verb construction
 UOC = unbounded object construction BOC = bounded object construction

Verb	Story	Conditions (Situation + Predicate type)	Picture descriptions, questions and target answers
<i>essen</i>	Story 1: The mouse and the cheese	A	IMG1: [mouse gets close to cheese] IMG2: [mouse is eating the cheese] IMG3: [mouse has eaten the whole cheese] SVC: <i>Hat die Maus gegessen?</i> Ja. PVC: <i>Hat die Maus aufgegessen?</i> Ja.
		Filler	<i>Hat die Maus getanzt?</i>
		B	IMG1: [mouse gets close to cheese] IMG2: [mouse is eating the cheese] IMG3: [mouse gets tired of eating and crawls away; cheese is nibbled on] UOC: <i>Hat die Maus Käse gegessen?</i> Ja. BOC: <i>Hat die Maus den Käse gegessen?</i> Nein/Ja
		Filler	<i>Hat die Maus Schnurrhaare?</i>
		A	IMG1: [boy sits at the table; plate of soup is full] IMG2: [boy is eating the soup] IMG3: [boy ate the whole soup; plate of soup is empty] SVC: <i>Hat der Junge gegessen?</i> Ja. PVC: <i>Hat der Junge aufgegessen?</i> Ja.
		Filler	<i>Hat der Junge blaue Augen?</i>
	Story 2: The boy and the soup	B	IMG1: [boy sits at the table; plate of soup is full] IMG2: [boy is eating the soup] IMG3: [boy gets tired of eating the soup and starts playing; plate of soup is half-full] UOC: <i>Hat der Junge Suppe gegessen?</i> Ja. BOC: <i>Hat der Junge die Suppe gegessen?</i> Nein/Ja
		Filler	<i>Hat der Junge sich gesetzt?</i>
	Story 3: The monkey and the bananas	A	IMG1: [monkey is eating bananas, has a banana peel in each hand; there are banana peels and whole bananas on the floor] IMG2: [monkey picks up last banana and eats it] IMG3: [monkey throws that banana peel on the floor and walks away; floor is full of banana peels] UOC: <i>Hat der Affe Bananen gegessen?</i> Ja. BOC: <i>Hat der Affe die Bananen gegessen?</i> Ja.
		Filler	<i>Hat der Affe braune Haare?</i>

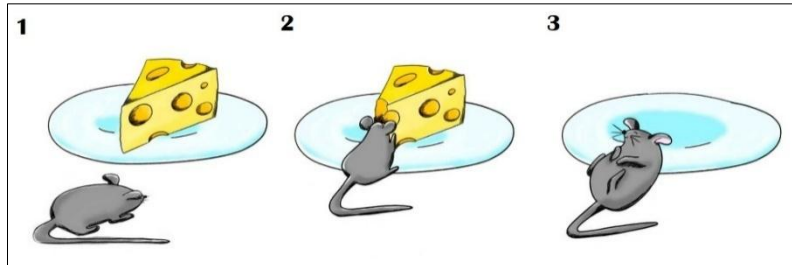
trinken	Story 4: The cat and the milk	B	IMG1: [monkey is eating bananas, has a banana peel in each hand; there are banana peels and whole bananas on the floor] IMG2: [monkey picks up another banana and eats it] IMG3: [monkey does not finish eating the banana and throws it on the floor, as it walks away; there are both banana peels and whole bananas on the floor] SVC: <i>Hat der Affe gegessen?</i> Ja. PVC: <i>Hat der Affe aufgegessen?</i> Nein.
		Filler	<i>Hat der Affe getanzt?</i>
		A	IMG1: [cat gets close to the bowl of milk; bowl is full] IMG2: [cat is drinking the milk] IMG3: [cat drank the whole milk; bowl is empty] SVC: <i>Hat die Katze getrunken?</i> Ja. PVC: <i>Hat die Katze ausgetrunken?</i> Ja.
		Filler	<i>Hat die Katze die Milch verschüttet?</i>
		B	IMG1: [cat gets close to the bowl of milk; bowl is full] IMG2: [cat is drinking the milk] IMG3: [cat gets tired of drinking the milk and walks away; there is still some milk in the bowl] UOC: <i>Hat die Katze Milch getrunken?</i> Ja. BOC: <i>Hat die Katze die Milch getrunken?</i> Nein/Ja
		Filler	<i>Hat die Katze große Ohren?</i>
		A	IMG1: [woman is sitting with a glass of beer in front] IMG2: [woman is drinking the beer] IMG3: [woman drank the whole beer; glass is empty] SVC: <i>Hat die Frau getrunken?</i> Ja. PVC: <i>Hat die Frau ausgetrunken?</i> Ja.
		Filler	<i>Hat die Frau eine blaue Bluse?</i>
		B	IMG1: [woman is sitting with a glass of beer in front] IMG2: [woman is drinking the beer] IMG3: [woman leaves; glass of beer is half-empty] UOC: <i>Hat die Frau Bier getrunken?</i> Ja. BOC: <i>Hat die Frau das Bier getrunken?</i> Nein/Ja
		Filler	<i>Hat die Frau gehustet?</i>
Story 6: The athlete and the water bottles	A	IMG1: [athlete is drinking a water bottle; has a water bottle in each hand] IMG2: [athlete finishes drinking the first bottle and puts it on the table; now he's drinking the second bottle]	

	IMG3: [athlete puts second bottle on the table and walks away; there are two empty water bottles on the table]
	UOC: <i>Hat der Athlet Flaschen Wasser getrunken?</i> Ja.
	BOC: <i>Hat der Athlet die Flaschen Wasser getrunken?</i> Ja.
Filler	<i>Hat der Athlet Cola bestellt?</i>
B	IMG1: [athlete is drinking a water bottle; has a water bottle in each hand] IMG2: [athlete is now drinking second water bottle; he still has a half-full water bottle in the other hand] IMG3: [athlete puts both water bottles on the table and walks away; both bottles are half-full]
	SVC: <i>Hat der Athlet getrunken?</i> Ja.
	PVC: <i>Hat der Athlet ausgetrunken?</i> Nein.
Filler	<i>Hat der Athlet ein Handtuch auf der Schulter?</i>

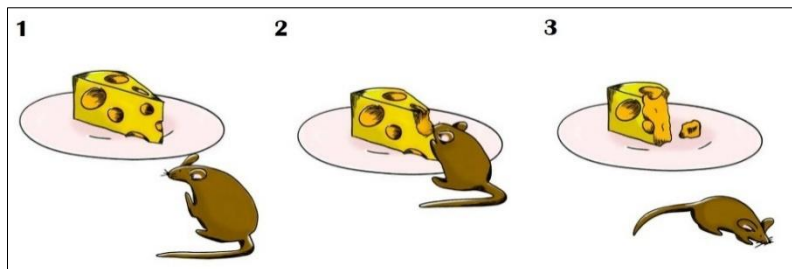
Appendix 10 List of picture stories in the Truth-Value Judgment Task

Story 1: The mouse and the cheese

Telic variant

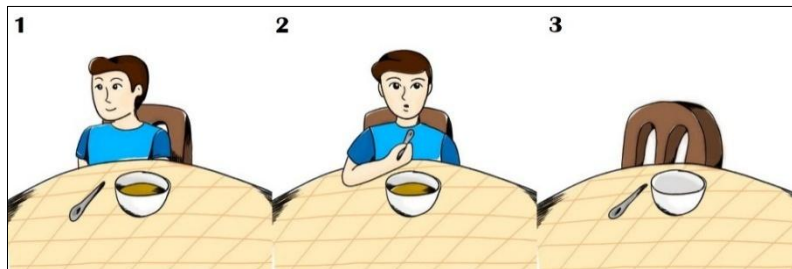


Atelic variant

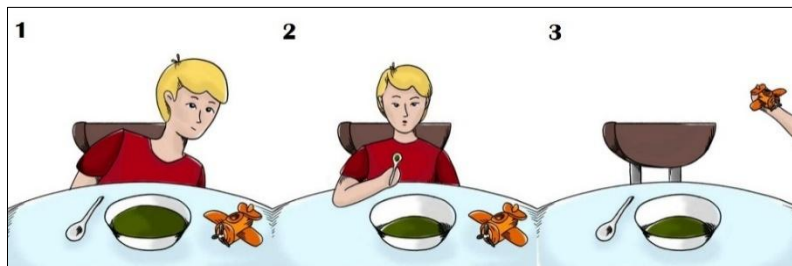


Story 2: The boy and the soup

Telic variant

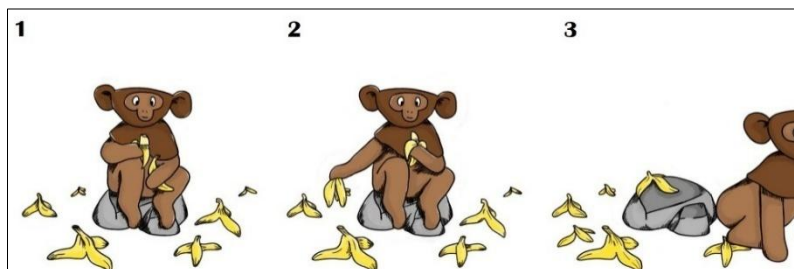


Atelic variant

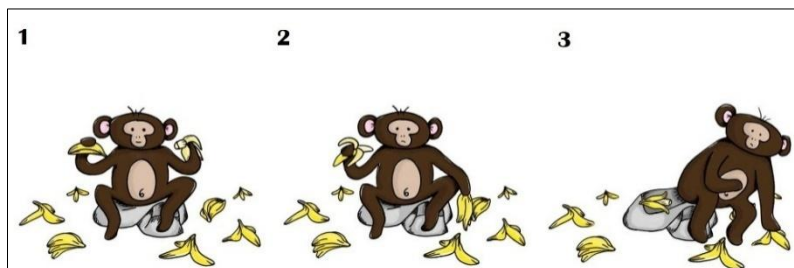


Story 3: The monkey and the bananas

Telic variant

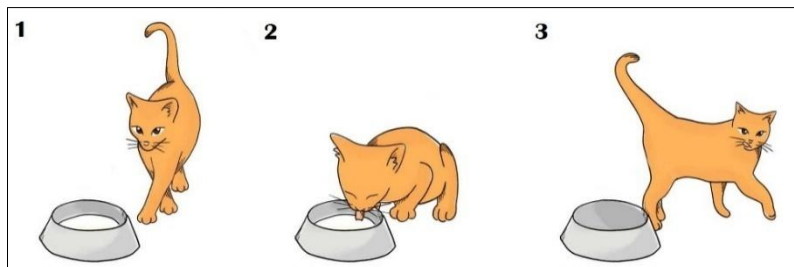


Atelic variant

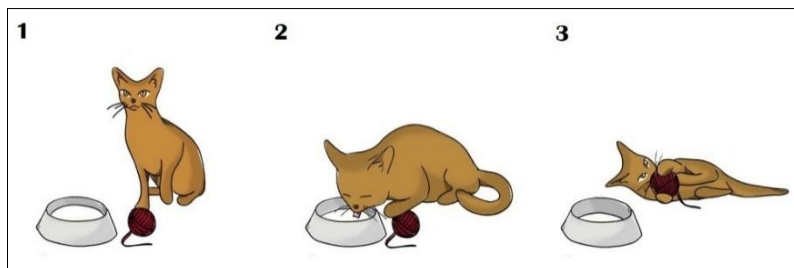


Story 4: The cat and the milk

Telic variant



Atelic variant

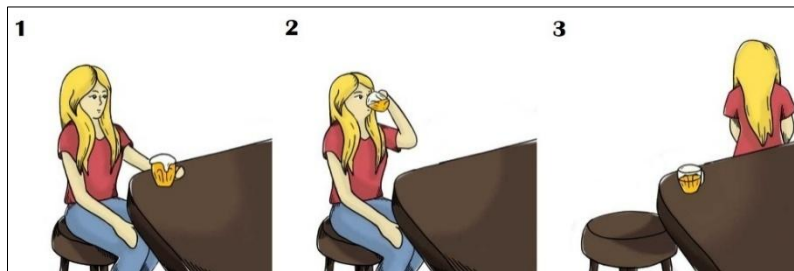


Story 5: The woman and the beer

Telic variant



Atelic variant



Story 6: The athlete and the water bottles

Telic variant



Atelic variant



Appendix 11 Corpus of oral narratives in the Film Retelling Task

Group	ID	Text
	L201	Das Video zeigte eine sehr hungrige Frau, die auf der Strasse ging. Sie schaut in eine Bäckerei und bemerkt dann ein Lieferwagen der Bäckerei. Sie beschloss, ein Brot zu stehlen. Dann die Polizei sieht, was passiert ist und verhaftet sie. Dann kommt ein Mann... versucht, diese Frau zu helfen. Sie werden beide festgenommen und (werden) in den Polizeiwagen gebracht. Und dann die Frau scheint sehr verzweifelt zu sein und sie springen plötzlich von dem Wagen und rennen zusammen weg.
	L202	Die Frau war allein und hat sie ein Brot gestohlen. Und der Mann sagte, er schuldig war, weil er beliebt in die Frau war, und aus diesem Grund hat der Mann in einem Restaurant gestohlen; die Polizei nahm beide Mann und Frau fest und am Ende flüchten der Mann und die Frau.
	L203	Am Anfang des Videos sehen wir eine Frau auf der Strasse. Es gibt ein Wagen vor einem Laden, wobei ein Mann Kuchen in eine Konditorei bringt. Diese Frau, die sieht ein bisschen schmutzig aus und sie kann hungrig sein, weil sie... uhm... auf das Schaufenster schaut und sieht so aus, als könnte sie etwas essen. Als der Mann dann in die Konditorei reingegangen ist, dann sprang sie in den Wagen und holte sich ein Brot, eine Baguette, und dann hat sie versucht zu rennen, aber eine Frau hat sie gesehen und hat dem Mann und dem Polizist [gesagt?], der dort war, dass sie es getan hat, Ein Mann, der auch dabei war, hat gesagt, dass es er war und - also - sie werden beide danach verhaftet, aber sie schaffen es zu fliehen.
L2	L205	Ein Mann zündet die Zigarette eines anderen an. Eine Frau spaziert durch die Stadt und hält sich vor dem Schaufenster einer Bäckerei an. Der Bäcker geht rein und sie klaut sich einen Laib aus dem Wagen her. Sie läuft weg, wird aber erwischt. Als sich ein Polizist an Situation annähert, fängt sie einmal an, sich zu entschuldigen, doch ein Passant nimmt die Schuld auf sich. Der Polizist glaubt ihm und verlässt die Szene. Die Frau wirkt verwirrt, denn sie versteht nicht, warum sie gerade von einem völlig unbekannten Mann gerettet wurde. Eine zweite Frau spricht den Bäcker direkt an und sagt, dass es tatsächlich die Frau war, die den Laib (unhörbar) geklaut hat. Freundlich gehen sie zurück zum schuldigen Mann. Der Schuldige geht essen ins Restaurant; die Frau wird von dem Polizisten festgenommen. Als der schuldige Mann nochmal von der Polizei (unhörbar) genommen wird, holt er sich ein (undeutlich), bevor er die Szene verlässt. Direkt neben dem Restaurant gibt es ein Polizeikästchen, das es an der Wand hängt. Der Verbrecher läuft nicht mehr als zwei Meter und kauft sich eine Zigarre beim Kiosk. Der Inhaber zündet seine Zigarre an. Eine Kinderschar kommt vorbei und nimmt was, das kaum zu erkennen war. Der wütende Polizist taucht auf, macht seine Zigarre aus und nimmt ihn in den Polizeiwagen. Dadrin sitzen schon andere Verbrecher und plötzlich wird die (undeutlich) da reingeschmissen. Er fragt sie, ob sie sich an ihn noch erinnert. Sie sagt ja und fängt an zu weinen. Der Typ bietet ihr sein Taschentuch, damit sie sich die Tränen abwischt. (undeutlich) steht sie auf und läuft weg. Der Verbrecher folgt ihr. Es gibt ein Autounfall. Drei Personen liegen auf der Strasse. Der Verbrecher wacht auf, dreht sich zu (undeutlich), weckt sie auf und sagt, dass es ihre Chance sei zu fliehen. Der Polizist kommt kurz wieder zur Besinnung, aber der Verbrecher knüppelt ihn in die Stirn.

L206	Eine Frau, die sehr hungrig war, lief auf der Strasse, als sie einen Bäcker gesehen hat und von dem ein Brot gestohlen hat. Bei dem Wegrennen ist sie gegen einen Mann gestossen und in dieser Zeit kam die Polizei, die dann falsch verstanden hat und gedacht hat, dass dieser Mann der Brot gestohlen hat. Der Mann war auf dem Weg in den Knast mit der Polizei, als eine andere Frau, die den Diebstahl gesehen hat, gesagt hat: 'Achtung! Die Dame hat das Brot gestohlen, nicht der Mann'. Dann hat die Polizei entschieden, die Frau in die Knaste mitzubringen. Der Mann war ein bisschen verliebt in ihr und deshalb hat dann entschieden, in einem Restaurant viel zu essen und nicht dafür zu bezahlen, damit er auch bei der Polizei in die Knaste (undeutlich) wäre. Als sie dann sich in diese Wagen getroffen haben, sie war aber immer noch zu traurig und hat versucht, von dem Polizeiwagen wegzurennen. Weil sie da wegrennen, hat sie aber ein Unfall verursacht und als sie dann auf dem Boden lagen nach dem Unfall, haben sie verstanden, jetzt war die Zeit, damit sie zusammen wegrennen, und so haben sie auch gemacht.
L207	Das Film fängt an mit einer Frau, die sehr traurig ist, weil sie extrem hungrig ist. Dann versucht sie ein Brötchen zu stehlen und sie wird verhaftet dafür. Mittlerweile versucht Charlie Chaplin, sie zu helfen, obwohl er nicht erfolgreich ist, und als sie verhaftet ist, dann versucht der Charlie Chaplin sich selber auch zu verhaften, damit er diese Frau wieder trifft. Am Ende des Film fliehen sie beide aus dem Polizeiauto.
L210	Ein Frau stand vor ein Bäckerei und sie hat kein Geld für Brot und sie hat ein Brot gesehen und sie hat diese Möglichkeit gefunden, Brot dann zu klauen, und sie hat den Brot geklaut. Ein Frau hat das gesehen und dann hat die Polizei angerufen. Als die Polizei kam, ein Mann hat das gesehen und hat so gemacht, als er das selber gemacht hatte. Hat's leider nicht geklappt, weil die andere Frau hat gesagt: 'Ja, das war nicht er, sondern sie'. Und dann wurde sie festgenommen, deswegen ist er dann zu diese Restaurant gekommen und hat dann essen ohne bezahlen, dass er auch festgenommen wurde. Und er hat das geschafft, dass ein Polizei das gesehen hat und dann er auch festgenommen hat. Er wurde mit eine Wagen dann festegenommen und in diese Wagen waren auch die Frau. Sie haben sich dann da getroffen und haben geschafft beiden, eine Unfall zu kreieren, und von diese Unfall die sind erfolgreich dann geschafft, diese Situation zu verlassen.
L212	So, in das Video wir sehen ein Charlie-Chaplin-Film und eine Frau hat einem Brot gestohlen und Charlie Chaplin sagt, dass er das Brot gestohlen hat. Und dann die Leute glauben ihm nicht und er geht ins einem Restaurant, er isst alles, das er sieht geht aus ohne zahlen, geht mit die Polizei. Dann er sieht die Frau, die mit die Polizei auch ist, und sie fliehen der Wagen zusammen.
L214	... eine Frau, die hungrig ist. Und sie hat in eine Bäckerei Brot geklaut und dann ist der Bäcker natürlich böse und er wollte die Frau anrufen, aber sie ist gegangen gegen ein andere Mann und dann diese Mann hat der Bäcker gesagt, dass er hat alles gemacht, also er hat dem Schuld genommen , also [er hat] das Brot geklaut. Und dann er ist zu einem Café gegangen und er hat auch Essen bestellt und dann er wollte, dass die Polizei alles zahlt und er hat ein Polizei angerufen. Die Polizei ist gekommen und natürlich er war auch noch mal böse mit Charlie Chaplin und dann er hat ihm in die Polizeiauto genommen und dadrin er war mit anderen Menschen und danach hat die Frau, die am Anfang das Brot geklaut hat, ist drin

	auch in diesen Polizeiauto gegangen und die beide erkannten sich von des erste Szene und dann es gab ein Unfall und die beiden können fliehen von die Polizei.
L215	Es ist eine Szene von Charlie Chaplin und einem anderen Mädchen, das stiehlt, um zu essen. Das Mädchen wird von der Polizei gefasst, doch Charlie will helfen und versucht auch von der Polizei erwischt zu werden, weil er im Restaurant und am Kiosk nicht bezahlt hat. Die beiden werden in das Polizeiauto gesetzt. Das Auto hat einen Unfall und die beiden entkommen.
L217	So, eine Frau war hungrig und sie hat eine Baguette gestohlen. Dann Charlot, er hat gesagt, er hat die Baguette gestohlen, so die Frau war nicht in [prison]. Aber der Bäcker hat der Polizei gesagt, dass die Frau hat der Brot bestohlen. Dann Charlot war in ein Restaurant und er hat viele Essen gegessen, aber er hat nicht Geld für Zahlen und er hat der Polizei das gesagt. Dann der Polizei hat ihm genehmt und dann die Frau war in der gleich Wagen. (unterbrochen)
L218	Also, eine Frau hat einen Brot gestohlen. Dann hat eine andere Frau das gesehen und sie hat dem Geschäftsleiter erzählt, die Frau hat einen Brot gestohlen. Sie ist gegen Charlot gerannt. Dann hat die Polizei Charlot genommen, weil er gesagt hat, dass er den Brot gestohlen hat. Aber dann kam noch mal die Frau und sagte: 'Ja, es war die andere Frau, die den Brot gestohlen hat'. Und dann hat die Polizei die Frau gefunden und (hat) im (undeutlich) Polizeiwagen mitgenommen. Charlot ist ins Restaurant gegangen. Er hat viel gegessen und [hat] nichts bezahlen und sagt: 'Ja, du musst das bezahlen'. Und er sagt: 'Ja- nein. Und du kommst auch mit mir'. Und am Ende waren die zwei im Wagen und das Wagen hat einen Unfall und die fliehen.
L219	Eine Frau auf der Strasse ohne Schuhe sah eine Schaufenster mit Kuchen und sie sieht, dass es kam eine Lieferwagen und dann sie nutzt die Chance, sich ein Brot zu nehmen, und sie hat das Brot gestohlen. Sie ist dann weggerannt und auf den Weg stoss sie gegen Charlie Chaplin. Die Polizei rannt hinterher und wollte sie festnehmen und Charlie Chaplin hat dann die Polizei erzählt, er hat das Brot gestohlen, damit die Frau frei kommt. Eine andere Frau hat gesehen, dass die Frau tatsächlich das Brot gestohlen hat und die Polizei dann nimmt die Frau. Charlie Chaplin geht ins Restaurant und nimmt sich eine grosse Mahlzeit und am Ende, statt die Rechnung zu bezahlen, er ruft die Polizei, weil er kein Geld hat, weil sein Ziel wäre natürlich, dass er auch festgenommen wird, um die Frau wiederzusehen. Die Polizei nimmt ihn und sie treffen sich dann in dem Polizeiwagen und sie versuchen zu entfliehen zu zweit, sie springen aus dem Wagen und dann tatsächlich am Ende, sie fliehen die zwei zusammen.
L221	So, eine Frau klaut ein Brot und damit sie nicht in der Knast geht, kommt der Charlot. Dann kommt andere Frau, die sagt der Polizei, dass er nicht schuld ist, aber die Frau. Dann sind beide in der Polizeiauto und Charlot versucht sie aus Liebe zu retten und dann fliehen die beide zusammen.
L224	Ein Mann trifft eine hübsche Frau, angeblich eine Obdachlose, die ein Brot gestohlen hat. Als die Frau verfolgt wird, hilft ihr der Mann und jedoch wird die Frau von Passanten identifiziert und [wird] von einem Polizisten festgenommen. Der Mann will die hübsche Obdachlose wieder treffen und damit macht er sich schuldig an Diebstahl auch und wird auch festgenommen. Im Polizeiwagen trifft er wieder die hübsche Frau und sie können aus dem Wagen fliehen und die Frau lud ihn ein und die beiden gehen zusammen.

