Wat betekent *eigenlijk* eigenlijk?

Dutch *eigenlijk* 'actually, in fact' by native and non-native speakers of Dutch

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8-7-2020
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Abstract

In this thesis, I investigate whether non-native speakers of Dutch use the interpersonal discourse particle *eigenlijk* differently than native speakers of Dutch. According to Van Bergen et al. (2011), *eigenlijk* marks a contrast with a contextually raised expectation. Particles such as *eigenlijk* are seen as very difficult to learn for non-native speakers and there is almost no room for explicit attention to them in the language classroom. In addition, it might be the case that *eigenlijk* is even more difficult to learn than other particles, because it is difficult to process for native speakers, which suggests that it is difficult to process for non-native speakers as well. It is important that non-native speakers learn how to use particles, because speech without them can sound rude and inconsiderate. It is hypothesised that native speakers will use *eigenlijk* as described by Van Bergen et al. (2011) and that non-native speakers will use *eigenlijk* differently than native speakers: non-native will not understand that *eigenlijk* marks a contrast with a contextually raised expectation. I tested whether non-native speakers of Dutch used *eigenlijk* differently than native speakers of Dutch by means of an online cloze test in which native speakers (control group, N= 109) and non-native speakers (N=73) had to choose between *eigenlijk* and an adverb in a variety of contexts. Items occurred in three conditions, in which the aspects 'responds to a contextually raised expectation' and 'marks a contrast with this contextually raised expectation' of *eigenlijk* were isolated. Results were that non-native speakers did not use *eigenlijk* precisely as Van Bergen et al. (2011) describe. This was however explained by individual differences: some test items allowed for more than one interpretation, which caused some native speakers to make a different inference than other native speakers. Non-native speakers used *eigenlijk* differently than native speakers, but non-native speakers did somewhat understand that *eigenlijk* marks a contrast with a contextually raised expectation.

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1. Introduction

On the day of Brexit, Dutch Brussels correspondent Christoph Schmidt wrote a goodbye letter to the United Kingdom in which he impersonated the European Union (Schmidt, 2020). In it, he says:

(1) *Morgen is er weer een dag, met 27 in plaats van 28 toegewijde landen. Vanavond wordt je vlag hier voor de deur gestreken, maar eigenlijk verandert er niets.*
'Tomorrow will be another day, with 27 instead of 28 devoted countries. We will surrender ourselves tonight, but nothing [*eigenlijk*] [1] changes.'
(Schmidt, 2020)

Why does the European Union use *eigenlijk* in (1)? Would the utterance be interpreted differently, if *eigenlijk* had not been used (see (2) and (3))?

(2) *Maar eigenlijk verandert er niets.*
'But nothing [*eigenlijk*] changes.'

(3) *Maar er verandert niets.*
'But nothing changes.'

Native speakers of Dutch intuitively know that (2) is more appropriate than (3) in the given context. However, they generally cannot explain why they prefer (2) over (3). This is interesting, because *eigenlijk* is used abundantly by native speakers (Fox Tree, 2010). It even ranks among the 50 most used tokens of the Dutch language (CGN, 2006, as cited in van Bergen et al., 2011). What can we say about the difference between (2) and (3)? By uttering *eigenlijk,* it does not seem that the propositional content of the utterance changes: (2) and (3) both express that 'nothing changes'. This is rather interesting, because other adverbs do contribute to the propositional content of the sentence. For example, see what happens when *eigenlijk* is replaced by *hier* (here):

(4) *Maar hier verandert er niks.*
'But here nothing changes.'

The adverb *hier* (here) suggests that elsewhere things change. *Hier* adds meaning to the propositional content, which means that there is a difference between the propositional contents of (3) and (4). Even though *eigenlijk* does not contribute to the propositional content, it does add extra information to the utterance. Why else would native speakers choose (2) over (3) in the given context?

If we want to know what *eigenlijk* means, a first step would be to look into a dictionary. The online Van Dale dictionary of the Dutch language gives two entries of *eigenlijk*: as an adjective and as an adverb of modality. In (1) above, *eigenlijk* is used as an

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[1] In this thesis, I will not translate particles such as *eigenlijk,* because they are not directly translatable from Dutch to English (and from one language to another in general) (Hogeweg et al., 2016). To clarify: the most obvious English counterparts of *eigenlijk* are 'in fact' and 'actually'.

adverb, which will also be the use this thesis focusses on. The entry for *eigenlijk* as an adverb in the Van Dale dictionary is (my translation): in its core, in essence. [2] Since this thesis concerns non-native speakers of Dutch as well, it is also interesting to look at the dictionary entry of the Dutch dictionary for non-native speakers: *Pocketwoordenboek Nederlands als tweede taal (NT2),* 'pocket dictionary of Dutch as a second language'. Again, there are two entries of *eigenlijk*: one as an adjective and one as an adverb. *Eigenlijk* as an adverb is described as (my translation): in reality, as it is in reality. [3] This definition seems to be the most graspable: *eigenlijk* means as it is in reality. Looking back at (2) above, *eigenlijk* is then used to denote that in reality, nothing changes, which is not conveyed in (3). This raises the question, why would a speaker use *eigenlijk* to convey this, if the speaker also could have put this into words by for example saying (5)? This suggests that *eigenlijk* means more than 'as it is in reality'.

(5) *Maar in de realiteit verandert er niks.*
    'But in reality, nothing changes.'

As was stated before, native speakers prefer (2) over (3) in the given context. They do not have to be able to put into words what *eigenlijk* means because they can use their intuition for using and interpreting it. There are many more of these particles in Dutch, such as *inderdaad, toch, wel, maar,* and *zeker* (Van der Wouden & Caspers, 2010; Van Bergen & Hogeweg, in press). All these particles have in common that native speakers can generally not describe what these words mean and they do not precisely know what they do in a sentence, but they do use them correctly. See for example (6) and (7):

(6) *Geef me dat boek maar.*
    ''Hand me that book [*maar*].'

(7) *Geef me dat boek.*
    'Hand me that book.'

Just as with (2) and (3) above, the propositional contents of (6) and (7) are the same. Native speakers know which option ((6) or (7)) fits which situation best. However, non-native speakers generally have not (yet) developed this intuition in their second language (with the possible exception of very proficient non-native speakers). If non-native speakers cannot rely on their intuitions, how do they use and interpret particles? It is important that non-native speakers learn how to use them, because speech without them can sound rude and unnatural (Hogeweg et al., 2016). However, research has shown that they are very difficult to learn in a second language (Hogeweg et al., 2016; Foolen, 2010). In addition, it might be the case that *eigenlijk* is even more difficult to learn than other particles for non-native speakers. Van Bergen & Bosker (2018) found that native speakers of Dutch experienced higher processing costs after encountering *eigenlijk* relative to encountering *inderdaad* (indeed) in an online

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[2] Dutch entry: 'In de grond, in wezen'. Van Dale Online (2020). https://www.vandale.nl/
[3] Dutch entry: 'In werkelijkheid; zoals het werkelijk is'. *Pocketwoordenboek Nederlands als tweede taal (NT2).* (2018). (second edition). Utrecht, Van Dale uitgevers.

eye-tracking experiment in which participants had to complete the dialogue by clicking on the picture they thought completed the dialogue (illustrated here in bold) in (8):

(8) A) *Het was vast prachtig weer in Griekenland?*
        'The weather must have been great in Greece?'

     B) *We hebben inderdaad alleen maar* **zon** *gehad.*
        'We have [*inderdaad*] had nothing but **sun**. '

     B') *We hebben eigenlijk alleen maar* **regen** *gehad.*
        'We have [*eigenlijk*] had nothing but **rain**.'
     (Van Bergen & Bosker, 2018: 191)

The fact that native speakers experienced higher processing costs after encountering *eigenlijk* (B') relative to encountering *inderdaad* (B) suggests that *eigenlijk* can be more difficult to process for non-native speakers as well, which could mean that *eigenlijk* is also more difficult to learn for them.

It seems that over time, particles can be learned implicitly in a second language, but research has shown that explicit instruction can help non-native speakers with learning them (Foolen, 2010; Hermández, 2008; La Fuente, 2009). As we have seen, native speakers cannot help non-native speakers by explaining how these words are used because they generally cannot describe what they mean. These reasons might lead you to expect that course books would devote ample attention to them. However, the opposite seems to be true: Dutch as a second language books devote almost no explicit attention to particles, although nowadays, there occur more particles in dialogues in course books, which does bring non-native speakers into contact with particles (Foolen, 2010). However, with no explicit instruction, non-native speakers still have to figure out how these particles are used on their own, which seems to be extremely difficult (Foolen, 2010). If we want to be able to explicitly teach how *eigenlijk* should be used, we need to know how native speakers use the particle. Subsequently, we can look at how non-native speakers use the particle and compare this with how native speakers use it, which can give us an understanding of what non-native speakers need to learn in order to use the particle correctly.