L227	Also, sie war so alleine und hungrig und hat ein Brot gesehen ans (undeutlich) [Ladebrot?] oder so, und da hat sie ein Brot gestohlen, ist dann gerannt, aber eine Frau sieht sie und hat (unhörbar) der Ladenmeister oder so, hat ihn ja gerufen und (hat) gesagt: 'Also, die Frau ist gerannt und hat den Brot mitgenommen'. Und dann ist er hinter ihn her(gerannt) und hat die Polizei gerufen. Polizei ist gekommen, aber, als die Polizei kam, also, die Frau am Boden hat gesagt: 'Ja, ich war's nicht so'. Und ein anderer Mann hat dann für sie die Schuld genommen und ja, holt halt ihn die Polizei, aber dann hat er sie dann noch wieder geholt und dann ist der Mann halt in Restaurant gegangen, (hat) gegessen, alles, (hat) auch geraucht und so und hat nix bezahlt, also musste er auch mitgenommen werden mit der Polizei. Da sind beide er, der Mann, und die Frau mitgenommen und (unterbrochen)
L229	Ja, also, bei dieser Geschichte ist es so, dass eine Frau... dass eine Frau erstmal an einem Schaufenster vorbeiläuft, dann klaut sie ein Brot, ein Baguette, wird aber dann erwischt, beziehungsweise, bevor sie erwischt wird, stolpert sie über Charlie Chaplin und dann übernimmt er die Schuld, sie rennt weg, er wird verhaftet. Dann sieht man den mit einem Polizisten unterwegs, irgendwo in einem Café und in einem Tabakladen. Dann wird er verhaftet dann gibt's 'ne Frau, die sagt, das war nicht er, der das Beguettebrot geklaut hat, sondern sie. Und dann letztendlich wird auch sie verhaftet, also, die beiden werden verhaftet und dann am Ende fliehen die beiden.
L230	In den Video hat ein Frau zuerst ein Brot gestohlen und während ihre fliehen, hat sie ein Mann getroffen und der Mann hat ihnen geholfen und (hat) gesagt, dass er war schuldig für die Stohlen. Nachdem die Polizei hat(te) ihn genommen, um die Polizei zu gehen. Und sie haben entdeckt, dass die Frau hat selbst die Brot gestohlen. Und er hat mit Absicht in eine Restaurant gegangen (hat) alles gegessen und (hat) gar nix bezahlt, um in die Gefängnis mit die Frau zu gehen. Wenn sie beide schon in die Polizeiwagen waren, hat der Wagen ein Unfall gehabt und beides konnten fliehen von die Polizei.
L231	Also, die Frau hat ein Stück Brot geklaut und dann Chaplin hat gemacht, als er das Brot gestohlen hat. Aber dann kommt die Frau, die hat (undeutlich) andere gesehen und hat gesagt: 'Nee, das war nicht die Frau, das war den Mann' - Entschuldigung, 'das war nicht der Mann, der Frau'. Und dann hatte Chaplin einfach mehrere Versuche gemacht, damit dem Polizei ihm ins Gefängnis nimmt und dann (unhörbar) nicht den Frau. Zum Beispiel, (er) war im Restaurant, hat zu gegessen, (hat) nicht bezahlt, dann hat auch das Zigarette und die Schokolade an die Kinder gegeben und (hat) nicht bezahlt und am Ende waren beides in dem Polizeiauto und (er) hat sie geholfen zu fliehen.
L232	Das Mädchen war allein und hungrig und hat einen Laib Brot gestohlen. Sie ist dann verhaftet worden, aber ein netter Mann hat ihr geholfen und (hat) zugegeben, dass er der Dieb war. Leider war der Mann nicht mit seinem Verhalten erfolgreich, denn das Mädchen war anschliessend verhaftet. Der Mann hat deswegen einen Fehler gemacht, damit er auch verhaftet werden konnte. Und so hat ihm die Polizei verhaftet, wie das Mädchen. Die beiden haben sich im Polizeiwagen getroffen und schliesslich konnte das neue Paar wegen eines absichtlichen bewirkten Unfalles fliehen.
L233	Ein Dame ging an 'ne Bäckerei vorbei und stahl ein Brot. Jemand sah es und erzählte es dem Bäcker. Als die Dame versuchte wegzulaufen, stiess sie mit

	einem Mann zusammen und stolperte. In der Zwischenzeit kam die Polizei und der Mann war sehr höflich und sagte, dass er das Brot gestohlen hatte. Die Polizei nahm ihn dann fest und der Zeug' bestätigte der Polizei, dass es die Dame war, die das Brot gestohlen hatte. Am Ende wurden beide verhaftet und gingen in denselben Polizeiwagen. Plötzlich versuchte die Dame zu fliehen und der Mann folgte ihr ausserhalb des Polizeiswagens und es gab so einem Unfall. Am Ende konnten sie fliehen zusammen und entkamen glücklicherweise gemeinsam.
L234	Eine Frau hat das Brot gestohlen und dann (hat) auf Charles Chaplin eingestossen, also, getroffen und dann, ja, Charles Chaplin hat in Fakt gesagt, dass, 'Ich bin schuld', und die Polizei hat ihm mitgenommen und dann ein andere Frau hat das ganze Ding beobachtet und (hat) gesagt: 'Nein, das war nicht ihm, war die andere Frau', deswegen hat die Polizei das erste Frau mitgenommen im Geschäftnis. Und dann Charles ist dann auf ein Restaurant gegangen und (hat) 'n grosses Mahlzeit gegessen und dann wollte die Polizei das bezahlt. Dann hat er nochmals etwas noch bestellen, eine Zigarette und noch etwas anderes für die Kinder. Dann war die Polizei ziemlich böse und der Charles, er war in der Wagen mitgenommen, und für die Geschäftnis... was noch? - dann war die Frau mittlerweile auch da drin und (hat) geweint und der Charles hat die Frau gesagt: 'Enirern sich- Sie auf mich?' Und 'Ja' und dann – ja – lustigerweise ist der Auto einfach gefallen und sie sind dann, ja, weggegangen.
L236	Die Frau war hungrig und wollte etwas zum Essen, dann sie hat ein Brot gestohlen, sie hat ein Mann getroffen und sie sind beide runtergefallen. Der Mann hat sie geholfen, um schuldig zu sein wegen diese Situation. Dann ist der Mann festgenommen, aber eine Frau, die das gesehen hatte, hat es erzählt, dass die Frau eigentlich das Brot genommen hatte und hat die Polizei die Frau festgenommen. Der Mann war auch hungrig und hat etwas gegessen. Wenn er zahlen sollte, hat er die Polizei nachgefragt, /um/ diese Bezahlung zu zahlen. Natürlich ist das nicht richtig und hat die Polizei der Mann festgenommen, aber das wollte er eigentlich, damit er die Frau noch mal treffen könnte. Das hat genau so passiert, sie haben sich getroffen in dem Polizeiwagen. Sie haben es versuchen zu fliehen und so haben sie geschafft. Und sind sie zusammen gelaufen und – vielleicht – glücklich für immer.
L238	Hungrig Frau stiehlt ein Brot und fällt auf einer Mann. Eine Frau beschert sich über die Frau. Der Mann tragt(e) die Schuld für das gestohlen Brot. Er geh zum Mittagessen und trifft die Polizei weiter (= wieder?), die bereits erhort? ist. Sie bringen uns mit dem Frau zur Polizeistation. Die Frau weint und der Mann tröstet (sie) und beiden springen aus dem Wagen. So gelingt es der Frau mit dem Mann wegzulaufen, der ihr geholfen hat.
L239	Die Leute beschuldigten das Mädchen, das Brot gestohlen zu haben, und so wurde sie verhaftet. Der Kerl wollte sie retten. Er sagte die Polizei, dass er das Brot gestohlen habe und am Ende konnten beide aus dem Gefängnis fliehen.
L241	Das ist so eine Geschichte des Zufalls. So ganz am Anfang haben wir eine Frau, die ganz alleine und hungrig war, und, als die Gelegenheit aufgetreten ist, hat sie ein Brötchen geklaut, und war noch ein andere Frau an der Ecke und sie hat alles gesehen und dann kommt die Polizei und war auch Charlot dabei so sie, die Frau, die das Brötchen geklaut hat, wurde bestraft und dann später die beiden haben sich wieder in einem Auto getroffen und das ist ein Auto der Polizei. Dann plötzlich haben wir einen Autounfall gehabt und Charlot hat der Frau gesagt: 'Jetzt hast du

	die Gelegenheit zu fliehen'. Und dann die Frau ist einfach geflohen und am Ende hat (sie) Charlot gesagt: 'Komm mal mit!'. Und dann die sind beide geflohen.
L243	In diesem Film geht es darum, als ein Film von Charlie Chaplin und das fängt damit, dass ein Mädchen barfuss eine Auslage von 'ner Bäckerei sieht, hat voll Hunger und klaut ein Baguette, wird aber erwischt beim Wegrennen, stösst sie mit Charlie Chaplin zusammen und er findet sie dann ganz toll und (er) sagt, er war's. Und (er) wird mitgenommen von dem Polizisten, aber wer, die das Mädchen gesehen hat, sagt: 'Nein, das Mädchen war's'. Auf jeden Fall er will ja gefangen genommen werden und geht toll essen, zahlt es nicht und ruft dann Polizist, um dann praktisch gefangen genommen zu werden, kommt in den Gefängniswagen und da kommt halt dann auch tatsächlich das Mädchen dazu. Es gibt halt eben eine turbulente Fahrt und um die Kurve rum werden Polizist, das Mädchen und Charlie Chaplin rauskatapultiert. Dann liegen sie da am Boden auf der Strasse, samt Polizisten, den Charlie Chaplin noch mal kurz an dem Kopf dann so in Ohnmacht versetzt. Das Mädchen rennt weiter, das ist ihre Gelegenheit zu fliehen, aber um die Ecke ruft sie Charlie Chaplin dort zu sich. Also, offensichtlich seine Liebe wird dann halt dann erwidert.
L245	Es gibt so eine Frau, die anscheinend hungrig war und da hat sie ein Brot gestohlen und wollte wegfliehen mit dem Brot, aber so eine andere Frau hat sie gesehen und hat dann zu dem Bäcker gesagt, dass diese Frau das Brot gestohlen hatte und gleichzeitig kam so ein Polizist und hat sie festgenommen, aber der Herr Chaplin wollte ja sie retten, der Held, und hat dann gesagt, dass er es gewesen wäre, also, dass er das Brot gestohlen hätte oder wollte (der Polizist) ihn festnehmen, aber diese eine Frau, die das alles gesehen hatte, ist mit dem Bäcker (ihr) hinterhergerannt und hat den Polizist gesagt, dass die Frau (es) gewesen ist und nicht der Herr Chaplin und dann hat der Herr Chaplin irgendwas, also, der hat Essen bestellt und hat es nicht bezahlt und hat einfach nur Mist gebaut, um halt festgenommen zu werden, und dann hat er sich mit der Frau in dem Wagen getroffen, dann gab's mit dem Wagen was und dann hatten sie die Chance, zusammen wegzuflehen.
MAJ01	... arme Frau, die ein Stück Brot klaut, und ein Mann versucht sie dann von der Polizei zu schützen, indem er behauptet, er hätte das Brot geklaut. Die Polizist glauben ihm nicht und wollen die Frau festnehmen. Daraufhin geht er in ein Lokal, frisst sich voll und dann bezahlt er nicht. Am Ende wird er festgenommen, genauso wie die Frau. Sie sind beide in einem JVA-Wagen und dann brechen sie beide aus, weil das Auto einen Unfall hatte. Sie können fliehen, er sagt der Frau, sie soll fliehen, er haut den Polizisten noch mal und die Frau flieht und holt ihn dann sozusagen nach.
MAJ MAJ03	Das ist ein Charlie-Chaplin-Film. Während des Films erscheint als erstes eine Frau, die eine Stange Brot stiehlt. Während sie davonläuft, überrumpelt sie einen Mann, Charlie Chaplin, und währenddessen wird sie von dem Polizisten festgehalten. Charlie Chaplin versucht dann die Schuld noch auf sich zu nehmen, weil er die Stange in der Zwischenzeit angenommen hat und hinter seinem Rücken versteckt (hat), die Frau wird festgenommen (unterbrochen)
MAJ04	Ein Mädchen stiehlt einen Laib Brot vom Bäckerwagen. Sie flieht mit dem Laib Brot, aber sie wird von einer Frau verraten. Die Polizei fängt das Mädchen und, da sie gegen Charlie Chaplin gerannt ist, umarmt er sie und gibt sich als schuldig. Die Verräterin läuft zur Polizei und sagt, dass es das Mädchen ist und nicht Charlie

	Chaplin. Charlie Chaplin geht in ein Café. Die Polizei rennt nach dem Mädchen hinterher. Nachdem Charlie Chaplin im Café gegessen hat, ruft er die Polizei, um die Rechnung zu bezahlen, welche (sie) nicht tut. Charlie Chaplin wird gefesselt, während die Polizei am Telefon ist. Hat er am Kiosk um eine Zigarre gebeten. Danach fragt er die Polizei, diese zu bezahlen, was sie auch nicht tut. Charlie Chaplin wird festgenommen im Polizeiauto. Darauf kommt auch das Mädchen (unterbrochen)
MAJ09	Ein armseliges, hungriges Mädchen steht vor einem Bäckerladen und schaut sich das Schaufenster an. Plötzlich sieht sie die Gelegenheit, ein Brot aus einem LKW zu stehlen, und rennt mit dem Brot davon, stolpert aber kurz danach über Charlie Chaplin. Eine Frau sieht diese Szene, ruft die Polizei und zeigt das Mädchen an, aber Charlie Chaplin nimmt die Schuld auf sich und er wird von der Polizei abgeführt. Die anklagende Frau beharrt aber weiterhin, das Mädchen hätte das Brot gestohlen, also wird sie nochmals von der Polizei verfolgt und nimmt der Polizist dann das Mädchen mit. Kurz danach geht Charlie Chaplin und isst zwei riesige Mahlzeiten. Am Ende, anstatt zu zahlen, ruft er den Polizist, der ihn wieder verhaftet. Kurz danach steht er mit dem Polizist an einem Kiosk und stiehlt eine Zigarre, gibt vorbeigehenden Kindern mehrere Süßigkeiten und, wenn der zahlen muss, weist er wieder auf den Polizisten. Dieser wird wütend und führt Charlie Chaplin ab, sodass er in einem Polizeilaster landet mit mehreren Gefangenen. (unterbrochen)
MAJ10	Zuerst wurde eine Frau gezeigt, die auf ein Schaufenster geschaut hat. Da steht's einen parkenden Auto vor dem Laden, wo die Frau stand, und die Frau hat die Gelegenheit ergriffen und hat sich ein Laib Brot mitgenommen, beziehungsweise gestohlen und ist davon geflüchtet. Als sie wurde aber von einer anderen Frau beobachtet und als dann der Inhaber des Geschäfts dann zurückkam, hat die Frau, die die andere Frau beobachtet hat, mitgeteilt, dass die andere Frau einen Laib Brot gestohlen hat, und daraufhin ist er (ihr) dann halt hinterhergelaufen. Die erste Frau ist dann halt gegen Charles Chaplin dann halt dagegengestossen (undeutlich) und sie konnte dann von dem Inhaber des Geschäfts ergriffen werden. Und in der Zwischenzeit taucht auch die Polizei auf und wollte sie dann festnehmen, daraufhin sagte Charles Chaplin, dass er derjenige war, der das Laib Brot gestohlen hat. Er wurde dann abgeführt, sie lag dann weiterhin auf dem Boden. Als dann die andere Frau sagte es, er wäre es nicht gewesen, sondern die erste Frau, ist der Inhaber dann noch mal zur Polizei gegangen und wurde dann die Frau verhaftet. In der Zwischenzeit ist Charles Chaplin essen gegangen und hat Sachen eingekauft und hat für nichts bezahlt und hat sich quasi von einem Polizisten (undeutlich) mitnehmen lassen und er wurde dann daraufhin verhaftet und (wurde) an einen Wagen abgeführt. Zuletzt taucht dann die erste Frau, die das Laib Brot gestohlen hat, in dem Wagen auf. Beide haben sich dann halt quasi dort ein bisschen besser kennengelernt und, als das Auto einen Unfall hatte, sind beide runtergefallen und (unterbrochen)
MAJ11	Mit dem Video geht's eigentlich darum, dass eine Frau an einem Schaufenster stand bei der ein Lieferant von Packwaren nicht aufgepasst hat, hatte sie die Möglichkeit, ein Brot zu klauen, das hat sie dann auch gemacht, ist sie... weggerannt, nachdem sie das Brot aus dem Lieferwagen geklaut hat, dann ist gegen einen Mann gelaufen und dann hat eine Frau sie dabei gesehen, wie sie das Brot geklaut hat, hat sie beim Polizisten verpetzt und dann hat der Mann,

	gegen den die Frau mit dem geklauten Brot gelaufen ist, das Brot zu sich genommen und hat die Schuld auf sich genommen und wurde der (undeutlich) abgeführt, aber nicht die Frau, die die Dame (undeutlich) verpetzt hat, noch mal den Polizisten (undeutlich), hat ihm dann gesagt, 'Das war nicht der Mann, es war die Frau'. Und dann der (undeutlich) Polizist hat den Mann, auf den die Frau zugelaufen ist, wieder frei gelassen und hat die Frau dann mitgenommen. Der Mann, der inzwischen angerempelt wurde, ist dann was essen gegangen in Cafeteria, hat sich für zwei Personen noch reingehauen, wurde dann aber (undeutlich) wieder vom Polizisten mitgenommen, und wurde dann in Polizeiwagen abgeführt und kurz dann später kam da noch die Frau, von der er angerempelt wurde, die das Brot geklaut hat, auch im Polizeiwagen angetroffen und dann sie wollte, die Frau, abhauen, nachdem der Mann ihr einen Platz angeboten hat, dann sind drei Polizisten ausgeflogen und dann konnten sie fliehen zusammen.
MAJ12	In dem Video sieht man Charlie Chaplin, wie er einer jungen Dame zur Flucht verhilft, nachdem diese aus Hunger Mundraub begangen hat und einen Laib Brot gestohlen hat. Zunächst versucht er, sich an ihrer Stelle verhaften zu lassen, und als dies nicht funktioniert, weil sie verraten wird von einer Dame, die sie gesehen hat, von einer Augenzeugin, lässt er sich ebenfalls verhaften, indem er massig Nahrung zu sich nimmt im Restaurant und nicht bezahlt. Nachdem sie beide verhaftet werden, stellt er sich ihr erneut im Polizeiwagen vor und dieser hat dann einen Unfall, was beiden zur Flucht verhilft.
MAJ14	Also, in dem Stummfilm von Charlie Chaplin ‚Allein und hungrig‘ geht es um eine Frau, die einen Laib Brot klaut und dann von der Polizei wegrennt. Charlie Chaplin in der Rolle übernimmt die Verantwortung dafür, glauben sie ihm aber nicht und rennen dann der Frau wieder hinterher, deswegen geht er ins Restaurant und lässt sich für extra festnehmen, um die Frau wieder zu begegnen, dann fand sie in dem Polizeiauto in Richtung Gefängnis oder U-Haft und die Frau kann flüchten und Charlie Chaplin hilft ihr dabei und beide rennen dann zusammen weg.
MAJ15	(...) und sieht, dass ein Wagen mit frischen Brötchen da steht, dann läuft dahin und stiehlt ein Baguette. Der Bäcker und eine andere Frau sehen das und laufen dieser jungen Frau hinterher. Die Frau läuft gegen Charlie Chaplin und kurze Zeit später kommt der Polizist und dann sagt der Bäcker, dass die junge Frau das Baguette gestohlen hat. Dann sagt Charlie Chaplin: 'Nein, sie hat keinen Laib gestohlen. Das war ich'. Und dann wird er festgenommen und sie ist dann frei. Die andere Frau sagt dann aber: 'Nein, er war es nicht, sie war es'. Dann wird sie festgenommen. Kurze Zeit später trifft man Charlie Chaplin in einem Restaurant und er isst Süßigkeiten und raubt eine Zigarre. (unterbrochen)
MAJ16	Also, eine Frau befindet sich in der Strasse und schaut zu, wie der Lieferant einen Tante-Emma-Laden Brote bringt. Sie hat Hunger, die Frau sieht so aus, als ob sie auf der Strasse wohnt, als ob sie kein Zuhause hat. Das merkt man daran, dass sie Schmutz im Gesicht hat und sie schaut sich das ganze Essen im Schaufenster an. Als der Zulieferer dann im Laden verschwindet, geht sie an sein Fahrzeug und stiehlt einen Laib Brot. Daraufhin flüchtet sie. Eine Frau, die gerade vorbeiläuft, sieht die Tat und sagt es dem Polizisten. Als die Frau versucht zu fliehen, knallt sie gegen einen Herrn mit einer Melone und einem Wanderstock. Die Polizei kommt draufhin und fragt, was da los war. Es heisst dann, von der Frau, die den Diebstahl beobachtet hat, dass einen Laib Brot von einer Frau entwendet wurde.

	Der Mann in der Melone nimmt das auf sich. Er meint, er hat das Brot geklaut. Daraufhin wird er verhaftet. Die andere Frau, die Zeugin, sagt aber, dass es die andere Frau war. Auf jeden Fall geht Charlie Chaplin und isst umsonst in einem Restaurant und dann... ahm... prellt die Zelle- die Zeche, er bezahlt nicht. Daraufhin wird er verhaftet und (wird) im Gefangenentransporter überführt. Da wird auch dann die Frau zugeladen, die den Laib Brot (unterbrochen)
MAJ17	In dem Video von Charlie Chaplin sieht man eine junge Frau, die einen Bäckereitransporter überfällt und dabei ein Baguette stiehlt. Sie wird dabei von einer Passantin beobachtet, die daraufhin den Bäcker alarmiert und der wiederum der Polizei. Die Frau rennt weg mit dem Baguette, stösst aber mit Charlie Chaplin zusammen, wird von der Polizei geschnappt. Charlie Chaplin nimmt die Schuld für den Diebstahl auf sich und behauptet, er hätte das Baguette gestohlen. (unterbrochen)
MAJ18	Ja, also, in dem Video sehen wir eine Szene in einer Grossstadt. Eine junge Frau steht (undeutlich) eines Fahrzeugs, das Brot liefern soll, sie stiehlt das Brot, die Polizei kommt und verfolgt sie und Charlie Chaplin taucht auf und stellt sich dar als derjenige, der das Brot eigentlich gestohlen hat. Damit rettet er der Frau, natürlich (undeutlich) und der Charlie Chaplin wird abgeführt. Da gibt's eine Zeugin, die den Polizisten darauf hinweist, dass die Frau eigentlich die Diebin sei. (undeutlich) (wird) abgeführt, Charlie Chaplin (wird) freigelassen und er nutzt die Gunst der Stunde, geht in ein Restaurant, dort fällt er auf als Zechpreller und er lässt sich freiwillig gerne verhaften. Nachdem (undeutlich) gut gehen lassen, er wird also in ein Fahrzeug gesteckt und (undeutlich) gebracht zu werden und verhaftet zu werden. Und während er versucht, sich noch einen Sitzplatz in diesem Auto zu ergattern, steigt die Frau, die am Anfang festgenommen wurde, weil sie einen Laib Brot gestohlen hat. Und (undeutlich) sie ihn grossartig findet. Und plötzlich springt die junge Frau und versucht zu flüchten. Charlie Chaplin springt ihr zu Hilfe, es kommt ein Unfall, und es kommt zu Flucht
MAJ20	Eine junge Frau steht vor einer Konditorei, sehr einfach gekleidet, offenbar mit Hunger, und klaut aus dem Lieferwagen ein (undeutlich) Baguette, läuft weg, rennt Charlie Chaplin um, wird daraufhin festgehalten. Eine ältere Dame denunziert die junge arme Frau als Diebin. Charlie Chaplin sagt, er war's, lässt sich festnehmen, das Mädchen ist erstmal frei. Im Nachgang wird die Frau trotzdem festgenommen, da die alte Dame dies noch mal beteuert, dass nicht Charlie es gewesen (ist), sondern sie. Charlie wird freigelassen, geht dann erstmal essen, isst ausgiebig, kommt wieder raus, wird wieder festgenommen und landet im Polizeiwagen, wo dann kurze Zeit später auch dieses arme Mädchen auch geschnappt wird. Sie versucht zu flüchten. Es kommt zu einem Verkehrsunfall und alle drei, der Polizist, Charlie Chaplin und das arme Mädchen, fallen aus dem Wagen.
MAJ22	Also, es ist ein Film von Charlie Chaplin. Der Film beginnt damit, dass eine Frau eine Frau vor einem Fenster an einem Bäckerei steht. Die Bäckerei wird von dem Zeitpunkt von einem Lieferanten beliefert. Als der Kurier die Ware in die Bäckerei bringt, ergreift die Frau, die sehr am Verhungern zu sein scheint, die Möglichkeit und klaut ein Brot. Dabei wird sie von einer anderen etwas reicheren Frau gesehen. Als die Frau versucht zu flüchten, rennt sie gegen Charlie Chaplin. Auch die Polizei bekommt das mit. Charlie Chaplin versucht, die Frau zu retten, und gesteht die Tat. Die Polizei nimmt zuerst Charlie Chaplin mit, jedoch wird dies von

	der Frau und dem Lieferanten klargestellt und sie kriegen die richtige Täterin, also die arme Frau. So Charlie Chaplin entscheidet sich dazu, selber auch in den Knast zu gehen, und bekommt es hin, selber gefangen genommen zu werden. Am Ende des Tages fliehen Charlie Chaplin und die Frau zusammen.
MAJ23	Es ging um eine Frau, die hungrig war. Sie hat ein Laib Brot geklaut und ist dann auf 'nem Polizisten gestossen, der sie dann gefangen hat, sozusagen, und dann ist ein Mann gekommen, (er) hat gemeint, er hatte es geklaut, aber der Polizist, beziehungsweise, eine Frau kam, dann hat (sie) gemeint: 'Nee, der war's nicht, es war die Frau, die das Brot geklaut hat'. Der Polizist hat die Frau mitgenommen und der Mann, der ursprünglich gesagt hatte, dass er das Brot geklaut hat, aber es nicht gemacht hat, hat dann im Restaurant was gegessen, ohne es zu zahlen, hat dabei dann den Polizisten gerufen, damit er sieht, dass er es nicht gezahlt hat, und somit hat der Polizist ihn mitgenommen. Dann waren die Frau, die geklaut hat, und der Mann, der geklaut hat, in dem Auto. Das Auto hatte einen Autounfall und es war die Möglichkeit für beide zu fliehen. Das haben sie dann auch gemacht, also der Mann und die Frau sind dann geflohen.
MAJ24	Wir sehen einen Film, vermutlich aus den 20er Jahren, mit Charlie Chaplin. In diesem Film stiehlt eine junge Frau mit offensichtlich abgewetzter Kleidung ein Brot von einem Bäcker, wird von der Polizei gefasst und Charlie Chaplin gibt zunächst an, er hätte das Brot gestohlen, wird kurz festgenommen. Eine Passantin, die jedoch den falschen Dieb festgenommen sieht, weist den Polizisten noch einmal darauf hin, mithilfe des Bäckers, dass die Frau es war, und weiterhin sehen wir dann, wie Charlie Chaplin ein gutes Mahl isst, das bezahlt, und den Polizisten noch mal auf sich aufmersam macht. Im weiteren Versuchen noch mal an einem Kiosk, in dem er Kindern Zigarren gibt. Der Polizist nimmt ihn daraufhin fest, er geht in einen gesammelten Transport von offensichtlich Gefangenen an? und fällt(t) ein Stück, legt sich da, nicht bewusst, bis dann die Frau, die das Brot gestohlen hat, ebenfalls aufgegriffen wird. Er stellt(e) sich dann noch mal vor und fragt sie, ob sie sich an ihn und das Brot erinnere. Sie bejaht das. Sie möchte fliehen durch einen Unfall, (undeutlich) oder durch die Umstände kommt das Fahrauto der Polizei von der Fahrbahn ab, beziehungsweise fällt um. Das ist die Chance zu fliehen, die Charlie Chaplin noch mal der Frau zuruft. Diese flieht daraufhin, er haut den Polizisten noch mal auf den Kopf, um ihn noch mal kampfunfähig zu machen. Im Endeffekt fliehen sie am Ende des Films gemeinsam.
MAJ25	Also, eine Frau auf der Strasse war alleine unterwegs oder hielt vor 'ner kleinen Konditorei an, sah das leckere Essen in der Vitrine, davor stand ein LKW, und der Liefermensch hat die Bäckerei beliefert und sie hat ein Brot geklaut, dann lief sie Charlie Chaplin über den Weg, als sie geflüchtet ist. Charlie Chaplin hat dann versucht, das Ganze auf seine Kappe zu nehmen vor der Gendarmerie. Irgendwie gab es da eine Zeugin und die hat gesagt: 'Nee, nee, das war die Frau', woraufhin Charlie da weitergegangen ist, bei einer kleinen Kafeteria stehengeblieben ist, sich dort den Wanst voll geknallt hat mit leckerem Essen, nicht bezahlt hat, um selbst inhaftiert zu werden. Der Gendarm hat ihn dann gleich mitgenommen im Auto, weil er ja nicht bezahlt hat und dementsprechend auch ein Dieb war, und dabei stieg dann auch die junge Dame, die das Brot geklaut hat, wurde dann halt von der Gendarmerie auch in dieses Fahrzeug gesteckt. Und dann wollte die Dame flüchten aus dem Auto, Charlie Chaplin hinterher, und irgendwie ist das Auto dann

	umgekippt, das Polizeiauto, das Gendarmerieauto mit den ganzen Dieben und ja, dann sind die beiden geflüchtet. Und wer weiss, wo sie jetzt essen gehen.
MAJ26	In dem Video sieht man, wie eine Frau vor dem Schaufenster einer Bäckerei stehenbleibt. Sie begutachtet hungrig die Backwaren. Dem Schaufenster gegenüber steht ein Lastwagen voller Backwaren, aus dem sie sich ein Brot klaut und wegrennt. Dabei rempelt sie einen Mann an, fällt mit ihm zusammen auf den Boden. Eine Passantin, die das Ganze gesehen hat, sagt dem Bäckereibesitzer, was passiert ist. Dieser rennt die Frau hinterher, die Polizei kommt hinzu und der angerempelte Mann nimmt jedoch die Schuld auf sich und wird von der Polizei mitgenommen. Die Passantin, die das beobachtet hatte, verrät jedoch die Brotdiebin und der Polizist rennt ihr nach und der hilfsbereite Passant geht dann derweil in ein Restaurant, nimmt sich Unmengen an Essen, geht zur Kasse, zahlt aber nicht und ruft dann einen Polizisten zu sich, damit er mitgenommen wird, landet dann in demselben Wagen wie die Brotdiebin, wo die beiden sich kennenlernen. Sie fängt an zu weinen, springt aus dem Auto, er fällt dabei mit raus, der Polizist ebenfalls, und ist erst mal bewusstlos und sie und der hilfsbereite Mann ergreifen gemeinsam die Flucht.
MAJ29	Charlie Chaplin hat beobachtet, wie eine arme Frau ein Brot gestohlen hat. Damit sie nicht festgenommen wird, hat er den Diebstahl auf sich genommen. Daraufhin zahlt Charlie (undeutlich) einige Sachen nicht, um gefangen genommen zu werden, (undeutlich) der Frau bei der Flucht hilft.
MAJ30	Also, in dem Video geht es um einen Mann und eine Frau, die sich in einer Situation kennenlernen, wo die Frau ein Brot stiehlt, der Mann wiederum gibt, nachdem die Polizei eingetroffen ist, an, derjenige gewesen zu sein, der das Brot gestohlen hat, und nicht die Frau, wird daraufhin von der Polizei festgenommen und (wird) abgeführt. Eine Passantin, die aber mitbekommen hat, dass die Frau das Brot gestohlen hat, sagt dies dem Landbesitzer der Bäckerei, der dann daraufhin hinterherläuft dem Polizisten, sagt, dass die Frau diejenige wäre, die das gestohlen hätte. Der Polizist wiederum lässt den Mann frei, läuft zurück, nimmt die Frau fest. Der Mann reagiert daraufhin, so dass er zunächst essen geht und dafür nicht bezahlt und dafür sorgt, dass die Polizei ihn doch festnimmt. Als er dann abgeführt wird, im Polizeiwagen wird auch die Frau, die er zuvor getroffen hat, in diesen Wagen auch reingebracht und dann gibt es eine Situation, wo sich eine Fluchtmöglichkeit bietet, wo die beiden dann aus dem Auto fallen, mitsamt eines Polizisten. Der Polizist wird wach, wird kurz daraufhin k. o. geschlagen und die beiden ergreifen die Flucht.
MAJ31	In diesem Video klaut eine Frau aus 'nem Auto ein grosses Stück Baguette und auf ihrer Flucht stösst sie gegen Charlie Chaplin (undeutlich) zu Boden. Eine Frau beobachtet das und weist dem Bäcker darauf hin. Diese rufen die - gerade darum ... - Polizei und beschuldigen beide. Und erst wird Charlie Chaplin festgenommen, die Frau korrigiert noch mal, dass die Frau das gestohlen hat, dann wird die Frau festgenommen. Charlie Chaplin merkt das und geht in ein All-you-can-eat, isst im- in dem Restaurant, zahlt aber nicht, macht die Polizei auf sich aufmerksam, wird auch ebenfalls festgenommen, landet im Polizeiwagen, nachdem das gerufen wurde, und ebensowas auch die Frau von vorhin mit dem Baguette. Nach einer wilden Fahrt mit dem Auto stossen mit 'nem Polizisten aus dem Auto. Charlie Chaplin ermuntert die Frau zu fliehen, was sie auch tut und ruft ihn dann später hinterher, und beide fliehen zu Fuss.

MAJ32	In dem Video ist eine Frau zu sehen, die vor einem Bäckereischaufenster steht und sich die Köstlichkeiten anguckt. Im gleichen Atemzuge lädt ein gefüllter Mann Sachen in dem Laden ein. Die Frau dreht sich um und im Lieferwagen sieht doch Baguettes, das nimmt sie raus und klaut es und läuft weg. Kurze Zeit später läuft die Frau einen Passanten einfach in die Arme mit dem geklauten Baguette und wird sozusagen erwischt. Da ist eine Traube von Menschen und noch zusätzlich ein Polizist und alle vermuten, dass die Frau die Sachen geklaut hat. Jedoch den Mann, den sie in die Arme gelaufen ist, behauptet, dass er die Sachen geklaut hat. So wird zunächst der Mann abgeführt vom Polizisten. Kurze Zeit später kommt dabei eine Zeugin, die behauptet, dass das falsch ist und dass die Frau die Sachen geklaut hat, somit revidieren die das alles und gehen zurück zu der Frau und nehmen die Frau fest. Der Mann mit dem Stock und mit dem Bart, der vorher behauptete, dass er es sei, geht daraufhin in ein Restaurant, bestellt sich viel Essen, isst es, geht danach zum Tresen zum Bezahlen, ruft dabei im gleichen Zuge die Polizei und sagt einfach, er kann nicht bezahlen. Der Polizist führt diesen Mann dann dementsprechend ab und ruft 'nen Transporter, damit er die Straftat eben bestraft (wird) und abgeführt wird. Im Transporter trifft er dann die Frau wieder, die das Baguette geklaut hat, und kümmert sich um sie, tröstet sie etwas, dann hat der Transporter einen Unfall und (sie) liegen erstmal auf dem Boden. Der Mann sagt zu ihr: 'Sie können jetzt fliehen'. Die Dame flieht, aber (undeutlich) ruft danach den Mann zu sich, dass er mitfliehen soll. Und am Ende fliehen beide zusammen.
MIN01	Eine Frau stiehlt ein Brot von einer Bäckerei, (sie) flüchtet und dabei stoss sie auf einen Mann. Die Frau fällt hin, der Bäcker erreicht sie und ruft einen Polizisten. Und der Mann, mit dem sie zusammengestossen ist, (er) will erstmal so tun, als hätte er das Brot gestohlen, aber der Bäcker erfährt dann doch, dass es die Frau war, und sagt es dem Polizisten. Daher wird die Frau abgeführt. Der Mann, mit dem sie zusammengestossen ist, isst sehr viel, was ihm zu viel kosten würde, deswegen wird er auch von der Polizei abgeführt. Somit landen die beiden im Polizeiauto, aus dem sie dann gemeinsam fliehen.
MIN	Eine Dame klaut ein Stück Brot aus 'nem LKW. Dabei wird sie von einer anderen Dame erwischt. Sie ruft die Polizei, beziehungsweise sagt es den Bäcker selbst und die Dame rennt in ein anderer Mann, Charles Chaplin, der wiederum die Schuld auf sich nimmt und sagt: 'Ich hab's geklaut'. Das hat er aber nicht (geklaut), er wird von der Polizei genommen und die Polizei erfährt aber wiederum von Bäcker und von der Dame berichtet und sagt: 'Nee, die Dame war's gewesen'. Währenddessen Charles Chaplin geht essen, kann es nicht bezahlen, wird von der Polizei genommen. Dann erlebte er verschiedene Abenteuer, also, nimmt sich eine Zigarre und gibt Schokolade an Kindern, das alles an ein Kiosk. Dann wird er von der Polizei festgenommen, (wird) in ein Polizeitransporter abgeführt und währenddessen die Dame, die tatsächlich einen Laib Brot geklaut hatte, (wird) auch wiederum von der Polizei festgenommen und beide treffen sich wieder im Polizeitransporter. Die Frau versucht, aus dem Polizeitransporter zu fliehen. Dabei gibt's einen kleinen Unfall. Die Dame und Charles Chaplin und ein Polizist fallen aus dem Polizeitransporter und sind erstmal ohnmächtig. Dann kommen alle wieder zu sich und die Dame und Charles Chaplin fliehen.

MIN07	Eine Frau stiehlt ein Stück Brot und rennt weg, wobei sie dabei gegen einen Mann stösst, welcher angesichts der Verfolgung der Frau durch die Polizei angibt, dass er derjenige sei, der das Brot gestohlen hat. Dann läuft die Frau frei und der Mann ist dabei festgenommen. Bis ein Mann, der die Szene beobachtet hatte, die Polizei informiert, dass es die Frau gewesen sei. Die Polizei verfolgt dann wieder die Frau und lässt den Mann frei. Dieser will aber festgenommen werden und provoziert weitere Diebstähle. Der Mann und die Frau kommen dann beide in den Wagen der Polizei und dann geschieht ein Unfall und beide rennen weg.
MIN09	Also, in diesem kurzen Video ‚Allein und hungrig‘ geht es um ein junges obdachloses Mädchen, das vor einem Schaufenster steht und davon träumt, etwas Leckeres zu essen. Das Mädchen kommt auf die Idee, ein Brot zu stehlen, und rennt davon. Sie rennt dann später einen wohlhabenden, sehr grosszügigen Mann in die Arme, der vor der Polizei die Schuld auf sich nimmt und sagt, dass er das Brot gestohlen habe. Das Mädchen scheint verwundert, aber sehr glücklich über die Situation und die Reaktion? zu sein. Die Polizei allerdings ist etwas skeptisch. In einem Kiosk wird der Herr schliesslich von der Polizei gefasst, das Mädchen wird ebenfalls gefasst und beide treffen sich in einem Polizeiwagen wieder. Das Mädchen versucht, dabei zu fliehen und schliesslich kommen beide davon mit einem Lächeln.
MIN10	Eine Frau beobachtet die Schaufenster einer Boulangerie. Und wenn sie die Gelegenheit hat, nimmt sie eine Baguette und läuft. Sie läuft gegenüber Charlie Chaplin und fällt am Boden. Ein andere Frau meldet der Bäcker und er und die Polizei beschwerten sich mit der anderen Frau, die die Baguette gestohlen hat. Charlie Chaplin nimmt die Schuld auf sich und der Polizist fängt ihn. Die Frau und der Bäcker laufen zum Polizist, um klarzustellen, dass es eigentlich die andere Frau war. Der Polizist nimmt die Frau fest und gleichzeitig Charlie Chaplin isst vieles und dann zählt nicht. Er lässt sich festnehmen und ist dabei ganz entspannend. In dem Fahrzeug trifft er sich wieder mit der Frau und gibt sie ihr Platz. Er fragt sie, ob sie ihn noch erkennt. Dann sie versucht, den Fahrzeug zu fliehen und es geschieht ein Unfall. Am Ende die beide fliehen zusammen.
MIN11	Also, das Film heisst ‚Allein und hungrig‘. Die Frau war gerade beim Spaziergang, und sie hat bei die Bäckerei gestoppt und sie sah sehr hungrig aus und sah, wie so viele Sachen da waren und so, und hatte die leckeren Sachen beobachtet. Als der Bäcker in den Laden ging, hat die Frau schnell eine Baguette genommen und ist schnell weggelaufen. Als sie weglief, rannte sie gegen einen Herr, der gerade beim Spaziergang auch war, mit seinem kleinen Stöckchen, und der Bäcker ging aus den Laden und traf eine Frau, die genau gesehen hat, was da passiert hat, und hat die Frau schnell erwischt, die noch beiden auf dem Boden sass, derselben Zeit, dass die Polizei kam. Charlie hat erzählt, dass er den Baguette gestohlen hatte, der Charlie Chaplin, aber als er von der Polizei genommen wurde, war's schon zu spät. Die Frau, das die Szene angeschaut hatte, warnte das die Polizei, die andere Frau es gewesen wäre, und sie wurde verhaftet. Charlie ging mittlerweile im Restaurant und hat ein bisschen von alles gegessen und beim Bezahlen hat er die Polizei gerufen und er hat gesagt, dass die Polizei selber bezahlen sollte. Er wurde auch verhaftet worden, (wurde) ins Gefängnis gebracht und musste ins Polizeiwagen gehen. Er wollte ins Gefängnis gehen, sozusagen. Er traf die Frau im Polizeiwagen, sie erkannte ihn, aber fing natürlich an zu

	weinen, weil sie wurde verhaftet. Nachdem die Polizeiwagen beinahe einen Unfall hatte, sind Charlie, die Frau und der Polizist aus dem Wagen gefallen und Charlie und die Frau sind zusammen weggelaufen, bevor die Polizei es eigentlich sehen konnte.
MIN12	Also, eine barfuss laufende Frau kauft ein Stück Brot und flieht. Dabei stösst sie auf Charlie Chaplin. Währenddessen zeigt sie eine andere Frau an, die Polizei kommt und versucht, Charlie Chaplin und die Frau, die das Brot geklaut haben, zu festzunehmen, jedoch sagt Charlie Chaplin, dass er es war, sodass die Frau, die dieses Brot tatsächlich gestohlen hat, wegrennen kann. Dabei kommt die erste Frau, die das angezeigt hat, und sagt, dass es nicht Charlie Chaplin war, sondern die andere Frau. Charlie Chaplin wird dann freigelassen und (wird) empört, fängt er an zu stehlen, sodass er festgenommen wird. Währenddessen die Polizei ist hinter der anderen Frau hergerannt. Charlie Chaplin ist im Polizeiwagen und währenddessen kommt dann die barfuss laufende Frau auch. Da treffen sie sich wieder. Der Polizeiwagen hat einen Unfall und der Mann und die barfuss laufende Frau können davonrennen.
MIN13	(Eine Frau) sieht eine Bäckerei, man merkt, sie ist ein bisschen hungrig und schaut sich an diese Vitrine voller Brötchen. Plötzlich kommt ein Auto vorbei und der Bäcker kommt raus aus dem Auto und nimmt sich ein paar Brötchen hinein ins Geschäft, lässt aber das Auto offen. Sie natürlich sah dieses Auto offen und nahm sich ein Brötchen und beginnt zu rennen. Sie rennt, aber sie rennt so auf einen Passanten und der Bäcker kommt und eine Frau sagt ihm plötzlich, also: 'Dort rennt die Frau, die das Brötchen genommen hat'. Und die Polizei kommt vorbei und der Bäcker sagt natürlich der Polizei, was sie gestohlen hat. Der Mann hat sie natürlich angeschaut und man glaubt, er (Interferenz; undeutlich) ein bisschen verliebt in ihr, und hat gesagt, dass es seine Schuld war. Also, die Polizei nimmt diesen Mann mit und verhaftet ihn und die andere Frau rannte aber wieder zum Bäcker und sagte: 'Nein, nein, das Mädchen war schuld und nicht der Mann'. Also rannte der Bäcker dem Polizisten nach und alle liefen also zurück zum Mädchen. Und dieser gutmütige Mann ging in eine Cafeteria und servierte sich und hat (undeutlich) gegessen. Der Polizist erwischte das Mädchen inzwischen, war der Mann fertig mit dem Essen, man merkt, er war so auch hungrig, und die Rechnung konnte er natürlich nicht bezahlen, also sah er einen Polizisten, der vorbeiging, und riefte ihn. Natürlich konnte der Polizist die Rechnung nicht zahlen, also nahm er diesen (undeutlich) Mann fest. (Er) hat sich so eine Zigarette genommen am Zigarettenstand nebenan und endlich kommt also das Polizeiauto und er wird ins Polizeiauto hineingebracht. Na ja, einige Menschen saßen schon drin in diesem Auto und der Wagen stoppt und (undeutlich) das Mädchen steigt an, das wir in der vorigen Szene gesehen hat, und er gibt ihr seinen Sitzplatz und das geht so weiter, bis natürlich eine grosse Kurve kommt und die beiden, sie wollten sich eigentlich vom Auto schleichen (unterbrochen)
MIN14	Die Frau mit der Baguette ging plötzlich gegen einen Herrn und beide fielen auf den Boden. Ein Polizist und der Bäcker trafen sich auf dem Spaziergang. Der Bäcker informierte den Polizist, dass die Frau, die jetzt am Boden lag, eine Baguette gestohlen hatte. Da sagte der Herr, der mit der Frau kollidierte, dass er derjenige war, der die Baguette gestohlen hatte, und wurde von dem Polizist weggenommen. Die Zeugin informierte den Bäcker nochmals, dass die Frau die richtige Räuberin sei, also informierte der Bäcker den Polizist, dass der Herr in