In this thesis, I will investigate whether non-native speakers of Dutch use *eigenlijk* differently than native speakers. This thesis hopes to contribute to the growing body of research on how non-native speakers use elusive particles such as *eigenlijk*. In addition, the outcome of this study will clarify if, and if so, which aspect(s) make(s) *eigenlijk* difficult for non-native speakers. Therefore, the outcome of this study can give an insight into why non-native speakers might not have a command of the particle, and what they need to learn in order to use it correctly.

This thesis is built up as follows. I will first describe particles and the different categories that can be distinguished for Dutch. Subsequently, I will discuss what particles are and what they do, and why they are difficult to learn for non-native speakers. Thereafter, I will zoom in on *eigenlijk*. I discuss several semantic analyses, after which I will primarily focus on the account of *eigenlijk* by Van Bergen et al. (2011). I will discuss more elaborately

why the fact that *eigenlijk* is more difficult to process for native speakers (Van Bergen & Bosker, 2018) might make it more difficult to learn for non-native speakers. After the literature review, I describe the cloze-test I used in order to test how native and non-native speakers use Dutch *eigenlijk*.

2. Literature overview

2.1 Particles

In this chapter, I will describe what particles are and what they do. I will discuss the characteristics of the three categories that can be distinguished for Dutch and I will argue why I will call *eigenlijk* an interpersonal discourse particle. Subsequently, I will discuss why particles are difficult to learn.

2.1.1 (Interpersonal) discourse particles, modal particles & focus particles

Particles are small, 'almost untranslatable adverb-like elements' (Hogeweg et al., 2016: 201). Their meaning is pragmatic in nature and they help the hearer to interpret sentences. They fall in the categories *adverb* or *interjection* in traditional grammar books (Van der Wouden & Caspers, 2010) and they occur the most in spontaneous, unplanned conversations (Fox Tree, 2010; Van Bergen & Hogeweg, in press). Particles are untransparent, polyfunctional, low perceptually salient and grammatically (but not communicatively) non-obligatory (Hogeweg et al., 2016). Let me illustrate this with example (9):

> (9) *Kom eens kijken!*
> 'Come [*eens*] take a look!'

The propositional content of (9) would stay the same if *eens* would not have been used and (9) remains grammatically correct without *eens*, making *eens* (as a particle) grammatically non-obligatory. In addition, native speakers cannot precisely put into words what the particle means, which illustrates its untransparency. Words like *eens* are also low-perceptually salient. This means that they are not easily noticed: native speakers do not put stress on the word. (9) is generally pronounced as: [kɔməs kɛikə]. [4] In addition, they are also low-perceptually salient because they are not necessarily needed for interpreting the sentence (although much information is unknowingly missed when the word is not noticed). Finally, particles are polyfunctional, which means that they can do many things in a sentence. For example, *maar* functions as a conjunction in (10) but as a particle in (11):

> (10) *Kim is morgen jarig, maar ze viert haar verjaardag niet.*
> 'Kim's birthday is tomorrow, but she will not celebrate it.'

> (11) *Geef dat boek maar aan mij.*
> 'Hand me [*maar*] that book.'

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[4] Note that some particles are stressed (Hogeweg et al., 2016), which possibly makes these particles more perceptually salient than particles that are not stressed.

The terminology with regard to particles has been unclear and inconsistent. Van der Wouden (2002) describes three different categories for Dutch: *discourse particles, modal particles* and *focus particles.* This distinction into three different categories seems to work well for Dutch, but not necessarily for other languages and it is also possible that a particle can fall into either one of the categories (Van der Wouden, 2002). In the literature, the category *interpersonal discourse particle* is also sometimes distinguished, which seems to be a subset of the category *discourse particle.* The category *discourse particle* is also called *discourse marker,* even though the terms seem to not mean precisely the same. I will later on argue why I will use the term *interpersonal discourse particle* to refer to *eigenlijk.* First, I will give an overview of the characteristics of (interpersonal) discourse particles, which I will compare with the characteristics of modal particles and focus particles.

Discourse particles organise the discourse and indicate how the hearer should respond (Van der Wouden & Caspers, 2010). They can be seen as the lexicalisations of certain pragmatic principles: their meaning can be best captured in relation to speech acts, presuppositions and the relationship between the context, the hearer and the speaker (Van der Wouden & Caspers, 2010). Discourse particles fall outside of the propositional content of the sentence (Fox Tree, 2010; Van der Wouden & Caspers, 2010). Therefore, they are not truth-conditional, which means that both (12) and (13) with and without *hoor* and *kijk* respectively share the same propositional content. Discourse particles generally find themselves at the borders of sentences (see (12) and (13)), and sometimes also in the middle, but then they are being kept separate by commas or intonation patterns (Van der Wouden & Caspers, 2010). Let me illustrate how discourse particles organise the discourse with examples (12) and (13) which contain discourse particles *hoor* and *kijk* respectively:

(12) *Frankrijk is een groot land hoor.*
    'France is a big country [*hoor*].'

(13) *Kijk, nou moet je goed luisteren.*
    '[*Kijk*], you have to listen carefully.'

In (12), *hoor* indicates that the speaker does not expect to hear a denial from the hearer, which steers the discourse in a certain direction. In (11), *kijk* does not mean that the hearer needs to look but it indicates that the hearer should pay extra attention to what is about to be said (Van der Wouden, z.d.). Next to *kijk* and *hoor,* there are also particles that manage the discourse but also 'mark a relation between their host utterance and a discourse-based expectation' (Van Bergen & Hogeweg, in press: 1). These particles, such as *eigenlijk, inderdaad, wel* and *toch* can best be categorised as *interpersonal discourse particles.* This category can be seen as a subset of the category *discourse particles.* While discourse particles manage the discourse regardless of the content of their host utterance, interpersonal discourse particles do relate to the content of the utterance: they mark how a hearer should relate themselves to what the speaker said. For example, see (14):

(14) A: *Jan komt niet.*
'Jan is not coming.'

B: *Jan komt wel!*
'Jan ís [*wel*] coming!'
(Van Bergen & Hogeweg, in press: 4)

In (14), speaker B uses *wel* to disagree with what speaker A said and therefore indicates that they are right about the situation, and expects no denial from speaker A.

Let us now compare the characteristics of discourse particles to modal particles and focus particles. [5] Focus particles such as *zelfs* and *alleen* put emphasis on the part of the sentence to which they belong (Van der Wouden & Caspers, 2010) and modal particles modify the mood of the sentence (Gutzmann, 2016). For example, modal particle *eens* signals that a hearer should not interpret (15) as an order (which could be the most likely interpretation without *eens*) but as a kind request:

(15) *Kom eens hier.*
'Come [*eens*] here.'

In general, we can make a course grained distinction between modal particles, focus particles and discourse particles based on their position in the sentence and on the scope they have over the sentence (Van der Wouden & Caspers, 2010). In general, modal particles find themselves in the middle of sentences, between the verbs (Van der Wouden & Caspers, 2010). Note that in Dutch main clauses, the finite verb (generally) takes second position and other verbs are clustered together somewhere at the end of the clause. Modal particles have scope over the whole sentence. In contrast, focus particles only have scope over that part of the sentence which they belong to (Van der Wouden & Caspers, 2010). In (17) below, *alleen* belongs to Jan. Therefore, focus particles are generally found next to the part of the sentence they belong to (Van der Wouden & Caspers, 2010). As was stated before, discourse particles are usually found at the borders of sentences, or in the middle if they are being kept separate by commas or intonation (Van der Wouden & Caspers, 2010). [6]

More specifically, as we have seen, *eigenlijk* ((interpersonal) discourse particle) and *maar* (modal particle) do not change the propositional content of the sentence (see (2) and (3) and (4) and (5) above). In contrast, focus particles do change what is said: they are truth conditional, but not always. Compare for example (16) and (17) with (18):

(16) Jan had een goede lezing.
'Jan gave a good lecture.'
(Van der Wouden, 2002)

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[5] I will not discuss the category *interpersonal discourse particle* separately in this section, because it is a subset of the category discourse particle and it is therefore also included in this comparison.
[6] Note that interpersonal discourse particles (and especially *eigenlijk*) seem to occur a lot in the middle of sentences as well, even if they are not stressed.

(17) Alleen Jan had een goede lezing.
    '[*alleen*] *Jan gave a good lecture.'*
    'Only Jan gave a good lecture.'
    (Van der Wouden, 2002: 23)

(18) Jan had eigenlijk een goede lezing.
    'Jan gave [eigenlijk] *a good lecture.'*

If we look at the difference between (16) and (17), we can see that the focus particle *alleen* has a truth conditional effect: If 'Jan gave a good lecture' is true, 'Only Jan gave a good lecture' is not necessarily true. Compare this with (18): If 'Jan gave a good lecture' is true, adding *eigenlijk* does not have an effect on the truth conditions: in both (16) and (18) 'Jan gave a good lecture' is true. Interestingly, there are also focus particles that do not change the propositional content, resulting into the fact that there is a difference with regard to whether focus particles change the propositional content within the category. See for example (19). In (19), if 'Jan gave a good lecture' is true, 'Even Jan gave a good lecture' is also true: the truth conditions do not change.

(19) Zelfs Jan had een goede lezing.
    '[*zelfs*] Jan gave a good lecture.'
    'even Jan gave a good lecture.'
    (Van der Wouden, 2002: 23)

As was stated before, the terms *discourse marker* and *discourse particle* are sometimes mixed up, but it seems that they do not mean exactly the same. In general, there is still some debate as of what exactly is a discourse marker or particle and what is not, and there have been many terms throughout the years that have been used to refer to them, such as: *pragmatic marker* (Redeker, 1990, as cited in Fox Tree, 2010), *pragmatic devices* (Stubbe & Holmes, 1995, as cited in Fox Tree, 2010), *discourse connectives* (Schriffin, 1987, as cited in Fox Tree, 2010) and *interjections* (James, 1992; Wilkins, 1992, as cited in Fox Tree, 2010). Nowadays, the term discourse marker is used most frequently (Jucker and Zive, 1998, as cited in Fox Tree, 2010) but the term discourse particle is also used abundantly. What is the difference between the two terms?

      The terminology problem has been discussed by researchers, of which there is a summary in the introduction of 'Approaches to Discourse markers' (Fischer, 2006). The outcome of this discussion is that the term *discourse marker* is the most inclusive, in the sense that it also includes speech routines, pauses, false starts and hesitations, which can perform similar functions as discourse particles. However, it can also be said that the term discourse marker is too broad, since speech routines, pauses, false starts and hesitations are included. Intuitively, even though these words perform the same functions, it seems odd to categorise a stop in the same category as a word (such as *hoor & kijk*) because they seem to be different things. Also consider that even though stops, pauses and hesitations manage discourse, they are not necessarily as difficult to learn for non-native speakers as particles are. Therefore, I

prefer the term *discourse particle* over *discourse marker* because the term *discourse particle* seems to group words that perform the same function together. The term *discourse marker* can be used to refer to words *and* stops: it can be seen as the superset of *discourse particle.* I will call *eigenlijk* an *interpersonal* discourse particle, because *eigenlijk* performs an interpersonal function (Van Bergen et al., 2011), unlike *hoor* and *kijk*, which suggests that *kijk* and *eigenlijk* do not belong in the same category.

This choice is not made by all other researchers that studied *eigenlijk.* Van Bergen et al. (2011) use the term *discourse marker*, but also use the word *particle* to refer to the word. Van Bergen & Bosker (2018) use the term *discourse particle*, while also acknowledging that the category *discourse particle* is a subset of the category *discourse marker*. They also use the term *interpersonal discourse particle.* Finally, Van Bergen & Hogeweg (in press) use the term *discourse particle*, while also stating that *eigenlijk* can be referred to with the term *discourse marker*. As can be seen from these papers, *eigenlijk* is either referred to with the term *discourse marker, discourse particle* or *interpersonal discourse particle.* I choose to use the term *interpersonal discourse particle,* but this does not mean that this is (or should be) the generally accepted option. As this has illustrated, the terminology with regard to particles is unclear and messy.

2.1.2 Particle distribution across languages

Now that is has been made clear what particles do, it should be noted that particles are not evenly distributed across languages. They are abundant in Germanic languages (with the exception of English) and they (especially modal particles) are rare in Romance languages (Hogeweg et al., 2016). Waltereit (2001) reasons that it is hard to imagine that languages that lack particles also lack their pragmatic functions. Waltereit (2001) found evidence for this assumption. He concludes that 'there are other modalization forms carrying out a function analogous to modal particles. Their purpose is essentially to accommodate at minimal linguistic expense the preparatory conditions of the speech act they occur in' (Waltereit, 2001: 1414). In addition, Fox Tree (2010) points out that 'communicators can also comment on primary messages via *juxtapositions* (providing information by the way talk is presented; for example, the speaker indicates a change by abutting "he said that" with "he asked if", *modifications* (changes in the production of speech such as prolonging syllables), and *concomitants* (other information conveyed at the same time as speech, such as facial expressions and manual gestures; Clark, 2004)' (Fox Tree, 2010: 271). It is also possible to use intonation and sentence-final tags (Zimmerman, 2011, as cited in Hogeweg et al., 2016). In sum, languages can use other means to convey what particles, and especially modal particles, convey in other languages. For example, see (20):

(20) Q: Where is John?
     A: He's at home, isn't he?
     (Zimmerman, 2011: 2034, in Hogeweg et al., 2016: 208).

In (20), the tag *isn't he* is used to indicate 'weakened commitment' (Hogeweg et al., 2016: 209), which for example can be conveyed in German by the modal particle *wohl.* Example (20) shows us that sometimes, the same thing is conveyed by means of particles in one language, and by other linguistic means in another language. For the above situation, to my

knowledge, English does not have a particle that can be used to weaken commitment. Even if languages (seem to) have the same particle, it can be the case that they do not (completely) function the same. Let me illustrate this with studies that translated particles from one language to the other.

Mortier & Degand (2009) studied the semantics of Dutch *eigenlijk* and its French counterpart *en fait,* which is seen as the most salient equivalent of *eigenlijk* (Mortier & Degand, 2009). They used a mirror analysis, which is a back-and-forth translation from the source language to the target language, and vice versa. By translating from and back to the target language, we get a better view into the differences between the semantics of *eigenlijk* and *en fait.* Mortier & Degand (2009) found that *en fait* was not only translated into *eigenlijk,* but also into *feitelijk, in werkelijkheid* and *in wezen, in principe.* Sometimes, *en fait* was not translated at all, and sometimes its meaning was paraphrased (see table 1, from Mortier & Degand, 2009: 348). This shows that *eigenlijk* and *en fait* cannot always be directly translated, and that their semantics overlap, but are not identical.

Table 1. Initial mirror analysis for *en fait*

	Frequency	Percent
Eigenlijk	19	29.2
In feite	20	30.8
Feitelijk	3	4.6
In werkelijkheid	5	7.7
In wezen, in principe	2	3.1
Residuals	9	13.8
No translation	7	10.8
Total	65	100

A cross-check analysis (table 2, from Mortier & Degand, 2009: 348) resulted in a somewhat different picture. *Eigenlijk* was not translated in almost 50 % of the cases, and if it was, it was most of the time not translated into *en fait*. This suggests that *eigenlijk* conveys meaning that is not present in *en fait,* and is expressed by other means in French, which indicates that *eigenlijk* conveys meaning that is very particular for the particle (Mortier & Degand, 2009). I will discuss the semantics of *eigenlijk* in the next chapter.

Table 2. Cross-check analysis of *eigenlijk* (Dutch as a source language)

	Frequency	Percent
En fait	12	13.6
Au fond, au juste, au fait ('actually')	7	8.0
Enfin, en fin de compte, finalement, à la fin, après tout ('finally')	8	9.1
En 'réalité, dans la réalité, vraiment, réellement, à vrai dire ('in reality')	8	9.1
Plutôt, même, peut-être ('rather')	8	9.1
Residuals	3	3.4

No translation	42	47.7
Total	88	100

Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen (2004) used the same method as Mortier & Degand (2009). They, among other things, compared *eigenlijk,* English *in fact,* and Swedish *egentligen.* They found a similar picture as Mortier and Degand (2009) for translations of *eigenlijk* into *in fact* and vice versa, and *eigenlijk* into *egentligen,* and vice versa. They point out that 'looking at the lists of translations in Dutch and Swedish, one finds that the multiple translation equivalents in both languages can be grouped into sub-types which focus on a particular meaning aspects and pragmatic meanings' (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2004: 1793). For example, if *in fact* was translated into either Dutch or Swedish, the translation highlighted either 'high degree of certainty, contrast with a previous claim/presupposition, reason for a previous claim or rhetorical strengthening of an argument' (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2004: 1793). The fact that translations sometimes cover one aspect of the source word shows us how a translator deals with the pragmatics of a marker (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen (2004), but it also shows that *eigenlijk, in fact* and *egentligen* do not have identical meanings, even though they may appear similar at first sight.

The results from Mortier & Degand (2009) and Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen (2004) show that even if languages (seem to) have equivalent particles, these particles do not always function and mean the same. There are languages that are closer to each other with regard to particles than English, Swedish, French and Dutch are to each other: the particle inventory of Dutch and German are considered to be very similar (Hogeweg et al., 2016), but even between these two languages, particle use can sometimes differ. For example, out of the five functions of German *doch,* Dutch *toch* shares three of them (Hogeweg et al., 2016). In sum, languages differ with regard to their particle inventory, and some languages can convey meaning that is conveyed by particles in another language by other linguistic means. Even if particle inventories seem to be very similar, there can still be subtle differences between the semantics of the particles between the languages. In the next section, I will describe what this means for language learning of particles. In addition, I will also discuss other factors that influence second language learning of particles.