	Wirklichkeit unschuldig war. Die Frau wurde jetzt vom Polizist verhaftet und der Herr ist sofort in einem Laden gegangen und ass sehr viel. Er bezahlte da nicht fürs Essen, sondern wollte stattdessen, dass der Polizist bezahlt. Er wurde dann verhaftet und (wurde) ins Polizeiwagen reingeschmissen, wie er wollte. Nach einer Weile wurde auch die Frau reingebracht. Während beide unterwegs im Polizeiwagen waren, versuchten sie zu fliehen. Es herrschte Chaos im Wagen und letztendlich wurde das zu einem Unfall. Der Polizist, der im Wagen für die Sicherheit verantwortlich war, lag am Boden. Dies machte die Flucht der Frau möglich. Während sie wegrannte, guckte sie zurück und wollte, dass der Herr auch mitging. Natürlich wollte der Herr mit der Frau sein und ging mit. Und so rannten beide weg zusammen.
MIN15	Wir sehen eine Frau, die barfuss vor einem Schaufenster einer Bäckerei steht. Sie sieht hungrig aus und, während der Bäcker einräumt, wenn er nicht hinschaut, klaut sie ein Brot und rennt damit weg. Doch sie wurde beobachtet von einer Passantin, die dann die Polizei informiert, doch dann überrennt sie einen Mann, der aber dann für sie lügt und sagt, er hatte das Brot gestohlen, und sie ist zunächst frei, aber dann kommt wieder die Passantin, die sie eben gesehen hatte, und diese sagt dann: 'Nein, es war nicht dieser Mann, es war die Frau, die das Brot gestohlen hat'. Daraufhin wird diese festgenommen und der Mann geht essen in der Zwischenzeit und zahlt jedoch da nicht und wird daraufhin auch wieder festgenommen und am Ende landen sie beide in dem Polizeiauto, doch dieses hat einen Unfall und sie fliegen beide raus und am Ende fliehen sie gemeinsam vor der Polizei.
MIN17	Also, in dem Film passiert Folgendes: wir sehen eine Strassenszene mit einer Frau, die sich in der Konditorei im Schaufenster Leckereien ansieht, wohl hungrig ist. Sie stiehlt ein Brot. Dann erscheint Charlie Chaplin und erklärt sich für schuldig. Es gibt einiges Durcheinander auf der Strasse, Charlie Chaplin wird festgenommen. Danach kommt eine Frau, die alles gesehen hat, und sagt, Charlie Chaplin wär' schuld. Charlie Chaplin wird freigelassen und die Frau wird festgenommen. Es ist eine Verwechslung. Charlie Chaplin geht etwas essen in einem Café, zahlt jedoch nichts und wird genauso festgenommen. Beide treffen sich im Wagen, wo die festgenommenen Bettler der Stadt abtransportiert werden. Die hintere Tür ist während der Fahrt offen und während eines Durcheinanders springen Charlie Chaplin und die Frau raus und fallen auf die Strasse mit irgendeinem Polizist. Charlie Chaplin sagt der Frau, es ist der Moment, dass sie fliehen könne. Sie flieht, ruft Charlie Chaplin, dass er mitkomme. Beide fliehen weiter durch die Stadt.
MIN19	Also, eine jüngere Dame spaziert in der Stadt und sieht eine Bäckerei oder eine Konditorei und da wird gerade das Brot geliefert. Als der Mann vom Wagen in die Bäckerei reingeht, nutzt sie die Gelegenheit, /um/ ein Brot zu klauen, und rennt dann weg. Und eine andere Dame sieht sie und macht den Bäcker dann aufmerksam auf sie, dass sie das Brot gestohlen hat. Währenddessen ist sie gegen Charlie Chaplin gestossen und, als der Bäcker da hingehet, um mit ihr zu reden, kommt auch noch die Polizei und Charlie Chaplin sagt, er hat das Brot gestohlen, aber die andere Dame sagt wieder: 'Das war nicht er, sondern die jüngere Frau'. Und deswegen nimmt die Polizei dann die Frau. Darum geht Charlie Chaplin dann in ein Restaurant und isst alles Mögliche, was es gibt, und wenn er dann bezahlen soll, ruft er den Polizist, der da gerade vorbeigeht, und macht halt,

	dass er festgenommen wird, weil er nicht zahlt. Dann holt er noch etwas bei einem Tabakladen und zahlt auch nicht und kommt in einen Wagen und sie kommt dann da auch rein, die haben einen Unfall und dann fliehen sie zusammen und sind dann frei.
MIN20	Eine arme Frau kommt um die Ecke, sie hat keine Schuhe und hat zerrissene Kleider und ein Bäcker lädt gerade seinen Lieferwagen aus und sie nutzt die Chance und klaut einen Laib Brot. Als sie flieht, stösst sie mit Charlie Chaplin an, der um die Ecke kommt, und sie fallen auf den Boden und der Bäcker wird aufmerksam gemacht, dass ein Brot gestohlen wurde, und ein Polizist kommt hinzu und Chaplin nimmt die Schuld auf sich und sagt: 'Nein, ich hab' das Brot gestohlen, nicht die junge Dame'. Als aber eine Zeugin sagt: 'Nein, nein, es war schon die junge Dame', dann wird sie festgenommen und Chaplin wird freigelassen. Er geht daraufhin in ein Lokal, nimmt eine üppige Mahlzeit und am Ende ruft einen Polizisten hinzu, als er der Kassenfrau klar macht, dass er nicht zahlen wird. Der Polizist nimmt ihn fest. Daraufhin er klaut dann noch Zigarren und schenkt ein paar Kindern Süssigkeiten oder Zigaretten, und es kommt dann ein Polizeitransport und nimmt ihn mit auf die Wache oder so. Und der gleiche Polizeitransporter nimmt dann auch das Mädchen auf, das inzwischen auch wohl auf die Wache (gehen) sollte. Und als Chaplin das Mädchen dann im Transporter sieht, stellt er sich wieder vor: 'Hallo, ich bin's mit dem Brot', und es kommt ein Unfall zustande, weil das Mädchen fliehen möchte oder ein bisschen aufgeregt ist, und die beiden werden aus dem Transporter raus(ge)projiziert, landen auf der Strasse mit einem Wachtmeister, der ohnmächtig ist, und sie fliehen dann zusammen, Chaplin und das Mädchen.
MIN22	(undeutlich) bei der eine junge Frau auf frischer Tat erwischt wird, wie sie ein Brot von einem (undeutlich) Bäcker auf der Strasse stiehlt. Während dieser Brot in der Bäckerei eingeladen hat, diese junge Dame einen Laib Brot eben gestohlen (hat), sie wurde von einer anderen Frau dabei ertappt und, als diese Frau während der Flucht auf einen Mann gestossen ist, war der Mann, Charlie Chaplin, so nett und hat sich als den Räuber preisgegeben vor den Zeugen und der Polizei. Jedoch hat die Frau weiterhin (undeutlich) gesagt, dass der eigentliche Räuber, der tatsächliche Räuber, die Frau sei und dementsprechend wurde die Frau festgenommen und Charlie Chaplin (wurde) freigelassen. Charlie Chaplin hat dann daraufhin sich etwas zu essen genommen und wurde dann jedoch weiterhin von der Polizei dann verfolgt und (wurde) noch festgenommen, nachdem dieser auch dann bei einer Tabakerie Zigarren gekauft hat, und (um) diese zu bezahlen, diese dann praktisch vom Polizei gefordert hat, dass diese dann von ihm bezahlen werden sollten. Schlussendlich wurden beide festgenommen, sowohl er als auch die Frau. Sie haben sich dann im Auto auf dem Weg zum Gefängnis oder zum Verhörden kennengelernt und sind dann dementsprechend ausgebrochen und (sind) geflohen zusammen, während der Fahrt.
MIN23	Eine junge Frau hat vom Bäckerauto ein Brot gestohlen und ist beim Weglaufen gegen einen jungen Mann gestossen. Eine Zeugin hat den Raub gesehen und (hat) es dem Bäcker erzählt und der hat die Polizei gerufen. Der junge Mann hat die Schuld auf sich genommen, aber die Zeugin hat die Frau beschuldigt und sie wurde festgenommen. Der junge Mann hat inzwischen in einer Cafeteria gegessen und hat zum Zahlen die Polizei gerufen und wurde darauf auch festgenommen.

	Im Polizeiauto haben sich der junge Mann und die junge Frau wieder getroffen, haben einen Unfall inszeniert und konnten am Ende zusammen fliehen.
MIN25	So, (eine) Frau holt sich ein Brot aus dem Auto, (wo) Brötchen waren, und dann sieht sie eine Frau und, wenn sie versucht zu fliehen, diese Frau sagt (es) der Bäcker und auch die Polizei kommt dran. Und die sagen, die hat Brot geklaut. Sie ist Charlie Chaplin umgestossen und dann sagt er, dass er es war, damit sie nicht im Gefängnis gehen soll, aber dann hat die Frau, die das gesehen hat, gesagt, dass er (undeutlich) nicht die Frau. Also, die Polizei hat sie trotzdem genommen und Charlie Chaplin hat alles versucht, er bezahlt nicht die Zigaretten auf dem (Tabakladen) und er gibt die Schokolade zu den Jungen, nur damit er die Aufmerksamkeit von der Polizei hat, damit er die Frau wiedersehen kann. Und dann ist er gefangen von der Polizei. Die Frau ist dort. Der springt aus dem Auto mit der Frau und er (sagt ihr), sie soll fliehen, weil sie die Chance hat, und dann flieht sie, aber sie sagt doch, dass er mit ihr gehen soll und er flieht mit ihr.
MIN26	Im Video sehen wir Charlie Chaplin. Es ist eine Episode von Charlie Chaplin Charakter eine Obdachlose. Sie hat ein Stück Brot geklaut und wurde von einer Frau erwischt, aber sie sieht Charlie Chaplin, möchte sie mitnehmen, und sie stolpert gegen Charlie Chaplin und er sagt, es war sein Brot. Die Polizei kommt. Die Frau, die es gesehen hat, sagt die Polizei, es war die Obdachlos und die geht halt ins Gefängnis. Charlie Chaplin geht dann zu einem Restaurant, die Polizei kommt und nimmt ihn mit. Er geht dann noch zu einem Kiosk, nimmt sich eine Zigarre, gibt zwei Kindern Bonbons und wird dann von der Polizei auch aufgenommen(?). Und die Obdachlose kommt dann auch rein. Es gibt einen Autounfall und sie und Charlie Chaplin fliehen die Szene gemeinsam. isst da kostenlos, will nicht bezahlen. Er ist dann im Polizeiauto. Die sind dort zu zweit, die Obdachlose versucht zu fliehen. Charlie Chaplin versucht, sie zu helfen.
MIN27	Das schöne, hübsche Mädchen läuft barfuss durch die Stadt, sieht eine Bäckerei, sie hat Hunger und bei dieser Bäckerei wird gerade Brot angeliefert, unter anderen. Der dicke Bäcker ist gerade dabei, was von dem Kofferraum des Wagens in die Bäckerei reinzutragen, und dann sieht sie eine Chance, klaut sich ein Baguette und eine alte Dame sieht das, verpfeift sie an den Bullen. Der Bulle rennt hinter ihr her, sie rennt in die Arme von Charlie Chaplin, Charlie Chaplin verteidigt sie, indem er behauptet, dass er das Brot gestohlen hätte, weil die Baguette ja sowieso in seiner Hand läge. Damit (die Frau) (undeutlich) die Situation behebt, und bekräftigt beim Bäcker, dass es nicht der Charlie Chaplin war, aber das schöne arme Mädchen, das (Mädchen) mittlerweile sich verzogen hat. Aber findet (undeutlich) der Bulle wieder, lässt er Charlie Chaplin frei, rennt hinter die Mädchen her. Der Charlie Chaplin geht in eine Kantine rein, holt sich zu viele Kannen von einem Büfett, um damit irgendwie nicht zahlen zu können, um den Bullen abzulenken. Der Bulle lässt sich ablenken. Und Charlie Chaplin währenddessen raucht noch ein paar Zigarren, verteilt die an die armen Jungs. Danach kommt er in die Wagen rein, sieht das Mädchen wieder (unterbrochen)
MIN29	In diesem Film sieht man eine Frau, wie sie erwischt wird beim Stehlen von einem Brot und wird von einer Passantin erkannt und diese Passantin, die sagt dem Angestellten Bescheid, der wiederum die Polizei ruft, und die Dame wird festgenommen. Dabei gibt es einen anderen Passanten, der das sieht, und sich einsetzt für die Frau und sie dann freispricht, weil er meint: 'Ich habe das Brot geklaut, nicht diese Dame', weil die kurze Sekunden zuvor zusammengestossen

		sind und (undeutlich) dann hat er sich halt das Brot genommen und (hat) gesagt, es wäre es gewesen. Wird somit der Herr halt festgenommen und nicht die Frau. Die Frau, man sieht's auch, dass die Frau irgendwie Belänge? hat, sie läuft barfuss durch die Strassen, also sie hat das Brot wahrscheinlich geklaut, weil sie wirklich diese Notwendigkeit hat. Und hat (die Zeugin) der Polizei gesagt, dass nicht der Mann gewesen sei, sondern die Frau. Die Frau muss (undeutlich) festgenommen werden. Und damit laufen die halt hinter der Frau her und nehmen sie fest. Zwischenzeitlich (undeutlich) sich der Mann, der sich eingesetzt hat für die Dame, in einem Restaurant ein grosses Essen sich servieren, isst das Essen und geht aus, ohne zu bezahlen. Damit kommt die Polizei (wie?) gerufen, nimmt ihn fest. (undeutlich) holt er sich noch eine Zigarre und raucht die auch und (unterbrochen)
	MON01	Ein junger Mann, gespielt von Charlie Chaplin, der einen schwarzen Hut trägt und einen dicken Schnauzbart hat, springt in die Bresche für eine junge Frau, die einen Laib Brot aus einer Bäckerei stiehlt. Als die Polizei ankommt, erzählt er der Polizei, er sei der Dieb gewesen, um der Frau auszuhelfen. Als jedoch er sich herausstellt, dass er gar nicht der Täter war, sondern die junge Frau, wird er zunächst freigelassen. Daraufhin geht Charlie Chaplin – der junge Mann – in eine Cafeteria und schlägt sich den Bauch – auf gut Deutsch – voll mit zwei Tablett an Essen, (undeutlich) ohne dafür zu bezahlen. Ein vorbeigehender Polizist wird darauf aufmerksam, weil Charlie Chaplin auch ihn darauf aufmerksam macht, dass er gerade sein Unwesen in dieser Cafeteria treibt. Daraufhin wird er von der Polizei mitgenommen und (wird) in einem Polizeibus abtransportiert mit einigen anderen Insassen und kurze Zeit später steigt die junge Frau, die er zuvor getroffen hat, dazu. Die junge Frau erkennt ihn wieder. Als er sich vorstellt und als der Bus zum Stoppen kommt, aufgrund eines Unfalls, fliehen die beiden und gehen gemeinsam von dannen.
MON	MON02	Eine Bettlerin hat ein Brot geklaut. Darauf hat ein Mann Schuld auf sich nehmen wollen, aber eine andere Frau, die das beobachtet hat, hat dann zum Polizisten gesagt dann(?), die Bettlerin war das. Daraufhin wurde diese dann verhaftet. Der Mann, der davor gesagt hat, er hätte das Brot geklaut, hat eine Tat begangen, weswegen er verhaftet wurde und konnte dann der Frau zur Flucht verhelfen in dem Transporter zum Gefängnis und die beiden sind dann zusammen geflohen.
	MON03	... und wird dann darauf aufmerksam, und die Frau, die das Brot geklaut hat, stösst mit Charlie Chaplin zusammen. Charlie Chaplin sagt, dass er es war vor der Polizei und nicht die Frau. Er wird erstmal einkassiert von der Polizei. Die Frau ist weiterhin noch(?) frei. Die andere Frau, die die Frau erstmal geschimpft hat, sie wär's gewesen, meint weiterhin, dass es die Frau war, aber Charlie Chaplin bleibt bei seiner Story. Im Laufe der Handlung hilft er ihr, von der Polizei zu entfliehen. Sie fahren beide zwischendurch in einem Polizeiwagen, der verunglückt, einen Unfall hat, und letztendlich fliehen sie zusammen, als sie dann einen Polizisten, der am Boden liegt, ausgeknockt haben mit einem leichten Schlag am Kopf und dann fliehen sie zusammen in den Horizont hinein und haben ein schönes Leben.
	MON04	In dem Video sieht man einen alten Schwarzweissfilm mit Charlie Chaplin, in dem eine junge, aber offensichtlich arme Frau, an einer Bäckerei vorbeiläuft und aus einem Lieferwagen ein Baguette klaut. Mit dem Baguette läuft sie davon und stösst mit Charlie Chaplin zusammen. Diesen ganzen Diebstahl beobachtet eine gut gekleidete reiche Frau und sagt dem Bäcker Bescheid, dass er gerade

	bestohlen wurde. Als Charlie Chaplin mit der Diebin zusammenstösst, kommt auch schon schnell die Polizei mit dem Bäcker und Charlie nimmt die Schuld auf sich und sagt, er hätte das Brot gestohlen. Daraufhin wird er verhaftet, er geht aber noch was essen und kauft noch etwas am Kiosk und dann wird er verhaftet, wird in einen Lieferwagen gesteckt und dadurch, dass die reiche Frau die arme Frau hat stehlen sehen, wird sie auch noch geschnappt und wird in den gleichen Lieferwagen gesteckt und beide werden abgefahren. Als Charlie mit ihr dann einen Fluchtversuch unternimmt, bringt sie aus dem Lastwagen und er gibt dem Polizisten noch mal einen auf den Deckel und dann rennen sie gemeinsam weg. Ja, sie haben sich also verliebt, er hat ihr geholfen, vor der Polizei zu fliehen, und dann laufen sie davon.
MON05	Eine Frau klaut einem Bäcker das Brot und wird dabei ertappt. Die Frau rennt weg und läuft dann Charlie Chaplin rein. Der Bäcker und die Zeugin liefen hinterher Charlie Chaplin jedoch deckt die Frau und meint, er hätte das Brot gestohlen. Als er abgeführt wird, und (Bäcker und Zeugin) bestätigen, dass es die Frau war. Der Polizist lässt Charlie los, um die Frau zu schnappen. Charlie lässt es sich daraufhin gut gehen, indem er essen geht, ohne zu bezahlen. Dabei lässt er sich absichtlich von einem Polizisten erwischen. In einem Gefangenentransporter trifft Charlie auf die Frau vom Anfang des Videos und tröstet sie. Jedoch will sie fliehen, wobei Charlie ihr hinterherrennt. In einer Kurve fliegen Polizist, Charlie und die Frau aus dem Transporter. Charlie ruft der Frau zu, zu fliehen, und schlägt den gerade zu sich kommenden Polizisten bewusstlos. Die Frau springt auf und rennt davon, jedoch kommt sie nochmals zurück, um Charlie zu sagen, dass er mitkommen soll. Der Polizist kommt erneut zum Bewusstsein und Charlie rennt mit der Frau davon.
MON07	Eine barfuss laufende Frau kommt an einer Bäckerei vorbei, sieht, wie der Bäcker aus dem Lastwagen Brot in die Bäckerei bringt. Sie wirkt sehr hungrig und, als der Bäcker in das Geschäft geht, nimmt sie ein Brot und läuft davon. Eine Frau sieht, dass sie das Brot geklaut hat, und ruft dem Bäcker zu: 'Diese Frau hat ein Brot geklaut'. Die Frau läuft weg und fällt in Charlie Chaplin hinein. Die beiden landen auf dem Boden. Die beobachtende Frau hat gesagt, geklaut, Charlie Chaplin jedoch erwidert: 'Nein', er hat das Brot geklaut. Daraufhin wird Charlie Chaplin abgeführt und geht um die Ecke. Darauffolgend ruft die beobachtende Frau: 'Nein, das war nicht der Mann, das war die Frau' und die Polizisten lassen von Charlie Chaplin ab und nehmen die Frau wieder gefangen. Charlie Chaplin geht dann nachfolgendes in ein Restaurant, legt sich die gesamte Tablette voll und geht dann zur Kasse und möchte bezahlen, ruft aber vorher den einen Polizisten und, als er bezahlen soll, hat er kein Geld und lässt sich abführen. Danach holt er sich noch in (undeutlich) eine Zigarre und zündet sie an und schenkt Kindern noch Kaugummis und lässt sich abführen von der Polizei.
MON08	Eine Frau war fremd - oder hatte kein Geld, um sich Essen zu kaufen, ist an einer Bäckerei vorbeigelaufen und hat gesehen, was sie sich alles nicht leisten kann. Dann war ein? geöffneter Bäckerwagen hinter ihr, da hat sie ein Baguette gestohlen, ist geflohen, ist dabei gestolpert, (ist) einen Mann in die Arme gelaufen. Eine Frau hat sie verraten an den Bäcker, von dem sie das Baguette gestohlen hat, und der Bäcker ist daraufhin hinter der Frau her gelaufen. Der Mann, den die Diebin umgerannt hat, hat sie in Schutz genommen und hat gesagt, dass er das Baguette gestohlen hat. Daraufhin wird der Mann von der

	Polizei festgenommen. Die Frau, die das gesehen hat, hat (undeutlich) behauptet, dass nicht der Mann, sondern die Frau das Baguette gestohlen hat, und daraufhin wird dann wieder die Frau festgenommen. Es war ein Hin und Her. Der Mann mit Hut, den sie umgerannt hat, der sie in Schutz genommen hat, hat daraufhin dann später wieder etwas gestohlen und wird wieder von der Polizei festgenommen. Es war ein Wechselspiel und letztendlich wurden beide von der Polizei festgenommen und sassen im Bus.
MON09	Es ist ein Stummfilm und eine junge Dame sieht einen Bäcker, der gerade Brot auslädt. Sie scheint hungrig zu sein oder sie überlegt, nimmt sich dann ein Brot aus dem Wagen, als er im Geschäft ist und es nicht sieht, aber sie wird ertappt von einer Dame, die das sieht. Als sie versucht mit dem Brot wegzurennen, rennt sie in einen Herrn mit Hut und Stock und kleinem Bart, oder fällt hin. Auf jeden Fall ist es dann so Liebe auf den ersten Blick und er sagt erst, er hat das Brot geklaut, wird dann ein Polizeibeamte hinzugenommen, dann wird er abgeführt. Dann kommt aber die Dame und die sagt: 'Nein, das war die Frau'. Dann wird er wieder freigelassen und wird die Frau genommen. Dann geht er in ein Restaurant, isst super viel Essen, bezahlt aber nicht. Dann kommt der Polizeibeamte, nimmt ihn mit, weil er dort nicht bezahlen kann. Dann sogar noch am Tabakstand geht es so weiter, dann wird er natürlich mitgenommen auf die Polizeiwache und in seinem Auto fährt er hinten. Dann wird sozusagen auch die Dame aufgeladen gegen später. Dann, als sie beide drin sind, ist die Dame ganz traurig, sie weint, sie kommen in einer Kurve, (undeutlich) Dame auf irgendjemanden losgeht, es ist ein Wachmann. Danach fallen sie beide aus dem Wagen und rennen gemeinsam davon.
MON10	Eine Frau stiehlt einen Laib Brot von einer Bäckerei, haut ab und rennt dabei in einen Mann hinein. Gibt der Mann an, dass er das Brot gestohlen hätte. Die Polizei nimmt den Mann mit. Danach kommt aber eine Zeugin vorbei, die den Raub gesehen hat, und einem anderen Polizisten sagt, dass die Frau den Laib Brot gestohlen hat und nicht der Mann. Und während dann dieser Polizist auf die Frau holen möchte, geht der Mann auf Kosten eines anderen Polizisten gut essen, (undeutlich) kauft sich eine Zigarette und nimmt den Polizisten so ein bisschen aus, bis er dann in einen Gefangenentransport gesteckt wird. Er ist in dem Gefangenentransport einige Sekunde unterwegs, als dann auch die Frau dazusteigt, die den Laib Brot gestohlen hat. Und als die Frau merkt, dass es eben dieser Mann ist, der sie retten wollte, stolpert sie zusammen mit dem Mann aus dem Gefangenentransport heraus und reisst damit einen Polizisten auch mit hinaus. Dann liegen die drei bewusstlos zunächst auf der Strasse. Der Mann wacht auf und weckt auch die Frau auf, fordert die Frau dazu auf, abzuhausen, solange der Polizist bewusstlos ist. Die Frau haut ab, dreht sich noch mal um und fordert den Mann (undeutlich) auf, mitzukommen oder abzuhausen. Und das gelingt den beiden auch und sie rennen weg.
MON11	Also, im Video geht es um eine hungrige Frau, die ihre Chance nutzt, als sie einen Laib Brot stehlen kann, wird dabei aber von einer Frau beobachtet und, als sie wegläuft, stösst sie mit einem Mann zusammen und die Polizei will sie verhaften, aber der Mann, weil er sie hübsch findet, sagt, er habe das Brot gestohlen und wird daraufhin mitgenommen, aber die Frau, die das Ganze beobachtet hat, erklärt dem Polizisten, dass eigentlich die Frau das Brot gestohlen hat, und dann verhaftet die Polizei die Frau. Der Mann geht daraufhin in ein Restaurant, weil er

	möchte die Frau wieder sehen und möchte sich selbst verhaften lassen, und isst ganz viel, ohne zu bezahlen, woraufhin die Polizei kommt und dann, während er verhaftet wird, kauft er noch an einem Kiosk Sachen, ohne zu bezahlen, und kommt dann in den Polizeiwagen und wird mitgenommen. Und tatsächlich ist in dem Wagen auch noch die Frau und sie treffen sich wieder und die Frau fängt an zu weinen und nutzt ein bisschen die Ablenkung, die entsteht, und der Wagen hat aber (undeutlich) einen Unfall und kippt um und die beiden können fliehen aus dem Polizeiauto und der Polizist wird ohnmächtig und die beiden fliehen, beziehungsweise, sie läuft dann weg und wartet aber auf ihn und sagt ihm, er soll auch kommen. Und daraufhin läuft er mit ihr zusammen weg.
MON12	In dem Video geht es darum, dass eine Frau, die offensichtlich arm ist, einem Bäcker einen Laib Brot klaut, von der Polizei erwischt wird. Und dann kommt Charlie Chaplin ins Bild und behauptet bei der Polizei, er hätte den Laib Brot geklaut, woraufhin er die Polizei von der Frau ablenkt, die dann fliehen kann. Allerdings berichtet später eine Zeugin der Polizei, dass es doch die Frau war, die das Brot geklaut hat, nicht Charlie Chaplin, weshalb sie (undeutlich) doch gefasst wird. Und daraufhin sieht man Charlie Chaplin, wie er in ein Restaurant geht und sehr viel zu essen bestellt, was er dann (undeutlich) offensichtlich nicht bezahlen kann, (undeutlich) er den Polizisten herbeibringt und ihm sagt, er kann nicht bezahlen, der Polizist soll bezahlen. Daraufhin nimmt der Polizist Charlie Chaplin fest. Charlie macht dann noch mal das Gleiche, und wird daraufhin ins Polizeiauto gepackt. Im Polizeiauto ruft er dann die Frau wieder und die beiden bringen das Auto zum Umfallen? Es gibt dann einen Unfall, wobei sie aus dem Auto rausfallen und, während der Polizist auf dem Boden liegt, verletzt, ermuntert Charlie die Frau zu fliehen, die ihm daraufhin zuwinkt und am Ende des Videos fliehen sie beide.
MON13	Eine Frau kommt an einem Laden vorbei und schaut in das Schaufenster und nutzt dann die Gelegenheit, Brot aus einem Lastwagen zu klauen, der gerade den Laden beliefert. Doch eine Frau hat sie gesehen und die erste Frau rennt davon, stösst mit einem Mann zusammen und beide fallen hin auf den Boden. Und als Nächstes die Frau wurde verfolgt von der zweiten Frau und von dem Mann aus dem Laden oder von dem LKW-Fahrer, der gerade den Laden beliefert hat, und beide verfolgen sie der (Mann) behauptet dann, er hätte das Brot geklaut, woraufhin er verhaftet wird und die Frau auf freien Fuss kommt. Dann sehen wir den Mann durch die Welt ziehen, er wird noch ein paar Mal verhaftet, kommt immer wieder frei, scheint dabei irgendwie auch so ein bisschen Spass daran zu haben, immer verhaftet zu werden, und dann geht er in einen Gefangenentransporter und trifft dort wieder auf die Frau. Beide nutzen die Gunst der Stunde eines Ausweichmanövers, springen aus dem Gefangenentransporter, landen auf der Strasse und flüchten zusammen.
MON14	In diesem kleinen Kurzvideo von Charlie Chaplin sieht man, wie eine Frau, die ein bisschen ärmer aussieht, einen Laib Brot klaut, und dann erwischt wird und von der Polizei angehalten (wird). Charlie versucht dann die Schuld auf sich zu nehmen und sagt, er habe das Brot gestohlen, doch ein weiterer Mann, der das ganze Geschehen mitverfolgt hat, sagt, dass es nicht stimmt, und somit wird sie verhaftet. Charlie Chaplin klaut dann weitere Dinge von einem Kioskstand und in einem Restaurant, (undeutlich) er verhaftet wird und sie zusammen mit anderen Menschen in einem Polizeiwagen abgeführt werden. In diesem Polizeiwagen treffen sie sich also wieder und sie muss weinen, Charlie tröstet sie. Zum Ende

	der Geschichte versucht die Frau abzuhausen, da der Polizeiwagen hinten offen ist. Und es passiert ein kleiner Unfall, der ganze Wagen kippt und Charlie und die Frau und ein Polizeiwache stürzen hinten aus dem Wagen. Sie wachen auf und es gelingt ihnen dann, gemeinsam zu fliehen, die Frau zuerst alleine, doch danach ruft sie Charlie Chaplin zu, er solle mit ihr mitkommen.
MON15	Also, in dem Stummfilm ging es darum, dass eine Frau aus Hunger einen Laib Brot geklaut hat, aber erwischt wurde, in einen Mann reingelaufen ist und dann hat eine andere Frau gesagt, dass sie (undeutlich) das Brot gestohlen hat. Daraufhin kam dann die Polizei und hat dann aber den Mann mitgenommen, weil er gemeint hat, er wär's. Daraufhin aber hat aber eine Passantin aber gemeint, dass es (sie) doch gewesen wäre, sie wurde dann daraufhin abgeführt. Die Idee von dem Mann, in den sie hineingelaufen ist, war halt aber eben, dass er sie rausbekommt, hat er dann sozusagen kleine illegale Sachen gemacht, wie Essen bestellen, für das er kein Geld hatte wurde von der Polizei dann auch mitgenommen und sein Plan ging dann auf, indem er die Frau danach im Polizeiauto oder im Bus gefunden hat, und haben sie einen Unfall verursacht und danach sind sie dann geflohen gemeinsam.
MON16	Im Film sieht man, wie eine Frau vor einem Laden steht, in welchen eine Essenslieferung gebracht wird. Sie scheint hungrig zu sein, denn, als der Angestellte, der das Essen in den Laden bringt, verschwindet, geht sie zum Wagen, in dem das Essen gelagert ist, und klaut sich ein Brot. Daraufhin wird sie von einer Person gesehen, von einer Frau. Sie wird verraten, flüchtet daraufhin von der Polizei und rennt den Hauptdarsteller, Charlie Chaplin, in die Arme. Dieser fällt um, die beiden liegen aufeinander. Es kommt so eine Menschentraube, die Polizisten stehen auch da und es ist unklar, wer dafür verantwortlich ist für den Raub. Zunächst gibt Charlie Chaplin aus Nachsicht gegenüber der Frau den Raub zu, den Diebstahl. Später stellt sich aber (undeutlich) der Zeugin heraus, dass es die Frau war, und die Frau wird verhaftet. Aus Wut über die Ungerechtigkeit in Zeiten der Krise und des Hungers benimmt sich Charlie Chaplin so, dass er auch verhaftet wird. Schlussendlich kommen sie in denselben Polizeiwagen und können fliehen.
MON18	Das Video beginnt, indem ein Bäcker seine Brotwaren aus einem LKW auslädt und diese in die Bäckerei bringt. Eine junge Dame nutzt diese Chance und klaut ein Brot und rennt daraufhin davon. Auf ihrer Flucht kollidiert sie mit einem vornehmen Herr. Beide taumeln zu Boden. Daraufhin gelingt es der Polizei, zum Tatort oder zur Unfallstelle zu gelangen, und der vornehmen Mann behauptet jedoch, das Brot gestohlen zu haben, und nicht die Dame. Daraufhin kann die junge Dame entkommen. Eine Zeugin und der Bäcker bekommen dies jedoch mit und teilen dem Polizisten mit, dass dies nicht der Wahrheit entspricht und die junge Dame das Brot geklaut hat und nicht der vornehme Mann. Daraufhin suchen sie weiter nach der Dame. Letztendlich landen beide in einem Polizeistreifenwagen und werden abtransportiert. Als diese Polizeistreife in einen Unfall gerät, gelingt es beiden – also, dem vornehmen Herr und der jungen Dame – zu fliehen.
MON19	Die ganze Szene spielt in einer Stadt, es geht um eine Frau, die durch die Stadt läuft, vorm Schaufenster einer Bäckerei stehenbleibt, hineinschaut und dann ein Brot, ein Baguette klaut daraufhin wegläuft, wegrennt und auf der Flucht mit einem Mann zusammenstösst, woraufhin sie hinfallen. Währenddessen hat eine

andere Frau den Bäcker darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass die Frau das Brot gestohlen hat, woraufhin die Frau festgenommen wird von der Polizei. Allerdings übernimmt der Mann dann die Verantwortung, wird festgenommen, woraufhin dann die Frau vom Bäcker noch mal bestätigt, dass die Frau das Brot gestohlen hat, woraufhin dann doch die Frau festgenommen wird. Daraufhin geht der Mann in ein Restaurant, er isst dort und kann mit Absicht nicht bezahlen, woraufhin die Polizei kommt. Er geht dann auch zum Kiosk und nimmt dort Zigarren und kann sie auch nicht kaufen ohne (zu) bezahlen, woraufhin er dann auch festgenommen wird, absichtlich, damit er dann die Frau wieder sehen kann. Er ist sehr höflich zu ihr, bietet ihr einen Platz an im Polizeiwagen, in dem sie zum Revier gefahren werden. Und die Frau macht einen Aufstand, woraufhin das Polizeiauto dann ins Schwanken kommt und die beiden und der Polizist herausfallen. Als sie dann auf dem Boden liegen und der Polizist nicht bei Bewusstsein ist, gelingt's den beiden zu fliehen.

MON20

Also, eine arme Frau sieht einen Wagen der Bäckerei und klaut aus diesem Wagen ein Brot. Dann rennt sie aus Versehen einen Mann um und eine Frau hat gesehen, wie das Mädchen dieses Brot geklaut hat, und sagt dem Bäcker Bescheid, der sofort hinter ihr her rennt und die Frau entdeckt, weil sie über diesen Mann gestolpert ist. Der Mann nimmt die Frau in Schutz und versucht zu überzeugen, dass sie da nicht schuld war in diesem Raub und dass er das Brot geklaut hat. Das hat aber auch eine weitere Frau beobachtet, die wiederum dann den Polizisten, der daraufhin erscheint, erzählt, dass es doch die Frau war, nicht der Mann, woraufhin der Polizist den Mann wieder in Ruhe lässt und die Frau mit aufs Revier nehmen möchte. In der Zwischenzeit überlegt sich der Mann, dass er etwas macht, wofür er auch ins Gefängnis kommt, und zwar setzt er sich in ein Restaurant und bestellt ganz viel zu essen und bezahlt es dann auch nicht. Daraufhin ruft der Restaurantbesitzer die Polizei und der Mann wird abgeführt. Nun sitzen beide zusammen im Auto, sollen Richtung Gefängnis befahren werden, da passiert aber, dass während der Fahrt beide zusammen mit einem Polizisten aus dem Auto herausfallen und gemeinsam fliehen können.

Table A1. Fixed effects printed in the model output.

Predictors	Response		
	Estimate	SE	CrI (95%)
Intercept[1]	-0.52	0.14	-0.78 – -0.25
Intercept[2]	0.18	0.13	-0.08 – 0.45
Intercept[3]	0.72	0.14	0.46 – 0.99
ResA v ResP	-0.78	0.33	-1.44 – -0.13
bDP v ResP	2.02	0.34	1.32 – 2.66
PPP v ResP	1.59	0.34	0.89 – 2.23
MIN v L2	0.05	0.13	-0.20 – 0.31
MAJ v L2	-0.10	0.12	-0.34 – 0.14
MON v L2	0.04	0.15	-0.26 – 0.34
ResA v ResP : MIN v L2	0.03	0.23	-0.42 – 0.46
bDP v ResP : MIN v L2	0.54	0.25	0.05 – 1.04
PPP v ResP : MIN v L2	0.94	0.23	0.48 – 1.40
ResA v ResP : MAJ v L2	0.19	0.22	-0.24 – 0.62
bDP v ResP : MAJ v L2	0.48	0.24	0.01 – 0.96
PPP v ResP : MAJ v L2	0.96	0.22	0.52 – 1.40
ResA v ResP : MON v L2	0.34	0.28	-0.20 – 0.89
bDP v ResP : MON v L2	0.45	0.30	-0.14 – 1.05
PPP v ResP : MON v L2	1.21	0.29	0.63 – 1.78

Table A2. Bayes factor analyses for the interactions between Condition and Group.

Conditions	Interaction term		BF₁₀	Evidence
	Groups			
ResA vs. ResP	MIN – L2		0.23	moderate against H ₁
	MAJ – L2		0.34	anecdotal against H ₁
	MON – L2		0.62	anecdotal against H ₁
	MAJ – MIN		0.23	moderate against H ₁
	MON – MIN		0.38	anecdotal against H ₁
	MON – MAJ		0.24	moderate against H ₁
bDP vs. ResP	MIN – L2		2.80	anecdotal for H ₁
	MAJ – L2		1.80	anecdotal for H ₁
	MON – L2		0.96	anecdotal against H ₁
	MAJ – MIN		0.21	moderate against H ₁
	MON – MIN		0.25	moderate against H ₁
	MON – MAJ		0.23	moderate against H ₁
bDP vs. ResA	MIN – L2		0.97	anecdotal against H ₁
	MAJ – L2		0.34	anecdotal against H ₁
	MON – L2		0.26	moderate against H ₁
	MAJ – MIN		0.21	moderate against H ₁
	MON – MIN		0.33	anecdotal against H ₁
	MON – MAJ		0.21	moderate against H ₁

Table A3. Posterior estimates and Bayes factors for the nested effects of Condition.

Group	Conditions	Estimate	2.5% CrI	97.5% CrI	BF₁₀	Evidence
L2	ResA – ResP	-0.92	-1.59	-0.25	11.94	strong for H ₁
	bDP – ResP	1.65	0.94	2.33	947.53	extreme for H ₁
	bDP – ResA	2.57	1.80	3.32	7.77 x 10 ⁴	extreme for H ₁
MIN	ResA – ResP	-0.89	-1.64	-0.17	5.72	moderate for H ₁
	bDP – ResP	2.20	1.43	2.95	1.16 x 10 ⁴	extreme for H ₁
	bDP – ResA	3.09	2.26	3.93	1.05 x 10 ⁶	extreme for H ₁
MAJ	ResA – ResP	-0.72	-1.47	-0.03	2.12	anecdotal for H ₁
	bDP – ResP	2.14	1.41	2.87	1.12 x 10 ⁴	extreme for H ₁
	bDP – ResA	2.86	2.04	3.65	1.80 x 10 ⁵	extreme for H ₁
MON	ResA – ResP	-0.58	-1.39	0.20	0.87	anecdotal against H ₁
	bDP – ResP	2.11	1.26	2.93	3.23 x 10 ³	extreme for H ₁
	bDP – ResA	2.68	1.78	3.59	2.32 x 10 ⁴	extreme for H ₁

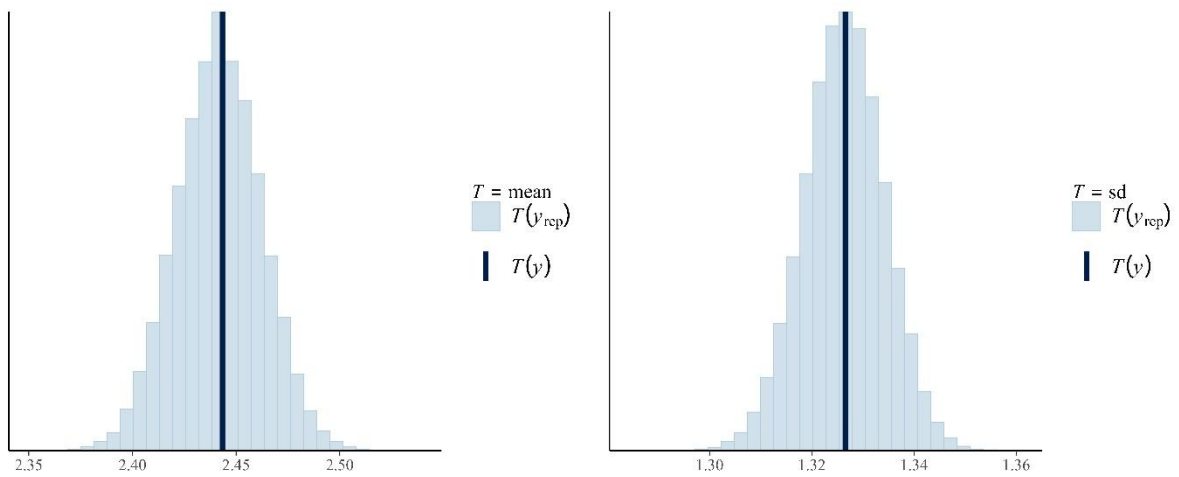


Figure A1. Posterior predictive checks for the interaction model. The plot on the left shows the mean of the distribution, while the plot on the right shows its standard deviation. The values are presented on the log scale. The blue bars show the posterior predictive distributions of the simulated data sets. The higher the bar, the higher the density. The dark blue line represents the observed data.