2.1.3 Particles: a learning problem

Particles have already been described as difficult to learn for non-native speakers in Dutch and German literature since the 1980s (Foolen, 2010). [7] There have been put forward several explanations for why this is the case. Hogeweg et al. (2016) summarises that researchers in general ascribe their difficulty to 'their low perceptual salience, their polyfunctional and untransparent nature and their non-obligatoriness' (Hogeweg et al., 2016: 205). These characteristics were illustrated with example (9) above. In addition, as we have seen, languages differ with regard to their particle inventory, which means that there are in general no equivalent concepts between the native language and the second language of the learner, even if the languages are very similar Hogeweg et al., 2016). However, as was mentioned

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[7] While discussing learning problems, I will use the term *particle* to refer to (interpersonal) discourse particles, modal particles and focus particles, because many studies investigated words from more than one category. I will use the category the study itself used when discussing a specific study.

before, some languages do share the same particles, which is the case for some functions of German *doch* and Dutch *toch* (Hogeweg et al., 2016). In order to illustrate why these above reasons make the learning of particles difficult, I will describe first languages acquisition of words and particles. Thereafter, I will compare first language acquisition of particles with second language learning of particles, which will show why their grammatical non-obligatoriness, untransparency, low perceptual saliency and polyfunctionality make the particles difficult to acquire in a first language but also difficult to learn in a second language. Subsequently, I will discuss to what extent positive and negative language transfer influence second language learning of particles.

2.1.3.1 First language acquisition of particles and second language learning of particles
Children learn the meaning of words if they repeatedly hear a word in a certain context (Hogeweg, 2009). Generally speaking, first language acquisition of words follows the following path: children generally utter their first words between the ages of nine to twelve months. These words refer to things that are relevant to their everyday life, such as words for clothing, food and body parts. Almost all the words, if not all, are concrete content words, rather than abstract or grammatical words (Hardie & Brandt, 2018). After this, children start to produce two words simultaneously around the age of 18 months. After this phase, children start to produce more sentences that contain more and more grammatical elements, until they learn to speak like an adult. After the two word phase, children learn an enormous amount of words up and until the age of 6, which (some estimates say) amounts to 14.000 words (Carey & Bartlett, 1978; as cited in Jaswal & Hansen, 2006). The general trend in this development is that the words that children learn first are concrete nouns, and will only later on be more abstract (Hardie & Brandt, 2018). This can be explained by the saliency of these words: 'upon hearing a word, children will look for a prominent aspect of the context to function as a referent' (Hogeweg, 2009: 121). As was stated before, particles are polyfunctional, non-obligatory, untransparent and low perceptually salient (Hogeweg et al., 2016), which suggests that this 'referent' is not easy to be found, which can result into the fact that they are learned relatively late. This can be backed up with research done by Hogeweg (2009).

Hogeweg (2009) compared adult and child usage of Dutch *wel*. She retrieved data from the Childes corpus, after which she analysed four different usage categories of *wel: correction, contrast, implicit contrast,* and *construct specific*. She found that the weakest use of *wel* (implicit contrast) was used most frequently by adults, and that the two strongest meanings of wel (correction and contrast) were the most frequent in childes speech, but rare in adult's speech. How is *wel* used as a correction, a contrast, and an implicit contrast?

(21) A: *He, dat is jouw schriftje helemaal niet.*
 'He, that is not your notebook.'

 B: *Wel.*
 '[*wel*].'
 'It ís mine.'
 (Hogeweg, 2009: 124)

(22) A: *Die kan niet meer rijden.*
 'That one cannot drive anymore.'

B: *Kan die niet meer rijden?*
 'That one cannot drive anymore?

A: *Die kan wel rijden.*
 'that one can [*wel*] drive.'

B: *Ja, die wel.*
 'Yes, that one [*wel*].
(Hogeweg, 2009: 125)

(23) A: *Sam mag kijken.*
 'Sam may watch.'

B: *Wat zeg je?*
 'What do you say?'

A: *Sam mag wel kijken.*
 'Sam may [*wel*] watch.'

B: *Ja, Sam gaat straks mee zwemmen.*
 'Yes, Sam will swim with you later on.'
 (Hogeweg, 2009: 126)

According to Hogeweg (2009), *wel* in (21) is used to make a correction. B (a child) uses *wel* to indicate that they do not agree with the previously made statement. In (22), *wel* is used to mark a contrast with the other car (that one), and was not used to correct the previous statement. In (23), *wel* marks an implicit contrast: 'Caroline (speaker A) may think that Tomas (speaker B) will not allow Sam (his baby brother) to watch. *Wel* is used to negate this and has a comforting, or reassuring, effect [...] such uses occur when the truth of a proposition was not yet established and can be analysed as 'implicit contrast.'' (Hogeweg, 2009: 126). According to Hogeweg (2009), contrast and correction are the strongest uses of *wel,* because they are the most specific. The weakest meaning (implicit contrast) is the least specific. Hogeweg (2009) found that this weakest meaning is used the most in adult usage. So, if children hear the weakest meanings more frequently than the strongest meanings, why do they use the strongest meanings of *wel* most often? Hogeweg (2009: 136) reasons that weak uses are 'compatible with more situations than strong uses that makes those meanings hard to infer from the context […]. The weaker meanings are […] applicable to more situation but on the other hand more difficult to infer from the context,' which results into the fact that they are learned later than the strongest meanings of *wel* (Hogeweg, 2009). Moving back to particles

in general, the results from Hogeweg (2009) show that because of their low-perceptual saliency, which is related to their untransparency, polyfunctionality and non-obligatoriness, the meaning of particles are difficult to grasp and will therefore be acquired relatively late by native speakers, which suggests that it is also very difficult for non-native speakers to infer from the context what the particles mean and how they should be used. If this is so difficult for non-native speakers, how do they use and learn particles?

The obvious difference between first language acquisition and second language learning is that in the case of second language learning, learners already have acquired ways to express meanings (Fox Tree, 2010), and in the case of particles, ways to express pragmatic functions. What do we know about second language learning of words and particles? When learning words in a second language, at least in the beginning, L2 words are mapped onto L1 concepts or translations (Jiang, 2004). Most of the time, this works perfectly fine because it is reasonable to assume that most words have similar concepts across languages (Jiang, 2004). However, as we have seen, most of the time this is not the case for particles. Two different word learning processes can be distinguished (Jiang, 2004). In the first stage, a learner maps the word and remembers it. In the second stage, learners learn more about the L2 word and about when and how it is used (Jiang, 2004). It seems that both of these processes are difficult when learning particles in a second language: particles are low perceptually salient (Hogeweg et al., 2016), making the more difficult to map and remember, and particles are untransparent, non-obligatory and polyfunctional (Hogeweg et al., 2016), making it hard to infer how they are used. In addition, it is more difficult to learn pragmatic functions (such as particles) in a second language that are expressed otherwise in your native language than learning more concrete words. As Sykes & Cohen put it (2018: 382): 'Learners must learn words and structures, but must also develop the ability to understand the ways in which their intentions may, or may not, be realized in any given interaction, regardless of whether the grammar is correct'. Learners will not always notice a discrepancy between the word in the L1 and in the L2 (Jiang, 2004). However, if they do, they still need to learn how to use the L2 word correctly. In the case of particles, it is reasonable to assume that (low to medium proficient) non-native speakers do not notice the particle, and even if they notice it, they still need to notice that there is a discrepancy between the particle in the L1 in the L2.

In the above section, we saw that particles are difficult to acquire in a first language because of their non-obligatoriness, their low-perceptual saliency, their untransparency and their polyfunctionality (Hogeweg et al., 2016). In addition, it was explained that particles are even more difficult to learn in a second language, because particles generally differ across languages (Hogeweg et al., 2016), which means that the learner should first notice the particle and then figure out how the particle in the L2 should be used. As we also saw, languages differ with regard to particles (Hogeweg et al., 2016), but sometimes, particles do perform a similar function across languages, which raises the question whether particles are easier to learn if the particles also function the same in someone's native language.

2.1.3.2 The influence of the L1 on the L2: positive and negative language transfer
As was stated before, there are in general no similar concepts between languages with regard to particles. However, there are also languages of which the particle inventory is very similar, such as Dutch and German (Hogeweg et al., 2016). This suggests that positive language

transfer could occur: if speakers have a similar concept in the L1, they could transfer this to their L2, resulting into correct L2-usage (Ellis, 1994, as cited in Liu, 2013). However, if speakers transfer a concept from their L1 to their L2 which is not similar, the transferred element could be used incorrectly in the L2 (negative transfer) (Ellis, 1994, as cited in Liu, 2013). What can we say about the influence of the L1 on the L2 with regard to particles?

Hogeweg et al. (2016) investigated whether positive transfer occurred in an investigation in which they asked native speakers of Dutch and native speakers of a language other than Dutch to fill in a German cloze test. Their research concerned the German particle *doch,* which has a Dutch cognate, *toch.* Not all functions of German *doch* overlap with Dutch *toch,* but some functions do. It was assumed that the particle inventory of any language other than Dutch would be less similar than the particle inventory of Dutch is to the German particle inventory. Therefore, it was expected that native speakers of Dutch would perform better (in general) than speakers of a language other than Dutch. It was also hypothesised that Dutch speakers would especially perform better than native speakers of a language other than Dutch in instances in which the functions of *doch* and *toch* overlapped. They found that native speakers of Dutch overall performed better than speakers of a language other than Dutch, which suggests that it is beneficial to have similar particles in your mother tongue. However, they did not find that it was extra beneficial to have a precise overlap in form and meaning (Hogeweg et al., 2016). They conclude that 'the difference in performance appears to be related to the differences in the semantic interrelationships among the different particles in each language, which does not necessarily yield the same (cognate) particle to become optimal in the two languages across contexts.' (Hogeweg et al., 2016: 224). Wenzel (2002) also found that positive transfer occurred in a study that also concerned Dutch L1 speakers of German. However, in contrast to Hogeweg et al. (2016), she found that the native speakers of Dutch only used *wohl* in instances in which the functions overlapped with *wel.* Note that *wohl* and *wel* are also cognates. This might be the case because Wenzel (2002) used a semi-spontaneous interview, in which the production of the participants was measured. In contrast, Hogeweg et al. (2016) used a cloze test, in which participants could choose between particles, making the correct particle readily available to them. Therefore, it could have been the case that the participants from the Wenzel (2002) study were able to understand and use the particle *wohl* in its other functions, but that they did not show this in their speech production. Another study that shows that transfer occurs was done by Liu (2013). Liu (2013) studied how L1 Mandarin Chinese speakers of English used English discourse markers by means of sociolinguistic interviews. She found that the three Chinese speakers influenced the use of English *yeah/yes, I think & ah* in a negative way: Chinese L1 speakers used these English markers in situations in which English native speakers did not use them. In addition, Liu (2013) also found that many English discourse markers were used more frequently by native speakers of English than by Chinese L1 speakers of English, but that some markers were used more by Chinese L1 speakers. Liu (2013) argues that transfer caused the non-native speakers to overuse those English markers in situations in which, according to native English standards, it was not appropriate.

As the above studies show, it seems that the L1 can have either a positive or negative influence on particle use in the second language. As we also saw, Liu (2013) found that non-

native speakers used some particles less frequently but others more frequently than English L1 speakers. This has been found by other authors, which I will illustrate below.

Fung and Carter (2007) investigated whether the use of discourse markers differed between native and non-native speakers of English by comparing native and non-native speaker corpora. They found that even though non-native speakers did use discourse markers, they used them less frequently than native speakers, and native speakers used them 'for a wider variety of pragmatic functions' Fung and Carter, 2007: 410). In addition, Buysse (2012) compared the use of the English marker *so* between highly proficient L1 Dutch foreign language learners of English and native speakers of English by means of a corpus study. She found that the learners used *so* more frequently than the native speakers. 'This may be explained by extensive exposure to *so* in settings familiar to foreign language learners, as well as to an avoidance strategy, whereby the language learners steer clear of markers associated with informality (such as *you know* and *I mean*) and use *so* instead for functions that they have in common' (Buysse, 2012: 1779). The non-native speakers in the study did use all ten functions of *so*.

Finally, it seems that language level als has an influence on second language particle use. Tsai and Chu (2015) investigated whether the use of discourse markers correlates with second language fluency, which was already pointed out by previous research (Sankoff et al.,1997; Liao 2009; Takahashi 2010, as cited in Tsai and Chu, 2015). Tsai and Chu (2015) compared spoken data from Chinese L2 speakers who lived in a Chinese speaking environment and spoken data from Chinese L2 speakers who did not live in a Chinese speaking environment. Both groups were also compared with native speakers. Results were that the L2 speakers that lived in a Chinese speaking country were more fluent and used more discourse markers than the L2 speakers that did not live in a Chinese speaking country, which means that their hypothesis that fluency positively correlates with accurate L2 particle use was confirmed.

2.2 Dutch eigenlijk

In the introduction, we saw that native speakers could in general not describe what *eigenlijk* means, and in the previous chapter we saw that particles such as *eigenlijk* are very difficult to learn for non-native speakers. If we want to teach *eigenlijk* explicitly to non-native speakers, we need to know precisely what it means. Therefore, I will discuss four semantic analyses of *eigenlijk,* its German cognate and its French counterpart *en fait,* after which I will explain why I will use the semantic analysis of Van Bergen et al. (2011) as a basis to investigate whether non-native speakers use *eigenlijk* differently than native speakers.

2.2.1 Semantic analyses of German *eigentlich,* Dutch *eigenlijk* and French *en fait*

As was stated before, Mortier and Degand (2009) used a combined corpus approach in which they translated *eigenlijk* and *en fait* back and forth. In their study, they also did a semantic analysis of *eigenlijk* and *en fait* based on this mirror analysis. According to them, *eigenlijk* and *en fait* are polysemous markers that can be best described as adversatives (Mortier & Degand, 2009). Their basic meanings find themselves 'at the intersection of "opposition" and "reformulation" […] from which other meanings such as "causality", "counterexpectation", "enhancement" and "attenuation" can be inferred' (Mortier & Degand, 2009: 338). In other words: they argue that *eigenlijk* and *en fait* have several meanings, dependent on the context. To illustrate:

(24) *Wanneer de last niet dichter bij het lichaam kan gebracht worden, moet je trachten het lichaam, eigenlijk het lichaamszwaartepunt, dichter bij de last te brengen.*
'When the burden cannot be brought any closer to the body, one should try to bring the body, [*eigenlijk*] the bodily centre of gravity, closer to the burden.'
(Mortier & Degand, 2009: 356)

(25) *Vrouwen hebben "aan de wieg van onze beschaving" gestaan. Vrouwen hebben eigenlijk alles van betekenis uitgevonden.*
'Women have always been at the birthplace of our civilization. Women have [*eigenlijk*] invented everything of consequence.'
(Mortier & Degand, 2009: 357)

According to Mortier & Degand (2009), *eigenlijk* in (24) is used as reformulation: 'the body' is reformulated as 'the bodily centre of gravity' and in (25), *eigenlijk* is used as 'enhancement' and 'attenuation' which means that *eigenlijk* is used to 'shift the focus on the information from less to more important' (Mortier & Degand, 2009: 357). Therefore, in (25), *eigenlijk* conveys that what women have invented is more important. In addition, they argue that *eigenlijk* cannot express adversativity on its own, but that it needs other markers to do this, such as *maar* (but): '*eigenlijk* and *en fait* have a merely expressing function, enhancing or attenuating (a part) of p or q, or an existing opposition' (Mortier & Degand, 2009: 361).

Schmitz and Schröder (2004) propose a different analysis for German *eigentlich.* According to them, *eigentlich* is not truth-conditional and it 'is always used to block

inferences or implicatures that the hearer otherwise might draw from the utterance and some default rule' (Schmitz and Schröder, 2004: 5). Consider (26):

(26) A: I want to go swimming. Will you come with me?

    B1: *Ich muss meinen Artikel fertig schreiben.*
       'I have to finish my paper.'

    B2: *Eigentlich muss ich meinen Artikel fertig schreiben.*
       '[*Eigentlich*] I have to finish my paper.'
    (Schmitz and Schröder, 2004: 5)

According to Schmitz and Schröder (2004), in (26), after hearing B1, A will think that B1 will not go along to swim. After hearing B2, 'the default inference that B presumably will not go swimming cannot be drawn.' (Schmitz and Schröder, 2004: 5), In other words, according to Schmitz and Schröder (2004), *eigentlich* is used to block implicatures that otherwise arise from the utterance and therefore, because of *eigentlich* in B2, the default inference that someone will not go along to swim if someone still has to finish a paper is blocked.

    Schmitz (2008) investigated whether native speakers of German thought the default inference was blocked in an experiment in which they had to interpret whether the hearer of B1 and B2 in (27) will not, presumably will not, presumably will, or will go out for lunch:

(27) A: *Kommst Du mit Essen?*
       'Shall we go out for lunch?'

    B1: *Ich muss meinen Artikel fertig schreiben.*
       'I have to finish my paper.'