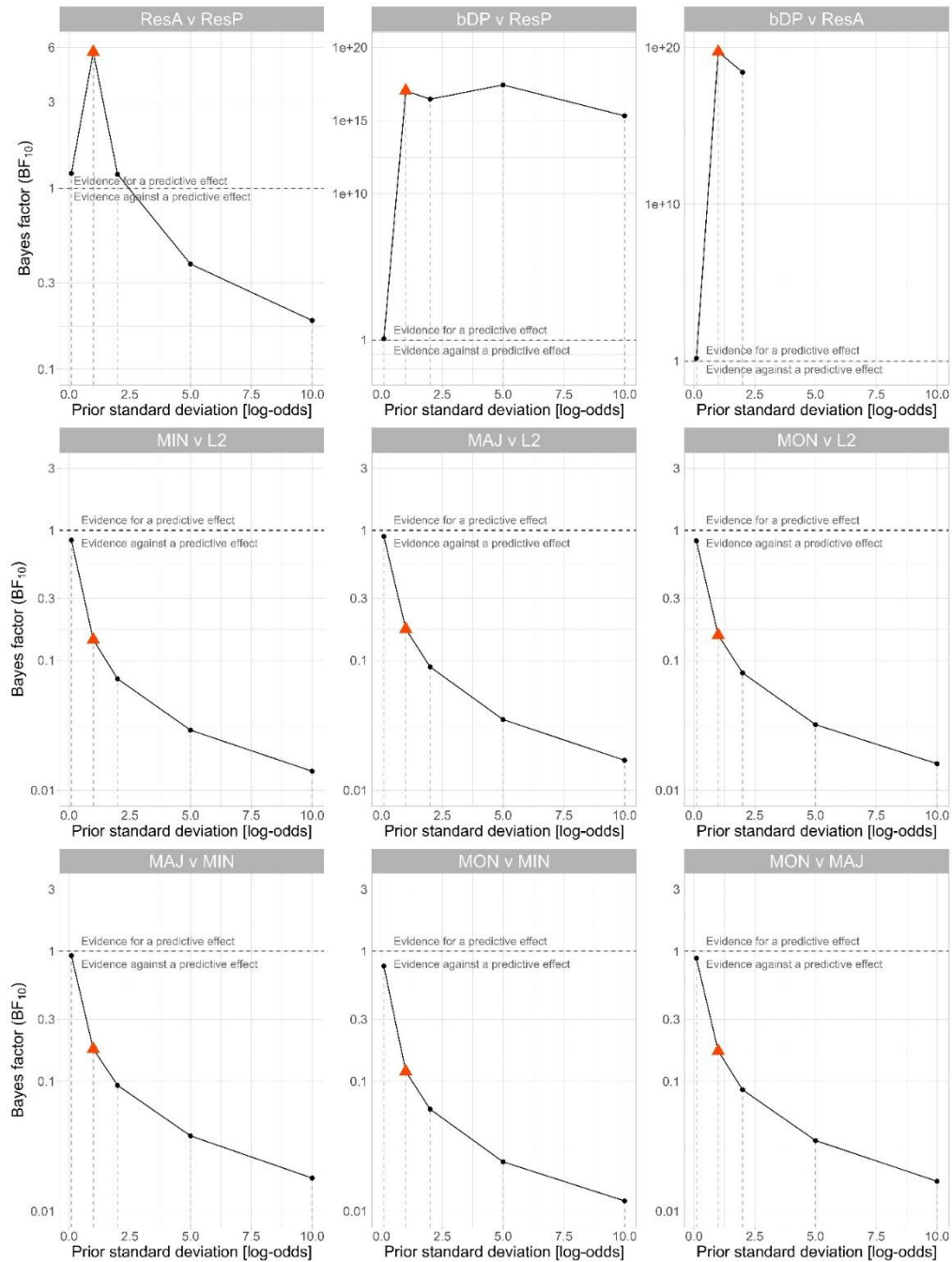


Figure A2. Sensitivity analysis for the simple effects of Condition and Group. The Bayes factor analysis was repeated using beta priors with different standard deviations (0.1, 1, 2, 5, 10). The red triangles designate the prior standard deviation used in the main analysis. The y-axis plots the Bayes factors for H_1 versus H_0 (BF_{10}) and the x-axis the prior standard deviations. The Bayes factors for the difference between bounded DPs and resultative adjectives with wider priors yielded extremely large negative values, which do not show up because of the log-transformation used to plot the results.

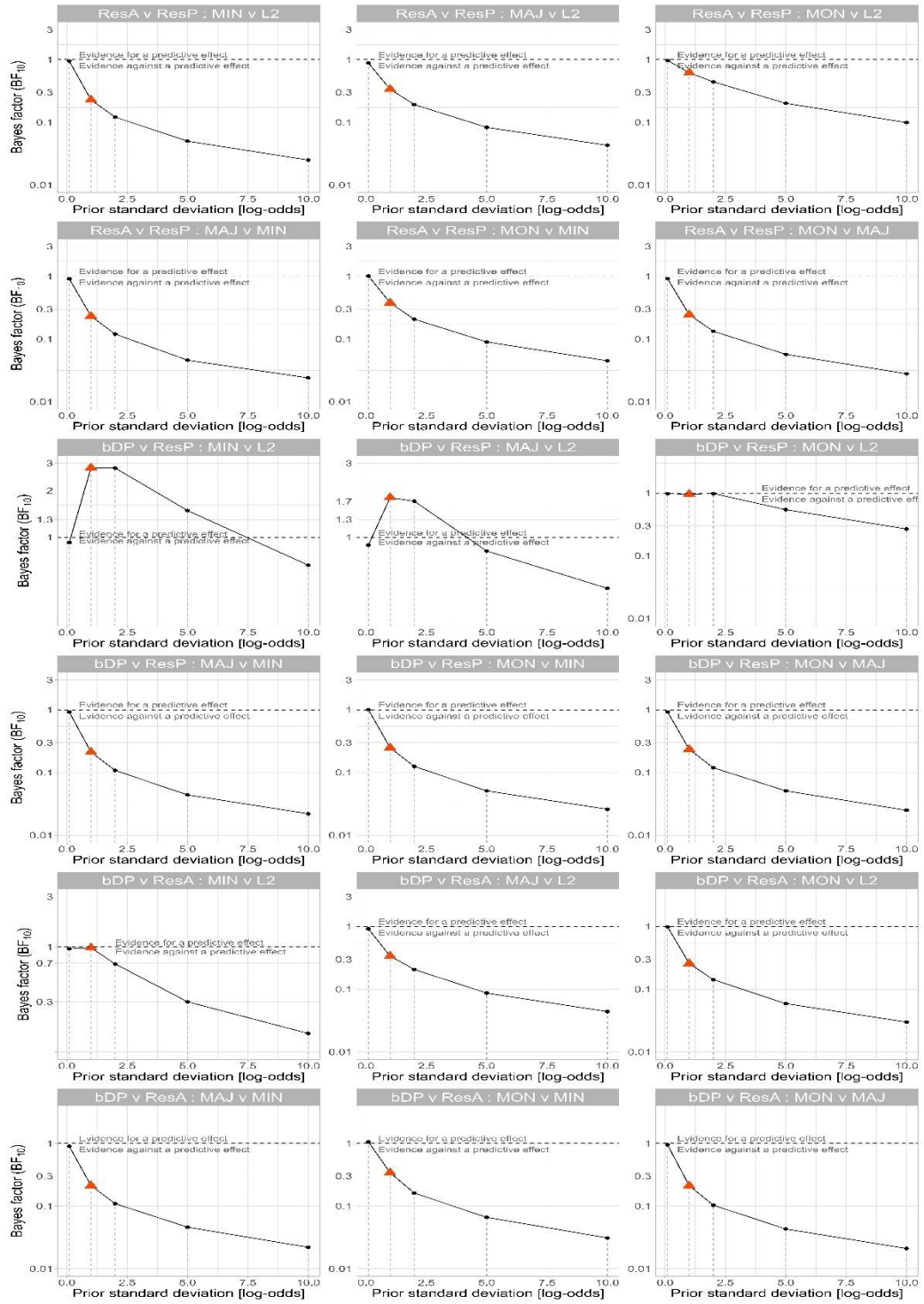


Figure A3. Sensitivity analysis for the interactions between Condition and Group. The Bayes factor analysis was repeated using beta priors with different standard deviations (0.1, 1, 2, 5, 10). The red triangles designate the prior standard deviation used in the main analysis. The y-axis plots the Bayes factors for H_1 versus H_0 (BF_{10}) and the x-axis the prior standard deviations.

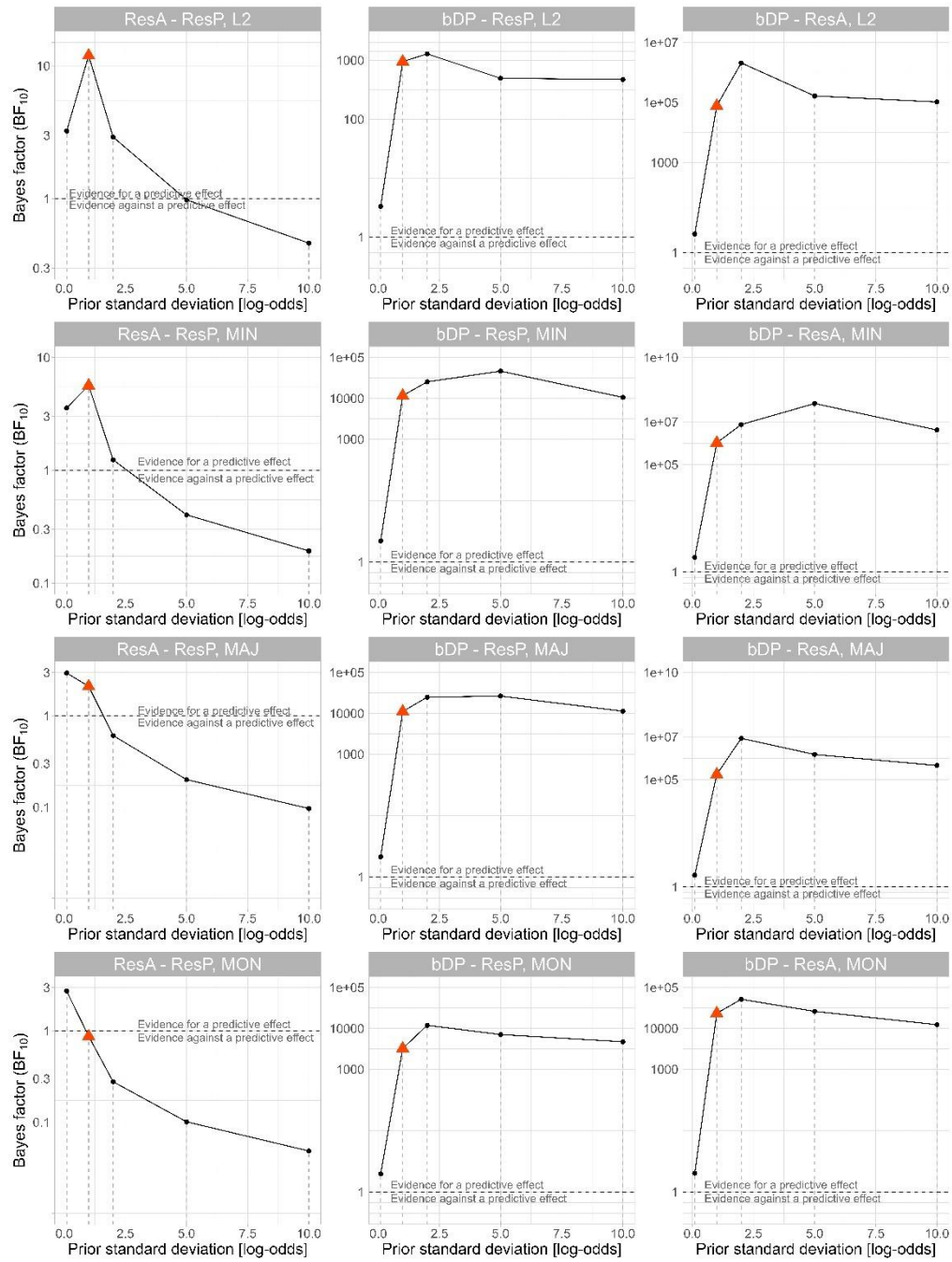


Figure A4. Sensitivity analysis for the nested effects of Condition in each group. The Bayes factor analysis was repeated using beta priors with different standard deviations (0.1, 1, 2, 5, 10). The red triangles designate the prior standard deviation used in the main analysis. The y-axis plots the Bayes factors for H_1 versus H_0 (BF₁₀) and the x-axis the prior standard deviations.

Appendix 13

Supplementary Materials B (Truth-Value Judgment Task)

Table B1. Model-estimated posterior distributions.

Parameters		Estimate	95% CrI
Intercept		3.36	[2.91, 3.82]
<i>Simple effects</i>			
Group	L2	-0.37	[-1.09, 0.34]
	MIN	0.22	[-0.59, 1.06]
	MAJ	-0.07	[-0.86, 0.73]
Predicate	SVC	3.43	[2.12, 4.62]
	PVC	2.18	[0.83, 3.46]
	UOC	2.26	[1.13, 3.40]
Situation	Telic	2.77	[1.59, 3.96]
<i>Interactions</i>			
Group x Predicate	L2 x SVC	-0.26	[-1.87, 1.33]
	MIN x SVC	0.11	[-1.65, 1.90]
	MAJ x SVC	-0.44	[-2.05, 1.16]
	L2 x PVC	-1.48	[-2.80, -0.20]
	MIN x PVC	-0.28	[-1.76, 1.22]
	MAJ x PVC	0.52	[-0.97, 2.06]
	L2 x UOC	-0.07	[-1.31, 1.17]
	MIN x UOC	0.40	[-0.95, 1.77]
	MAJ x UOC	0.20	[-1.10, 1.51]
Group x Situation	L2 x Telic	-0.66	[-1.91, 0.58]
	MIN x Telic	-0.31	[-1.70, 1.11]
	MAJ x Telic	-0.11	[-1.45, 1.25]
Predicate x Situation	SVC x Telic	-1.70	[-3.45, 0.16]
	PVC x Telic	-0.35	[-1.99, 1.39]
	UOC x Telic	-2.08	[-3.87, -0.19]
Group x Predicate x Situation	L2 x SVC x Telic	0.05	[-2.18, 2.29]
	MIN x SVC x Telic	1.00	[-1.39, 3.43]
	MAJ x SVC x Telic	0.73	[-1.55, 2.99]
	L2 x PVC x Telic	-0.91	[-2.90, 1.07]
	MIN x PVC x Telic	0.13	[-2.07, 2.36]
	MAJ x PVC x Telic	0.80	[-1.47, 3.11]
	L2 x UOC x Telic	0.26	[-1.52, 2.04]
	MIN x UOC x Telic	-0.95	[-2.87, 0.96]
	MAJ x UOC x Telic	-0.74	[-2.58, 1.09]

Note: Reference levels are MON for Group, BOC for Predicate and Atelic for Situation.

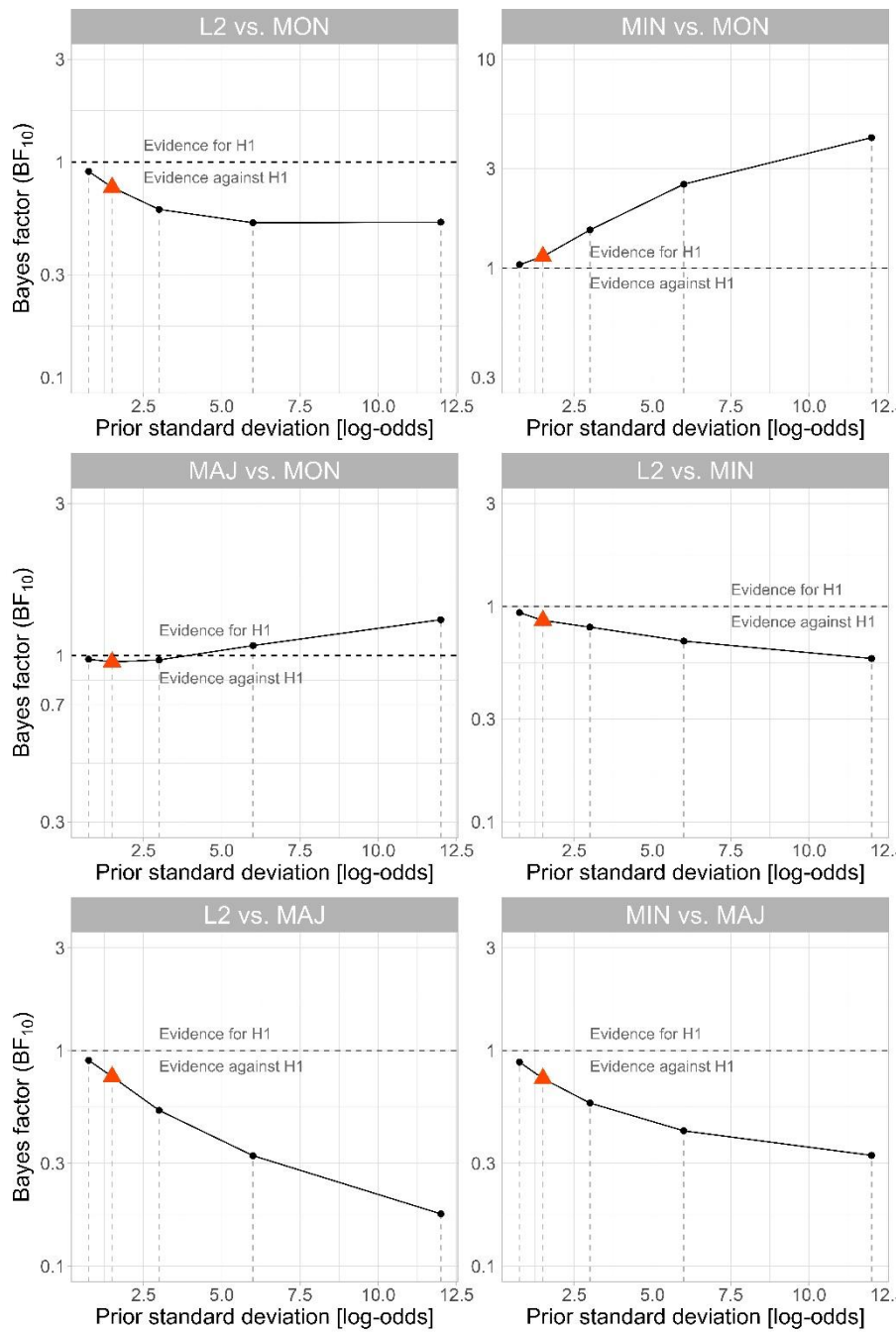


Figure B1. Sensitivity analysis of the three-way Group x Predicate x Situation interaction for the comparisons between simple verb constructions (SVC) and bounded object constructions (BOC). The Bayes factor analysis was repeated using beta priors with different standard deviations (0.75, 1.5, 3, 6, 12). The red triangles indicate the BFs of the original model. The y-axis plots the Bayes factors for H₁ versus H₀ (BF₁₀) and the x-axis the prior standard deviations.

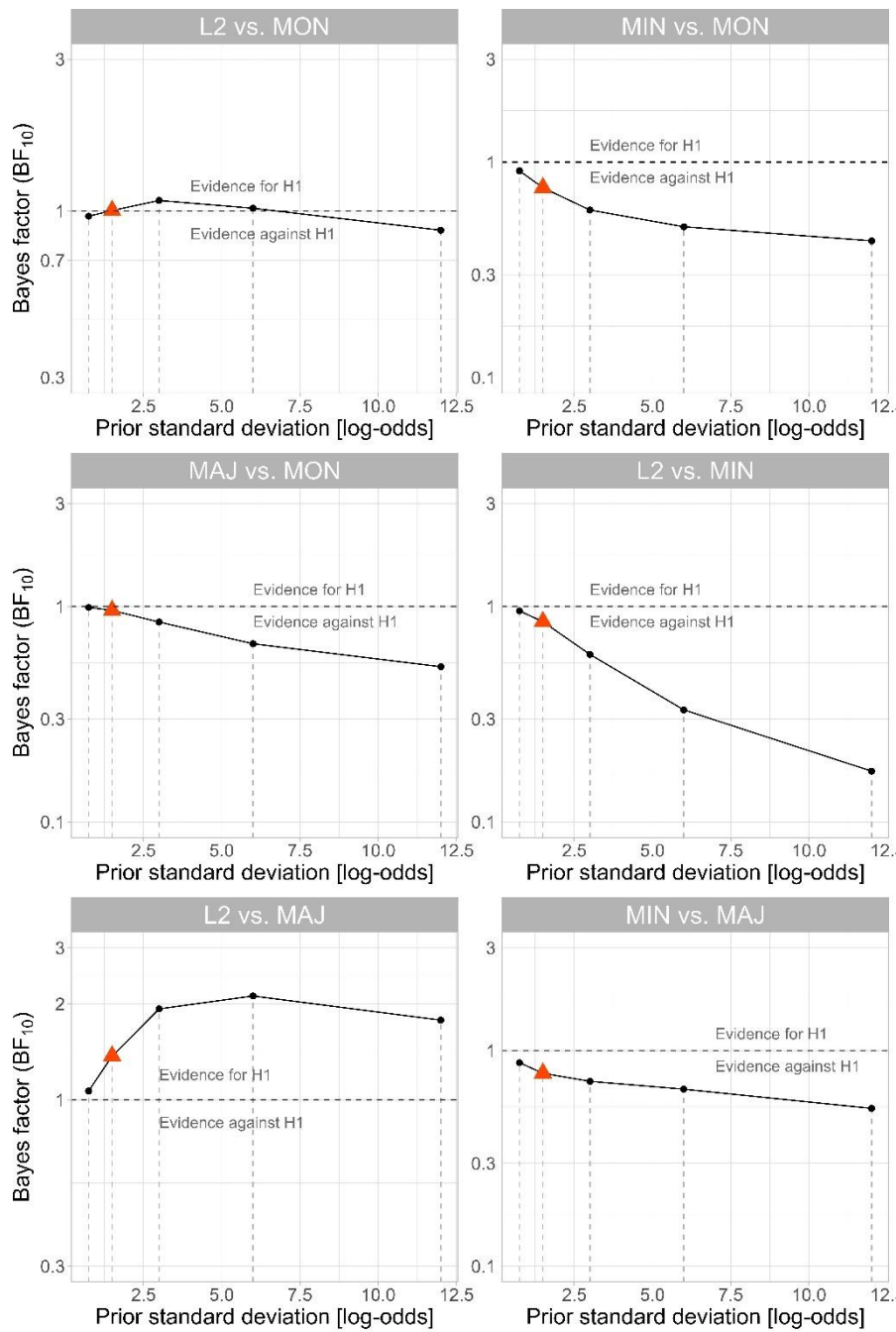


Figure B2. Sensitivity analysis of the three-way Group x Predicate x Situation interaction for the comparisons between particle verb constructions (PVC) and bounded object constructions (BOC). The Bayes factor analysis was repeated using beta priors with different standard deviations (0.75, 1.5, 3, 6, 12). The red triangles indicate the BFs of the original model. The y-axis plots the Bayes factors for H₁ versus H₀ (BF₁₀) and the x-axis the prior standard deviations.