    B2: *Eigentlich muss ich meinen Artikel fertig schreiben.*
       ' *Eigentlich* I have to finish my paper.'
    (Schmitz, 2008: 568)

After hearing B1, almost all participants thought that B1 would not go out for lunch. However, after hearing B2, more than 2/3 of the participants thought that the speaker of B2 *presumably* will go along for lunch (Schmitz, 2008). According to Schmitz and Schröder (2004), this means that *eigentlich* blocks the default conclusion that someone will not go out for lunch if someone still has to finish a paper (Schmitz, 2008). However, Schmitz (2008) slightly altered his previous account of *eigentlich* and proposes that *eigentlich* does not block this default conclusion, but rather blocks the modal strengthening. This can be illustrated with with (27). After encountering B1, 40.5 % of the participants decided that B1 presumably would not go and 57.1 % decided that B1 will not go out for lunch (Schmitz, 2008). According to Schmitz (2008), almost all participants thought that B1 would not go out for lunch (negative answer): 'all subjects with a negative answer drew the default conclusion that

B will presumably go out for lunch […]. More than half of these subjects also performed an operation of meaning enrichment by transforming this conclusion from *presumably ¬q to ¬q'* (Schmitz, 2008: 574). This operation is called *modal strengthening* (Schmitz, 2008). Turning back to B2 in (27), 2/3 of the participants thought that B2 presumably will go out for lunch. According to Schmitz (2008: 575) 'like in our old account (Schmitz and Schröder, 2004), the positive expectation is explained as a conversational implicature: B blocks the modal strengthening of the default conclusion that he will presumably not go out for lunch. Thus, he gives only a vague answer to A's question. There must be a reason for blocking this expectation that he will in fact not go out for lunch. The best reason for blocking this expectation is that it is false or at least not certain; it must still be possible that B *will* go out for lunch.' If B is unsure, there must be other competing factors, which can be expected to occur in a subsequent utterance. If 'a cooperative speakers says that (*eigentlich*) he has to finish his paper, then *the recipient* might assume that presumably the speaker will not go out for lunch. It need not be the case that also the speaker makes this assumption; he might still have good reasons for going' (Schmitz, 2008: 575).

Schmitz & Schröder (2004) called *eigentlich* context independent. However, according to Schmitz (2008) *eigentlich* appears to be context dependent, because modal strengthening 'only applied to contextually relevant conclusions' (Schmitz, 2004: 578). Let me illustrate this with (28):

(28) *Helmut Eisele ist eigentlich Mathematiker. Er arbeitet als Koch.*
  'Helmut Eisele is [*eigentlich*] a mathematician. He is working as a cook.'
  (Schmitz, 2008: 578)

According to the account of Schmitz and Schröder (2004), all default inferences are blocked. This means that the assumption that Helmut is good at math is also blocked (Schmitz, 2008). According to the new account (Schmitz, 2008), modal strengthening 'only applied to contextually relevant conclusions' (Schmitz, 2008: 578), which explains why *eigentlich* is used to stop the modal strengthening that Helmut works as a mathematician, making it context dependent.

Finally, Eckardt (2009) also analysed the German cognate *eigentlich*. She dealt with the semantics of the stressed adjectival use, which also indirectly deals with the adverbial use (which slightly differs from the adjectival use). According to her, adjectival '*eigentlich* generally leads from a property concept C to two further semantic objects: the 'nominal' notion of 'being a C' as contrasted to the phenomenological notion of 'being a C'' (Eckardt, 2009: 86). She refers to the nominal notion with Nom(C), and the phenomenological notion with Phän(C). Nom(C) refers to what is really C, and Phän refers to what looks like, or has typical properties of C but is not really C (Eckardt, 2009). Eckardt (2009) argues that adjectival *eigentlich* can both function as Nom(C) and Phän(C). This is illustrated with (29) and (30):

(29) *Frau Meier leitet die Geschäfte von Tag zu Tag. Die eigentliche Chefin ist Frau Schmitz.*
'Mrs. Meier leads the business from day to day. The *eigentliche* boss is Mrs. Schmitz.'

(30) *Frau Schmitz steht der Firma Offiziell vor. Die eigentliche Chefin ist aber unsere Sekretärin, Frau Meier.*
'Mrs. Schmitz is the official leader of the company, the true boss, however, is our secretary Mrs. Meier.'

In (29), Mrs. Schmitz is the boss in the nominal sense. This means that she is the boss by name. Therefore, in (29), *eigentlich* is used in the nominal sense. In addition, in (29), *Mrs. Meier* is the boss in the phenomenological sense: she is not the boss by name, but does everything that a boss should do: leading the business. In (30), Nom (C) and Phän (C) are switched: *eigentlich* is used in the phenomenological sense: Mrs. Meier is the person who runs the business from day to day. Mrs. Schmitz is the official boss by name. In sum, Eckardt (2009) argues that adjectival *eigentlich* relates 'a property or proposition C to two derived cognitive objects: NOM (C), the nominal sense of C and PHÄN(C), the conjunction of properties (propositions) that together would offer phenomenological evidence for a case of C-hood' (Eckardt, 2009: 105-106).

2.2.2 The semantics of Dutch *eigenlijk*
In the previous section, I described three accounts of German *eigentlich* (Schmitz & Schröder, 2004; Schmitz, 2008; Eckardt, 2009) and one account of Dutch *eigenlijk* and French *en fait* (Mortier and Degand, 2009). I will now turn to the semantic analysis of *eigenlijk* by Van Bergen et al. (2011). In addition, I will argue why it seems that the analysis by Van Bergen et al. (2011) seems to hold true for Dutch. [8]

Van Bergen et al. (2011) give the following definition of *eigenlijk*:

'*Eigenlijk* marks a proposition as unexpected to the hearer, given the speaker's estimation of the hearer's belief state. By using *eigenlijk*, then, the speaker acknowledges that there is an alternative expectation or interpretation of reality that is more likely from the perspective of the hearer (as estimated by the speaker).'
(Van Bergen et al., 2011: 3881)

In other words, *eigenlijk* is used by a speaker if they expect that the hearer will anticipate the belief state of the speaker to be different with respect to the proposition expressed by the utterance containing *eigenlijk*. This is illustrated in figure 1. According to Van Bergen et al. (2011), the speaker knows more than the hearer, and is aware of the discourse representation

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[8] Note that German *eigentlich* is a cognate of Dutch *eigenlijk* (Van Bergen et al., 2011), which makes it possible that the accounts of German *eigentlich* also hold true for Dutch *eigenlijk*. It could be the case that the analysis from Van Bergen et al. (2011) only holds true for Dutch and not for German *eigentlich* or another translation of *eigenlijk*.
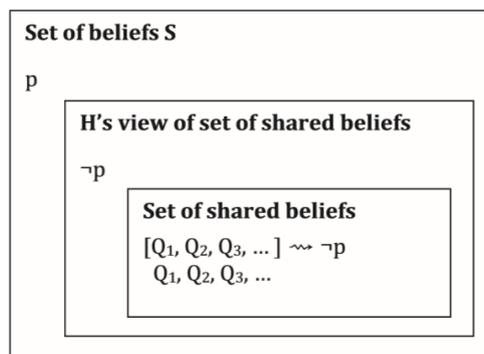
Set of beliefs S

p

  H's view of set of shared beliefs

  ¬p

    Set of shared beliefs
    $[Q_1, Q_2, Q_3, ...] \leadsto \lnot p$
    $Q_1, Q_2, Q_3, ...$

Figure 1, from van Bergen et al. (2011: 3382)

of the hearer. 'The outmost box represents the belief state of the speaker S when uttering [*eigenlijk* p]' (van Bergen et al., 2011: 3382). The middle box represents the hearer's belief state. This middle box is embedded in the outmost box, which means that the speaker is aware of the belief state of the hearer (as estimated by the speaker). 'The third box is double embedded: it contains the propositions which *according to S* are shared beliefs, and consequently are part of H's belief state as well'(van Bergen et al., 2011: 3382). Since *eigenlijk* takes the belief state of the hearer into account, it performs an interpersonal function and it can therefore be categorised as an interpersonal discourse particle. Key components of this definition is that by using *eigenlijk,* the speaker infers from the context what they think the hearer expects to hear. In addition, the speaker uses *eigenlijk* when they anticipate the hearer to expect something else, which means that *eigenlijk* is only used if there is a contrast with the contextually raised expectation. Finally, *eigenlijk* can also be used to safe face. The speaker who uses *eigenlijk* uses it after having analysed the discourse model of the hearer. This taking into account of the discourse model of the hearer creates a softening or face saving effect. For example, consider (31):

(31) *Jaap heeft de muur paars geschilderd en laat de muur zien aan zijn vrouw Eva.*
    'Jaap painted the wall purple and shows the wall to his wife Eva.'

  Jaap zegt: Ik heb de muur in je lievelingskleur geschilderd, mooi hè!
  'Jaap says: I painted the wall in your favourite colour, beautiful, right!'

A: *Eva zegt: Ik vind de muur eigenlijk zo niet mooi.*
  Eva says: I [*eigenlijk*] do not like the wall this way.'

B: *Eva zegt: Ik vind de muur zo niet mooi.*
  'Eva says: I do not like the wall this way.'

In this situation, Eva expects that Jaap anticipates that she likes a purple wall, because purple is her favourite colour. However, this is not the case, and Eva marks this discrepancy between that what is expected and that what is true with *eigenlijk.* If Eva would have used (31B), she would have stated that she does not like the wall, which is also conveyed in (31A). However, *eigenlijk* in (31A) creates a softening effect, because *Eva* took the discourse representation of

Jaap into account. Let us now take a closer look at these three components of *eigenlijk* in more detail.

2.2.2.1 Eigenlijk needs context

According to Van Bergen et al., (2011), the speaker can infer from the context what they think the hearer can expect. Let us see whether this holds true when looking back at (1), repeated here as (32):

> (32) *Morgen is er weer een dag, met 27 in plaats van 28 toegewijde landen. Vanavond*
> *wordt je vlag hier voor de deur gestreken, maar eigenlijk verandert er niets.*
> 'Tomorrow will be another day, with 27 instead of 28 devoted countries. We will
> surrender ourselves tonight, but nothing [*eigenlijk*] changes.'
> (Schmidt, 2020)

By using *eigenlijk,* the speaker conveys they are aware of the belief state of the hearer (in this case, the UK is the imagined addressee), and the speaker also conveys that what they say is not expected by the hearer. Why does the speaker think that what they said is not expected by the hearer? We read in the letter that the UK wants to leave the EU:

> (33) *Bijna een halve eeuw ben je mij toegewijd geweest* […] *Je wilde zo graag, weet je*
> *nog? Verliefd tot over je oren. En kijk nu eens naar je.*
> 'You have been committed to me for almost half a century […] You wanted it so
> badly, remember? You were madly in love. And look at you now'.
> (Schmidt, 2020)

We also read that the UK wants to leave because it disagrees with EU policy, and wants to decide things for itself. Therefore, the UK expects things to be different after it has left:

> (34) *En hoe verdrietig ik jaar in jaar uit niet werd van die onzinverhalen in jouw kranten,*
> *over bananen die zogenaamd niet krom mochten zijn van mij, of Turkije dat*
> *zogenaamd morgen tot mij toetreedt.*
> 'And how sad you made me year in year out because of the nonsense stories in your
> papers, about bananas that I supposedly did not allow to be curved, or Turkey that
> supposedly will join me tomorrow.'
> (Schmidt, 2020)

So, we can derive from the context that the speaker indeed anticipates that the UK expects the situation to change after the UK has left the EU, which means that the speaker analysed the discourse model of the UK and used *eigenlijk* to mark a discrepancy between their own belief state and the belief state of the UK, which suggests that *eigenlijk* was used based on this context. However, the use of *eigenlijk* in (32) can also be justified without the information in the letter, if the EU for example already knew that the UK wants to leave and expects things to be different after they have left. It seems that is indeed possible to base this contextually raised expectation on many aspects of the discourse: Van Bergen & Bosker (2018) state that *eigenlijk* is extremely polyfunctional. This means that it 'can express multiple relations with linguistic, structural, cognitive and/ or social characteristics of the discourse' (Van Bergen &

Bosker, 2018: 192). Van Bergen & Bosker (2018) illustrate their polyfunctionality by stating that expectations can be based on many discourse aspects, such as world knowledge, the visual context, the social context and the linguistic context: which means that they can also 'apply to various levels of information expressed in their host utterance'. (Van Bergen & Bosker, 2018: 193). In other words: *eigenlijk* marks a contrast with a contextually raised expectation and this expectation can be derived from what was said before but can also be derived from many other discourse aspects, for example, see (35):

(35) *Q: Mag ik een stukje kommer?*
    'Can I have a piece of cumber?'

    A: Het is eigenlijk 'komkommer.'
     'It is [*eigenlijk*] 'cucumber'.'
    (Van Bergen & Bosker, 2018: 192)

Imagine that a child utters the question in (35Q) and that the mother answers with (35A). The mother uses *eigenlijk* to indicate that she understands in which way the child thinks the word cucumber is pronounced, based on the utterance of the child. She can then use *eigenlijk* to mark how *komkommer* 'cucumber' should be pronounced. In this situation, the mother used *eigenlijk* to mark a contrast between her linguistic knowledge of how the word cucumber is pronounced and the way her child pronounced cucumber (Van Bergen & Bosker, 2018). As we saw, the contextually raised expectation can be based on many discourse aspects. One final question that needs to be addressed is: how much information does the context have to give in order to elicit the use of *eigenlijk*?
    Consider (36), (37), (38) and (39):

(36) *Ik vind op vakantie gaan eigenlijk niet leuk.*
    'I do not [*eigenlijk*] like going on vacation'.

(37) *Ik werk in een sportschool, maar ik vind het zelf eigenlijk helemaal niet leuk om te sporten.*
    'I work at a gym, but I [*eigenlijk*] do not like working out myself'.

(38) *Ik wil eigenlijk een flesje water kopen.*
    'I [*eigenlijk*] want to buy a bottle of water'.

(39) *Ik wil een flesje water kopen.*
    'I want to buy a bottle of water'.

It is generally assumed that people like going on vacation. Therefore, the speaker of (36) uses *eigenlijk* because they understand that people expect them to like going on vacation, when in reality this is not the case. The usage of *eigenlijk* in (37) can be justified because we assume that people who work at a gym like to work out as well. If the speaker of (37) does not like working out but does work at a gym, they can use *eigenlijk* to indicate that his utterance is in contrast with what is expected by the hearer. It becomes impossible to explain why one would

utter (38) instead of (39) because there is no context. However, (38) could be perfectly felicitous if presented in a suitable context. For example, imagine a situation in which two friends always buy a bottle of soda every Friday, but this time, one of the friends wants to buy a bottle of water, which would justify the use of *eigenlijk*. This shows us that there should be a context: we do not know why *eigenlijk* is used in (38) because the context is not presented to us, but there are many discourse aspects of which a contextually raised expectation can be derived from. Even then, it is always up to the speaker whether they think the hearer will expect differently (Van Bergen et al., 2011). Expecting too much or too less of the hearer can cause awkward situations. If a speaker, for example, utters (40) to an adult, the speaker might indicate that they assume that the hearer cannot perform basic calculations. This can sound rude or inconsiderate (van Bergen & Bosker, 2018). It is, however, also possible to be your own hearer. Consider a situation in which you mistakenly write down '6 + 6 = 11, but then, after you notice your mistake, you utter (40). Note that, if non-native speakers do not know how to use *eigenlijk,* there is a greater risk of either accidently assuming too much or too less of their hearer.

(40) *'6 + 6 is eigenlijk 12'.*
   6 + 6 is [*eigenlijk*] 12'.

2.2.2.2 Eigenlijk and contrast
As we have seen, *eigenlijk* is used in response to a context. However, *eigenlijk* is only used when what is said by the speaker contrasts with what is contextually expected (Van Bergen et al., 2011). Consider (41):

(41) *Han heeft net een belangrijke voetbalwedstrijd verloren.*
   'Han just lost an important football match.'

   Marieke zegt: O nee, het gaat zeker niet goed met je?
   'Marieke says: O no, you must not be feeling well?'

   A: *Hans zegt: Ik ben heel erg teleurgesteld!*
   'Hans says: I feel very disappointed!

   B: *Hans zegt: Ik ben eigenlijk heel erg teleurgesteld!*
   'Hans says: I feel [*eigenlijk*] very disappointed!'

In (41), we see that Marieke thinks that Hans does not feel well ('O no, you must not be feeling well?). In this situation, both (41A) and (41B) match with this expectation: Hans is very disappointed. Therefore, *eigenlijk* should not be used, and native speakers would say that (41A) only fits this context. In the same sense, *eigenlijk* should be used in (42):

(42) *Anton en Steven lopen elke lunchpauze samen een blokje om.*
'Anton and Steven go for a walk every lunchbreak together.'

Steven zegt: Ben je klaar om te gaan, Anton?
'Steven says: Are you ready to go, Anton?'

A: *Anton zegt: Ik heb eigenlijk geen zin vandaag.*
Anton says: I [*eigenlijk*] do not feel like going today.

B: *Anton zegt: Ik heb geen zin vandaag.*
Anton says: I do not feel like going today.

(42A) fits this situation best, because Anton can use *eigenlijk* to mark a contrast with Steven's expectation that Anton will go along for a walk.

Van Bergen et al. (2011) argue that in Dutch, the context to which *eigenlijk* responds needs to be contrastive enough. According to Van Bergen et al. (2011), (43) is pragmatically awkward:

(43) *#Peter is eigenlijk een aardige vent.*
'Peter is [*eigenlijk*] a nice guy.'
(Van Bergen et al., 2011: 3880)

Van Bergen et al. (2011: 3888) argue that 'the (gradable) adjective *nice* is too neutral or vague to generate a set of contrastive alternatives.' However, to me it seems that (43) is not pragmatically awkward. The most obvious inference could be that a group of friends always thought that Peter was not nice, after which someone of that group got to know Peter and found out that Peter is in fact a nice guy, which would justify an utterance such as (43). In addition, *eigenlijk* is used in natural speech in front of the adjective *aardig* 'nice':

(44) 'Stella doet dat nooit! Want ze weet dat ik eigenlijk aardig ben…;-)
'*Stella never does that! She knows that I am* [*eigenlijk*] nice…;-)' (@*username*, 9 juli 2017).