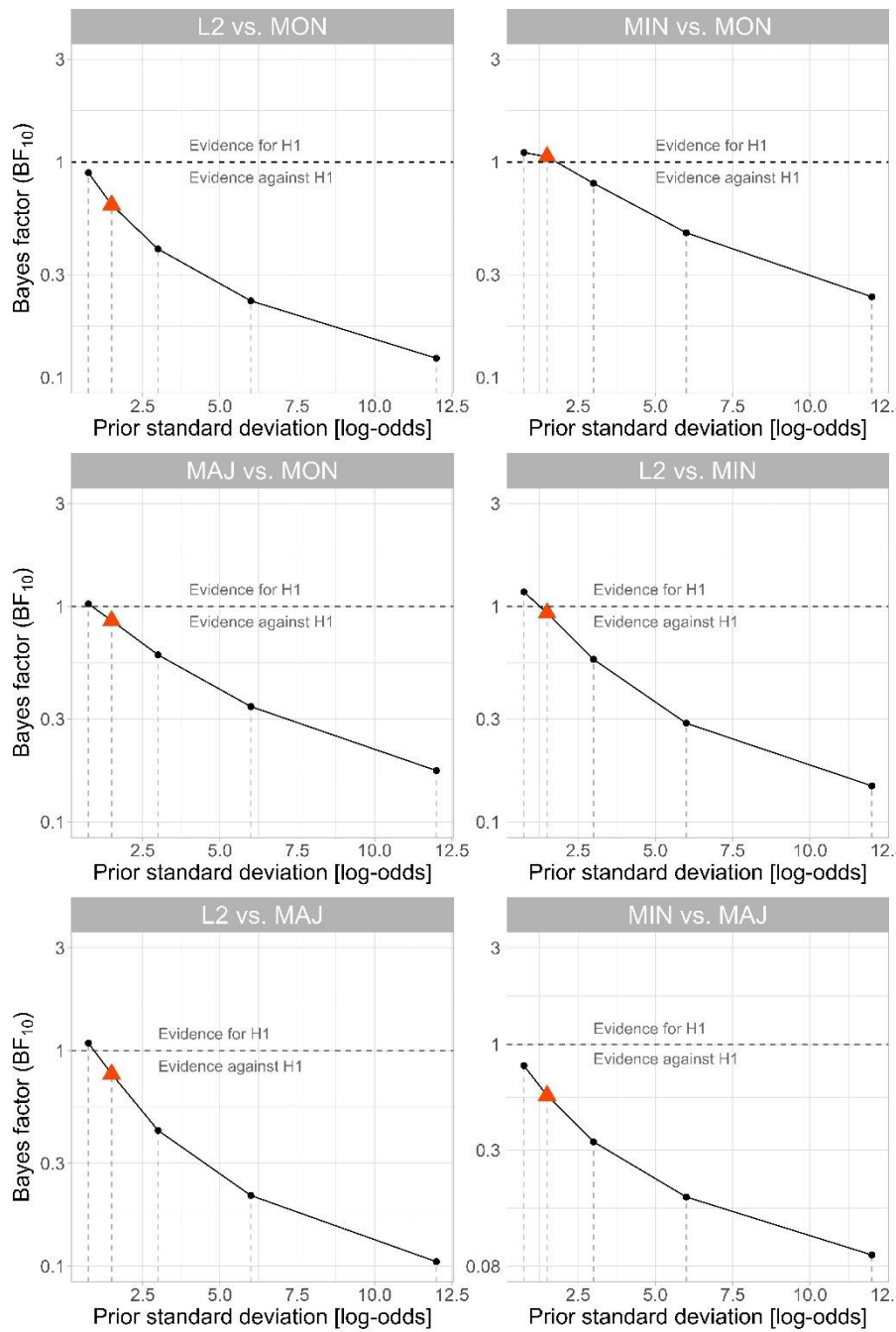


Figure B3. Sensitivity analysis of the three-way Group x Predicate x Situation interaction for the comparisons between unbounded object constructions (UOC) and bounded object constructions (BOC). The Bayes factor analysis was repeated using beta priors with different standard deviations (0.75, 1.5, 3, 6, 12). The red triangles indicate the BFs of the original model. The y-axis plots the Bayes factors for H_1 versus H_0 (BF₁₀) and the x-axis the prior standard deviations.

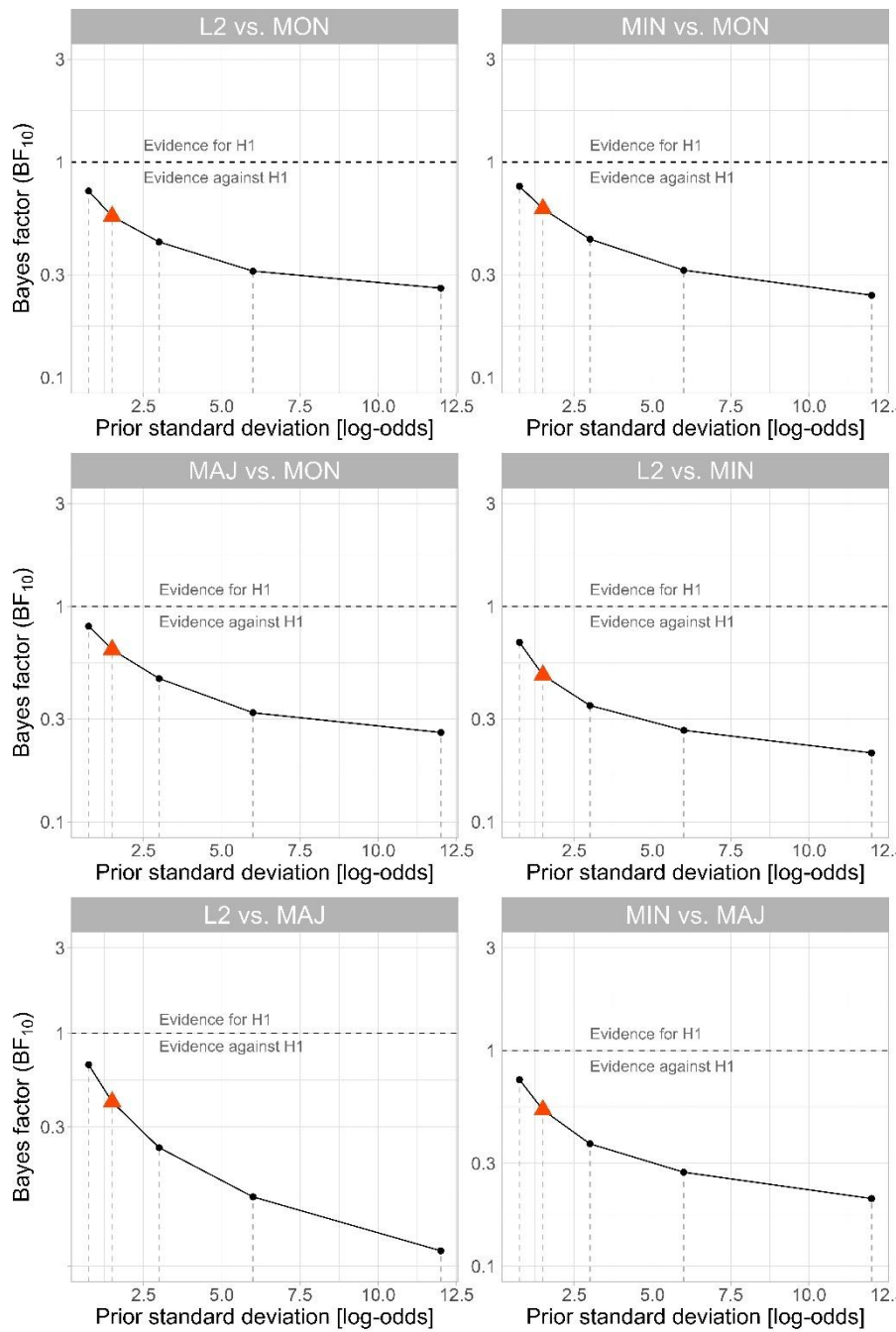


Figure B4. Sensitivity analysis of the two-way Group x Predicate interaction for the comparisons between simple object constructions (SVC) and bounded object constructions (BOC). The Bayes factor analysis was repeated using beta priors with different standard deviations (0.75, 1.5, 3, 6, 12). The red triangles indicate the BF₁₀s of the original model. The y-axis plots the Bayes factors for H₁ versus H₀ (BF₁₀) and the x-axis the prior standard deviations.

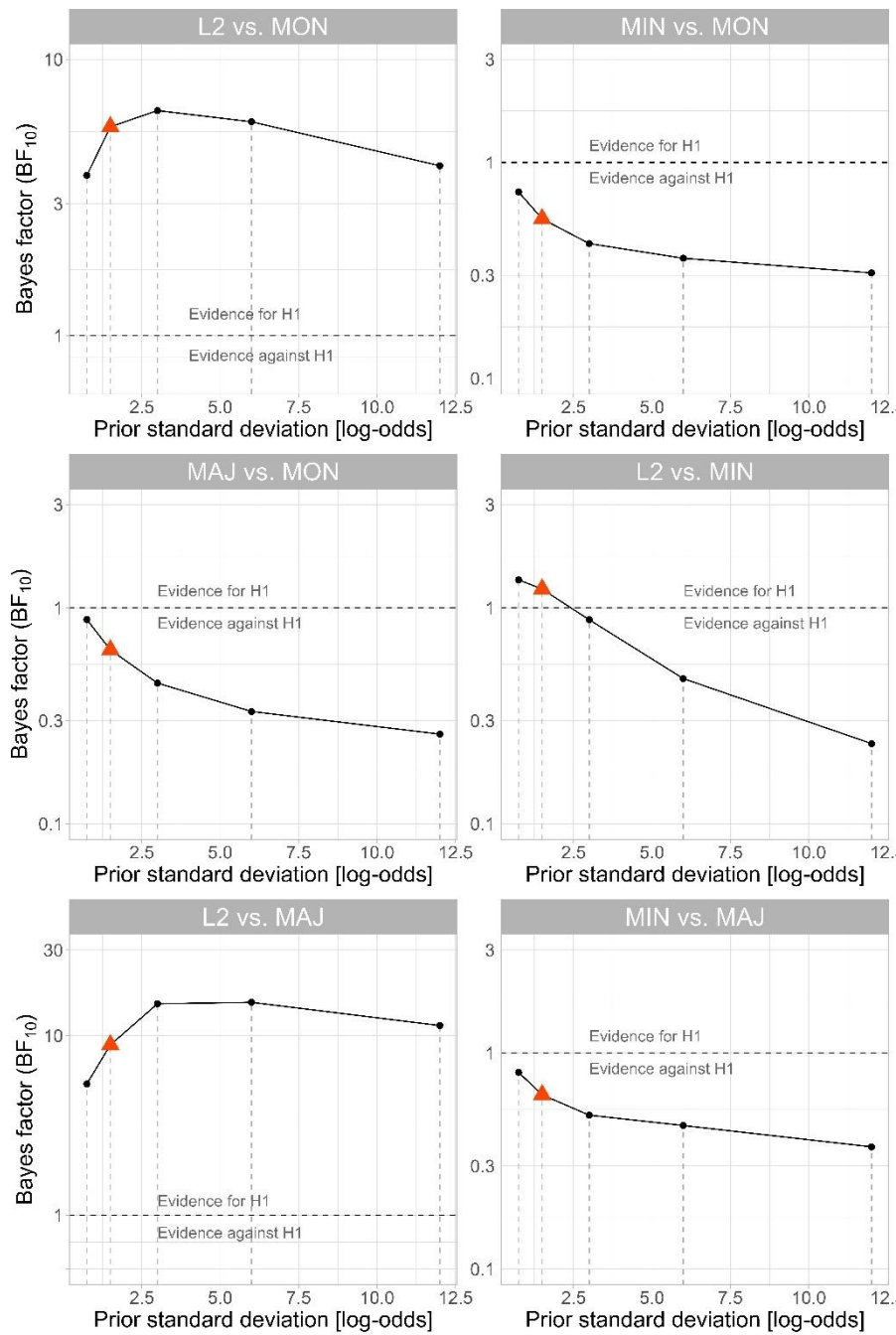


Figure B5. Sensitivity analysis of the two-way Group x Predicate interaction for the comparisons between particle object constructions (PVC) and bounded object constructions (BOC). The Bayes factor analysis was repeated using beta priors with different standard deviations (0.75, 1.5, 3, 6, 12). The red triangles indicate the BF₁₀s of the original model. The y-axis plots the Bayes factors for H₁ versus H₀ (BF₁₀) and the x-axis the prior standard deviations.

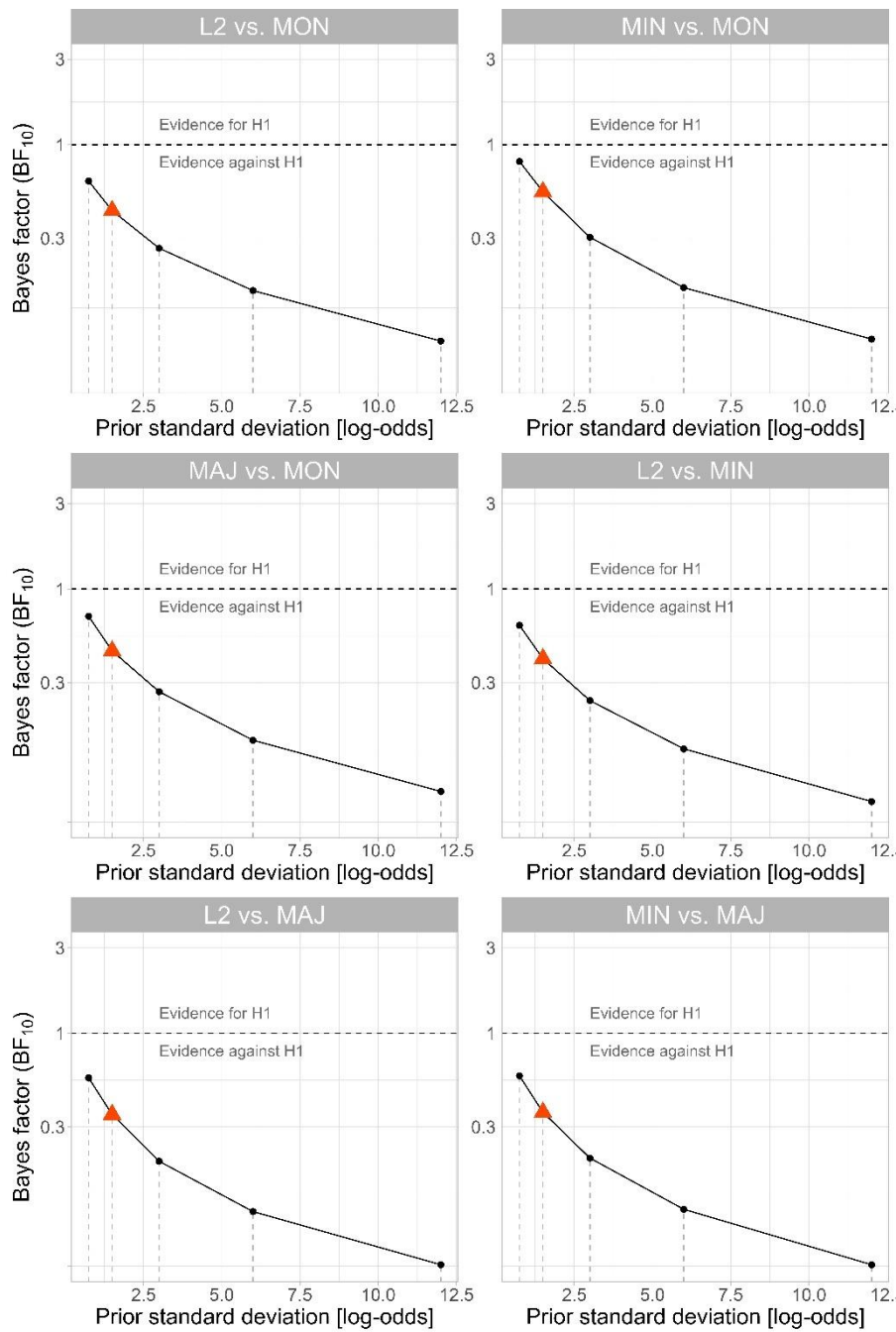


Figure B6. Sensitivity analysis of the two-way Group x Predicate interaction for the comparisons between unbounded object constructions (UOC) and bounded object constructions (BOC). The Bayes factor analysis was repeated using beta priors with different standard deviations (0.75, 1.5, 3, 6, 12). The red triangles indicate the BFs of the original model. The y-axis plots the Bayes factors for H₁ versus H₀ (BF₁₀) and the x-axis the prior standard deviations.

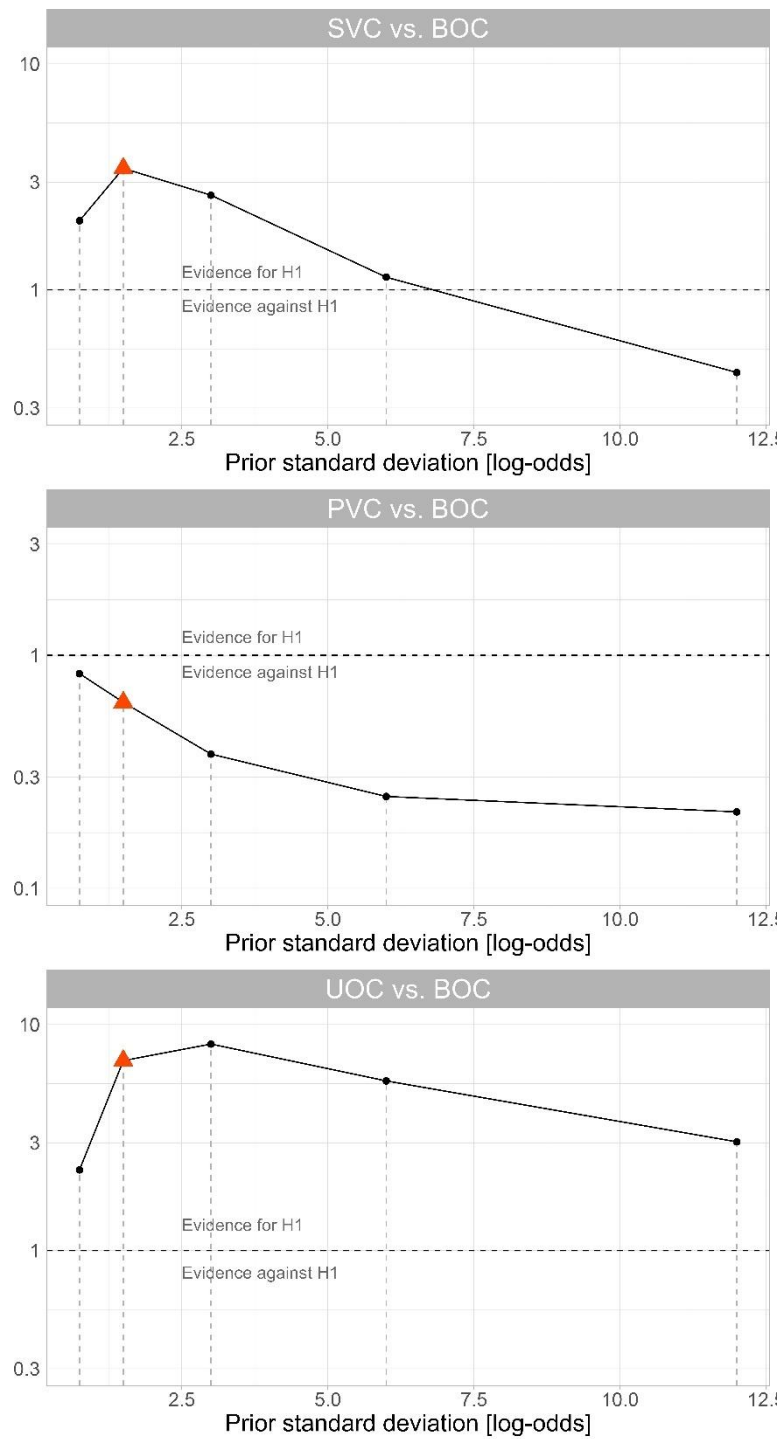


Figure B7. Sensitivity analysis of the two-way Predicate x Situation interaction. The Bayes factor analysis was repeated using beta priors with different standard deviations (0.75, 1.5, 3, 6, 12). The red triangles indicate the BF₁₀s of the original model. The y-axis plots the Bayes factors for H_1 versus H_0 (BF₁₀) and the x-axis the prior standard deviations.

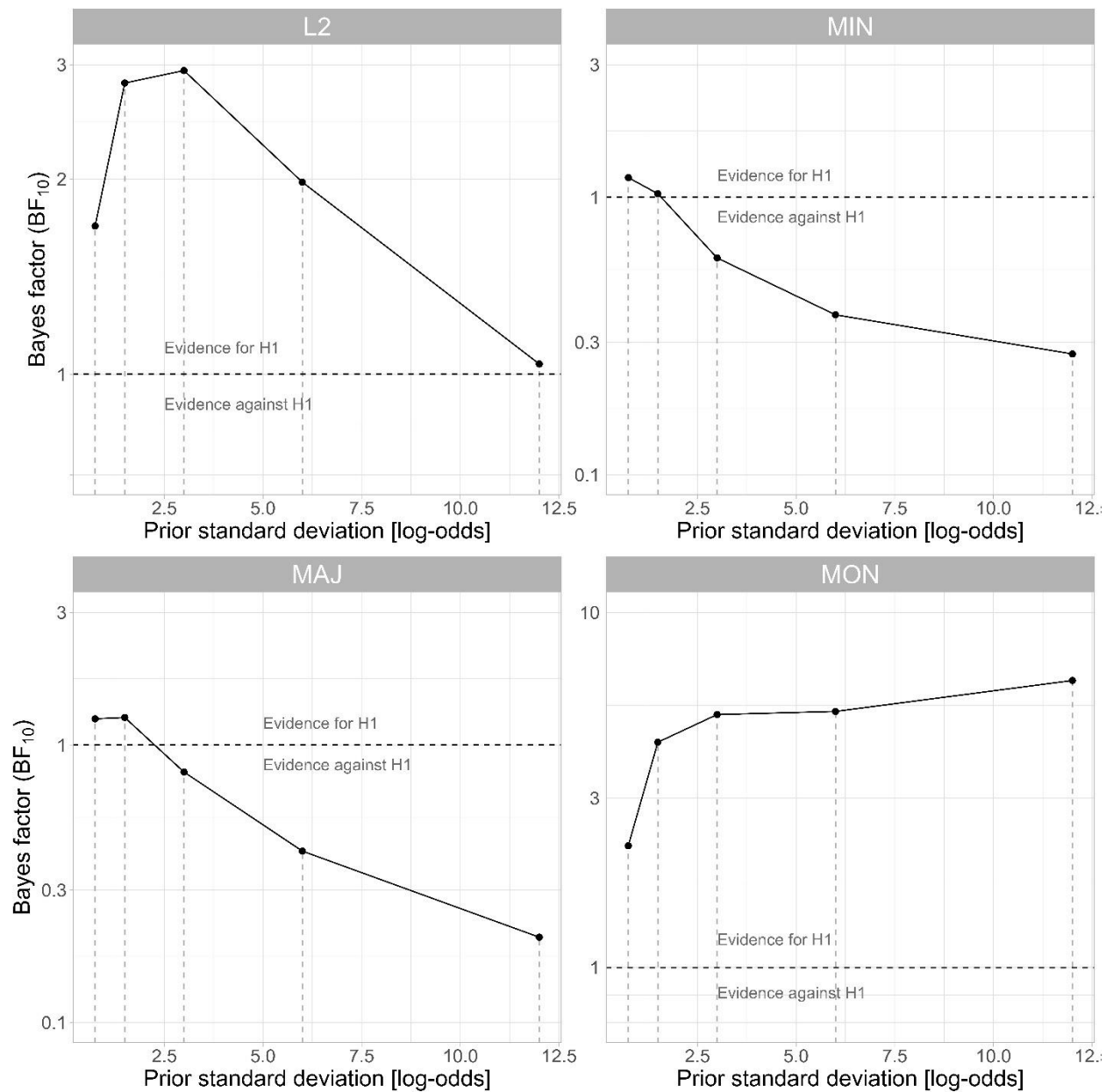


Figure B8. Sensitivity analysis of the two-way Predicate x Situation interaction per Group, concerning the comparisons between simple verb constructions (SVC) and bounded object constructions (BOC). The Bayes factor analysis was repeated using beta priors with different standard deviations (0.75, 1.5, 3, 6, 12). The y-axis plots the Bayes factors for H_1 versus H_0 (BF_{10}) and the x-axis the prior standard deviations.

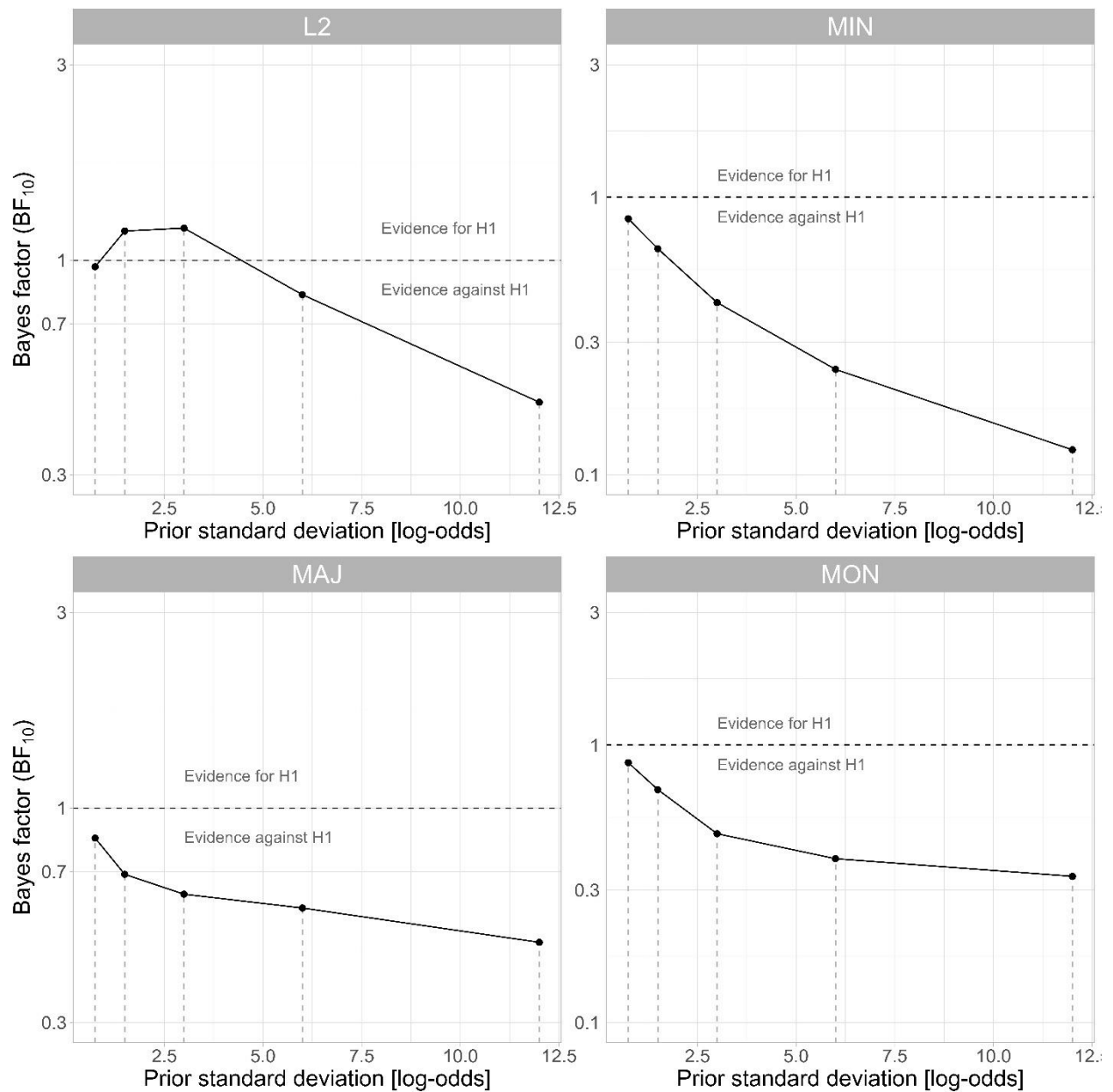


Figure B9. Sensitivity analysis of the two-way Predicate x Situation interaction per Group, concerning the comparisons between particle verb constructions (PVC) and bounded object constructions (BOC). The Bayes factor analysis was repeated using beta priors with different standard deviations (0.75, 1.5, 3, 6, 12). The y-axis plots the Bayes factors for H_1 versus H_0 (BF_{10}) and the x-axis the prior standard deviations.

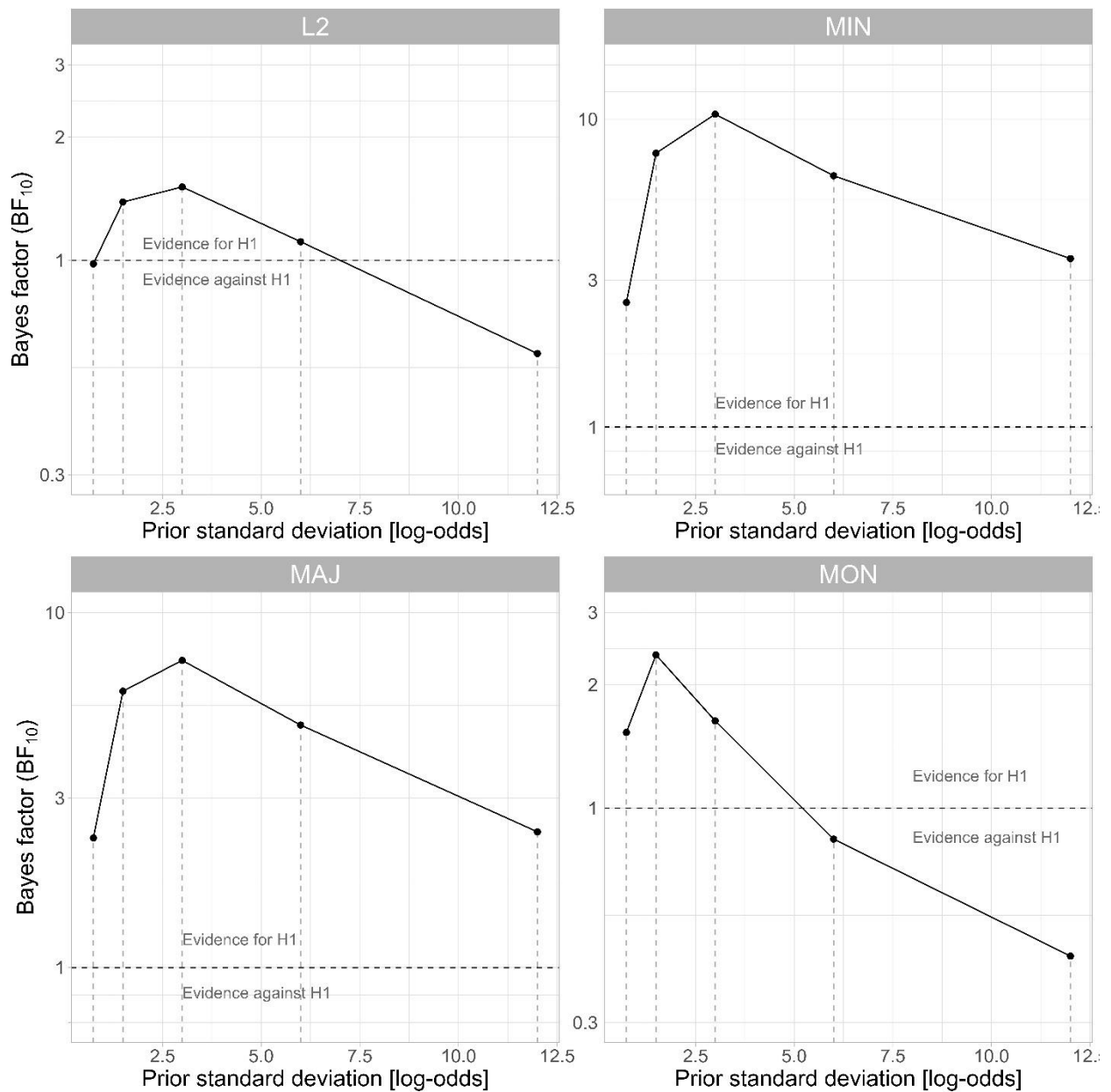


Figure B10. Sensitivity analysis of the two-way Predicate x Situation interaction per Group, concerning the comparisons between unbounded object constructions (UOC) and bounded object constructions (BOC). The Bayes factor analysis was repeated using beta priors with different standard deviations (0.75, 1.5, 3, 6, 12). The y-axis plots the Bayes factors for H_1 versus H_0 (BF_{10}) and the x-axis the prior standard deviations.

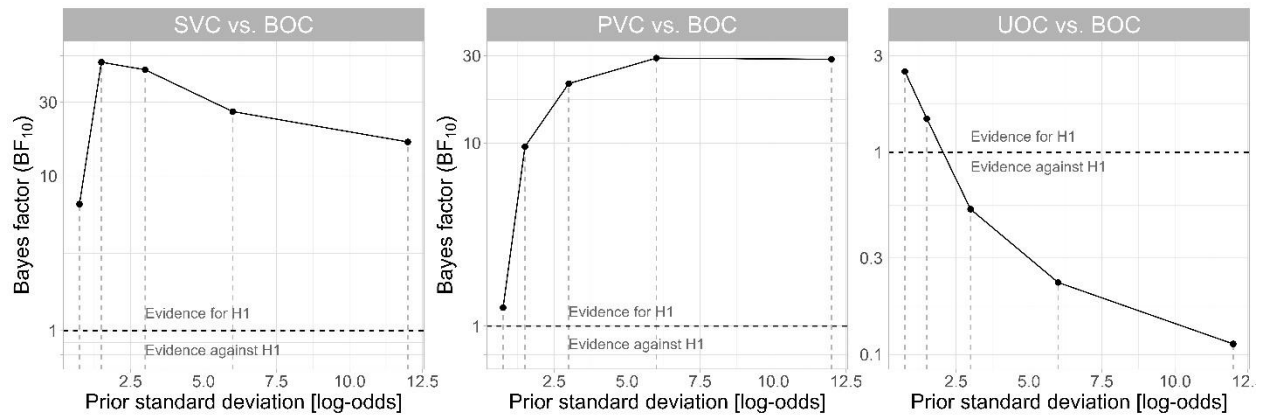


Figure B11. Sensitivity analysis of the simple effects of Predicate in the telic condition. The Bayes factor analysis was repeated using beta priors with different standard deviations (0.75, 1.5, 3, 6, 12). The y-axis plots the Bayes factors for H_1 versus H_0 (BF₁₀) and the x-axis the prior standard deviations.

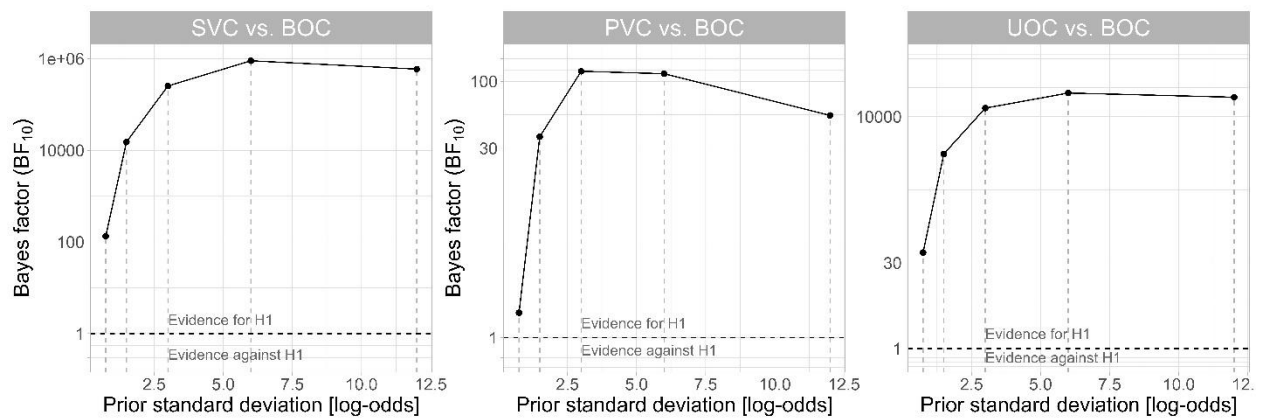


Figure B12. Sensitivity analysis of the simple effects of Predicate in the atelic condition. The Bayes factor analysis was repeated using beta priors with different standard deviations (0.75, 1.5, 3, 6, 12). The y-axis plots the Bayes factors for H_1 versus H_0 (BF₁₀) and the x-axis the prior standard deviations.

This appendix contains additional examples regarding the corpus coding and analysis of the participants' oral narratives. The text is divided into: (i) the aspectual diagnostic tests to determine the telicity value of the predicates used in the narratives; (ii) the sources of telicity used in the participants' event descriptions, and (iii) the sources of (un)boundedness of complex situations.

1. Aspectual diagnostic tests

Events were coded for telicity according to the event's specification of a natural endpoint, irrespective of aspect-external factors. In problematic cases, the aspectual class of certain predicates was determined using a combination of diagnostics, such as (i) the temporal semantic entailment test (Nicolay, 2007), as in (1a); (ii) the *almost* test (Dowty, 1979), as in (1b); (iii) the future entailment test (Shirai, 2013; Shirai & Andersen, 1995), as in (1c); (iv) the immediate past test (Nicolay, 2007), as in (1d); (v) the resultative modifier test (Egg, 2015; Nicolay, 2007), as in (1e), and (vi) the partitive modifier test (Nicolay, 2007), as in (1f).

1. a) non implication = telic
 Peter baut das Haus **nicht mehr**. →
 Peter builds the house not more
 Peter baute das Haus **(vorher)**.
 Peter built the house (before)
 'Peter is no longer building the house. → Peter built the house.'

- b) ambiguous between inchoative and processual reading = telic
 Peter hätte das Haus **fast** gebaut.
 Peter would.have the house almost built
 'Peter would have almost built the house.'

- c) same reading with both adverbials = telic (punctual)
 Peter wird **in einer Woche/ nach einer Woche**
 Peter will in one week after one week
 den Gipfel erreichen.
 the summit reach
 'Peter will reach the summit in/after one week.'

- d) felicitous = telic (also possible with activities)
 Peter baute **gerade/ kürzlich** das Haus.
 Peter built just.now recently the house
 'Peter built the house just now.'

- e) felicitous = telic
 Peter baute das Haus **zu Ende/ fertig**.
 Peter built the house to end finished
 'Peter finished building the house.'

- f) felicitous = telic
 Peter baute das Haus **zur Hälfte**.
 Peter built the house to.the half
 'Peter built the house halfway.'

2. Sources of telicity

The most common source of telicity was inherent, i.e., intrinsically encoded by the verb's lexical semantics, as in (2a). Other sources of telicity were compositional, achieved through the combination of the verb with other elements, which included: (i) bounded determiner phrases (DPs), as in (2b); (ii) prepositional phrases (PPs) or adverbial phrases (AdvPs) specifying a source or a goal, as in (2c); (iii) complementizer phrases (CPs) as complements of certain transitive verbs, as in (2d); resultative adjectives in secondary predication, as in (2e), and extrinsic resultative verb particles, as in (2f).

2. a) Sie **haben sich** dann da **getroffen** (...)
 they have themselves then there met (...)
 'Then, they met there (...).'
 (Participant L210)
- b) (...) isst **das Essen** (...)
 (...) eats the food (...)
 '(...) (he) eats the food (...).'
 (Participant MIN29)
- c) (...) geht **in ein Restaurant** (...)
 (...) goes in a restaurant (...)
 '(...) (he) goes into a restaurant (...).'
 (Participant MAJ18)
- d) Dann die Polizei sieht, **was passiert ist** (...)
 then the police sees what happened is (...)
 'Then, the police sees what happened (...).'
 (Participant L201)
- e) (...) und damit macht er sich **schuldig** an
 (...) and hence makes he himself guilty at
 Diebstahl auch (...)
 theft too (...)
 '(...) and hence, he also takes the blame for the theft (...).'
 (Participant L224)
- f) (...) und beide rennen dann zusammen weg.
 (...) and both run then together away
 '(...)and (they) both run away together.'
 (Participant MAJ14)

Note that inherently telic verbs can still be morphologically complex and select bounded complements. The main difference is that, regardless of whether they are contained within a complex predicate or not, they will always hold the telic property. In example (3a), Participant L205 makes use of

a particle verb whose telicity is intrinsic to the complex verb's meaning, while, in (3b), Participant MIN15 resorts to a specific particle to delimit an event that would otherwise have an atelic interpretation in this context.

3. a) Der wütende Polizist taucht **auf** (...)
the angry policeman dives PART (...)
'The angry policeman shows up (...)'
(Participant L205)
- b) (...) und rennt damit weg.
(...) and runs with.it away
'(..) and (she) runs away with it.'
(Participant MIN15)

Some verbs required a case-by-case analysis, because of their multiple connotations. An example would be the verb *finden* ('to find'), which – just like in English – can have a stative (atelic) meaning, as in (4a), or a punctual (telic) one, as in (4b)

4. a) (...) weil er sie hübsch findet (...)
(...) because he her pretty finds (...)
'(...) because he finds her pretty (...).'
(Participant MON11)
- b) Und dann hat die Polizei die Frau gefunden (...)
and then has the police the woman found (...)
'And then the police found the woman.'
(Participant L218)

3. Sources of (un)boundedness

Event descriptions were then coded for (un)boundedness, which was either inherited from the aspectual value of the verb phrase, as in (5a), or determined by aspect-external factors, which included: (i) the use of certain temporal adverbials that shift the predicate's core aspectual value, as in (5b); (ii) the use of modals, which allow stative readings, as in (5c); (iii) the use of negation, which also results in stativity, as in (5d); (iv) sporadic uses of a perfect tense (either *Perfekt* or *Plusquamperfekt*) to convey completion with atelic predicates, as in (5e), and (v) the existence of pragmatic-contextual cues that reconfigure the aspectual framing of a given situation, as in (5f).

5. a) atelic, unbounded
Die Frau war hungrig (...)
the woman was hungry (...)
'The woman was hungry (...).'
(Participant L236)

- b) telic, unbounded
 Während sie davonläuft, (...)
 while she runs-away (...)
 'While she is running away, (...).'
- (Participant MAJ03)
- c) telic, unbounded
 Sie können fliehen (...)
 they can flee (...)
 'They are able to escape (...).'
- (Participant MAJ01)
- d) telic, unbounded
 (...) und bezahlt es dann auch nicht.
 (...) and pays it then also not
 '(...) and (he) also does not pay for it.'
- (Participant MON20)
- e) atelic, bounded
 (...) und hat sie geholfen zu fliehen.
 (...) and has her helped to flee
 '(...) and (he) helped her escape.'
- (Participant L231)
- f) atelic, bounded (*kommen* 'come' used in the sense of *ankommen* 'arrive')
 Die Polizei kommt (...)
 the police comes (...)
 'The police arrives (...).'
- (Participant MIN26)

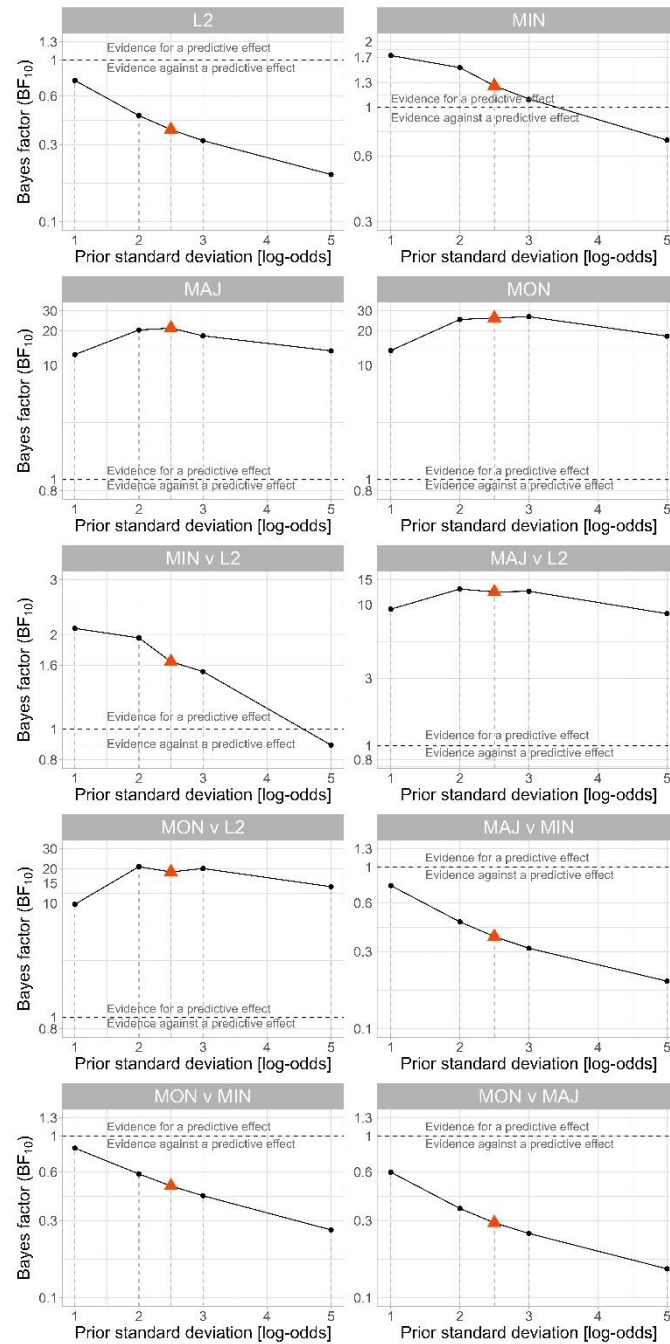


Figure C1. Sensitivity analysis of the effects of Group in terms of present-tense vs. past-tense use. The Bayes factor analysis was repeated using beta priors with different standard deviations (1, 2, 2.5, 3, 5). The y-axis plots the Bayes factors for H_1 versus H_0 (BF_{10}) and the x-axis the prior standard deviations.