I would argue that Van Bergen et al. (2011) are right when they say that *eigenlijk* contrasts with a contextually raised expectation and that it is not immediately clear what a vague (gradable) adjective contrasts with. However, there can still be found a contrast in instances such as (43) and (44), even if this contrast might not be clear at first sight. It is up to the speaker to determine whether they think there is a contrastive context.

2.2.2.3 Eigenlijk and saving face
According to van Bergen et al. (2011), a speaker who utters *eigenlijk* takes the discourse model of the hearer into account. They sketch the following situation: A person who is named Erik but is called Rik by everyone can inform the hearers that is name is not *Rik* by uttering (45):

(45) *Ik heet geen Rik.*
     'My name is not Rik.'

According to van Bergen et al. (2011), the speaker can be more informative by uttering (46), which already entails that his name is not Rik:

(46) *Ik heet Erik.*
     'My name is Erik.'

(47) *Ik heet eigenlijk Erik.*
     'My name is [*eigenlijk*] Erik.'

As stated before, discourse particles such as *eigenlijk* are not part of the propositional content of the utterance (Fox Tree, 2010), which means that both (46) and (47) express 'my name is Erik'. 'Adding *eigenlijk* does not change the fact that the speaker denies the unintended inference that he is not called Rik . By adding *eigenlijk* in (47)*,* the speaker acknowledges the plausibility of this inference' which 'yields a softening tone' (Van Bergen et al, 2011: 3882).

      This softening tone can be used to safe face. How is *eigenlijk* used to save face? Van Bergen & Hogeweg (in press) analysed Dutch discourse particles *toch, wel* and *eigenlijk,* that all express a contrast between a discourse based expectation but are not interchangeable. They defined two intersubjective properties with which the semantic difference between these three particles could be pointed out: 'Whether the particle marks an opposition between speaker and addressee beliefs about the discourse and […] whether the particle relates to the addressee's view about the set of mutually shared belief about the discourse (Van Bergen & Hogeweg, in press: 6). After this, they looked at these three particles from a socio-pragmatic perspective and they refer to politeness theory, as established by Brown and Levinson (1987). Politeness theory assumes that interlocutors want to be polite and will therefore respect each other's social identity, which they call 'face'. Speakers can try to be polite by trying to avoid or employ methods to soften face-threatening acts. Brown and Levinson (1987) defined parameters which describe whether, and to which extent, face-saving is needed (Van Bergen & Hogeweg , in press). Van Bergen & Hogeweg (in press: 7) summarised these parameters as following:

'(1) the social distance between interlocutors, i.e., speakers tend to be more polite to strangers than to peers; (2) the relative power between interlocutors, i.e., speakers ten to be more polite to their social superiors and less to their social inferiors; and (3) the intrinsic weightiness of act imposition, i.e., speakers tend to choose more polite forms for more imposing acts.'

Van Bergen and Hogeweg (in press) did a corpus study in which they investigated how *eigenlijk, wel* and *toch* can be used to save face. They compared the occurrences of *eigenlijk, wel* and *toch* in situations in which relative power and social distance differed. They found that *eigenlijk* and *toch* , but not *wel,* typically occurred in situations in which the social distance was large. This suggests that *eigenlijk* and *toch* are indeed used to soften the face-threatening act of expressing contrast and that *wel* does not, since *wel* was used in situation in which expressing contrast is not as face-threatening as it is in situations with a larger social

distance (Van Bergen & Hogeweg, in press). Van Bergen and Hogeweg (in press) also found that *eigenlijk* and *wel* occur in conversations in which there is a power difference between the interlocutors. *Eigenlijk* was preferred in situations in which the speaker had less power than the hearer, and for *wel* this was the other way around (Van Bergen & Hogeweg, in press). Note that these particles can be and are indeed used in different situations, but that the above describes the default situation. In addition, they point out that what counts as polite is contextually determined and that they therefore do not wish to claim that every usage of these particles is meant to be polite (Van Bergen & Hogeweg, in press). In addition, words like *toch, eigenlijk* and *wel* can consciously be used to achieve a certain communicative goal (Van Bergen & Hogeweg, in press).

In sum, the subtle differences in the semantic meaning of *eigenlijk, toch* and *wel* correspond to different communicative situations and 'general pragmatic principles have conventionalized into distinct lexical expressions when expressing contrastive discourse relations in Dutch' (Van Bergen & Hogeweg, in press: 18). After a speaker has noticed a mismatch between his discourse model and the interlocutor's discourse model, the speaker has to decide whether *toch, eigenlijk* or *wel* is most appropriate. The speaker can do this by assessing 'the potential threateningness of expressing misalignment between discourse models to their addressee's face' (Van Bergen & Hogeweg, in press: 19). Thus, *eigenlijk* is indeed used to save face, which shows that the speaker takes the belief state of the hearer into account.

2.2.2.4. Empirical evidence for the account of eigenlijk by Van Bergen et al. (2011)
In the previous section, we have seen that *eigenlijk* marks a contrast with a contextually raised expectation and that *eigenlijk* takes the discourse model of the hearer into account (Van Bergen et al., 2011). The account of *eigenlijk* by Van Bergen et al. (2011) differs from the accounts of German *eigentlich* by Schmitz & Schröder (2004), Schmitz (2008) and Eckardt (2009), and it also differs from the account of *en fait* and *eigenlijk* by Mortier and Degand (2009). I will first illustrate with empirical evidence that the account Van Bergen et al. (2011) give for Dutch *eigenlijk* can be backed up. In addition, I will discuss why I assume that the account of Van Bergen et al. (2011) most accurately describes the semantics of Dutch *eigenlijk*.

Van Bergen et al. (2011) conducted an online experiment to find out whether *eigenlijk* marks a contrast with a contextually raised expectation. They expect that the given context (contrastive/ not contrastive) influences the use of *eigenlijk*. 53 native speakers of Dutch judged whether they preferred the target sentence with or without *eigenlijk* in a given context in 16 experimental items. See (48) and (49):

(48) *Je bent een weekendje naar Parijs geweest met je verkering om jullie 5-jarig jubileum te vieren. Als jullie terug zijn vraagt je beste vriend(in): hoe was het? Je zegt:*
'Last weekend you made a trip to Paris with your lover to celebrate your 5 year anniversary. When you return, your best friend asks: How was it? You say:

Het was heel gezellig. _____Het was eigenlijk heel gezellig

'It was very nice.'   'It was [*eigenlijk*] very nice.'

(Van Bergen et al., 2011: 3886, non-contrastive condition)

(49) *Je hebt dit weekend met je ex de inboedel verdeeld. Als je weer thuis bent vraagt je*
beste vriend(in): Hoe was het? Je zegt:

'Last weekend you went to your ex-girlfriend to distribute the furniture. When you
return, your best friend asks: How was it? You say:'

Het was heel gezellig. _____Het was eigenlijk heel gezellig

'It was very nice.'   'It was [*eigenlijk*] very nice.'

(Van Bergen et al., 2016: 3886, contrastive condition)

Participants were told to move the slider (the range is indicated with the stripe in (48) and
(49)) towards the sentence they preferred in the given context. If they did not prefer one target
answer over the other, they could leave the slider in the middle and if they only partly
preferred one sentence over the other, they could slightly move the slider towards the
preferred target answer. They recoded the values so that a score of 0 meant 0 preference for a
sentence containing *eigenlijk,* 100 meant a complete preference for a sentence with *eigenlijk*
and 50 meant no preference for *eigenlijk* or no *eigenlijk.* Results show that in the contrastive
context, participants preferred *eigenlijk* (mean 66.4, SD 16.1) and in non-contrastive context,
participants did not prefer *eigenlijk* (mean 18.8, SD 12.8). Van Bergen et al. (2011) conclude
that a contrastive context indeed elicits the use of *eigenlijk,* which gives evidence for their
semantic account for Dutch *eigenlijk.*

Let me now turn back to the analyses of Schmitz & Schröder (2004), Schmitz (2008),
Eckardt (2009) and Mortier and Degand (2009). Mortier and Degand (2009) proposed that
eigenlijk and *en fait* are polysemous markers and that their meaning can be best described at
the intersection of 'reformulation' and 'opposition', from which 'other meanings such as
"causality", "counterexpectation", enhancement and "attenuation" can be inferred' (Mortier
and Degand, 2009: 338). On the contrary, Van Bergen et al. (2011) proposed a monosemous
analysis, which seems to hold true in the situation for which Mortier and Degand needed a
different account (see (24) and (25), repeated here as (50) and (51):

(50) *Wanneer de last niet dichter bij het lichaam kan gebracht worden, moet je trachten*
het lichaam, eigenlijk het lichaamszwaartepunt, dichter bij de last te brengen.

'When the burden cannot be brought any closer to the body, one should try to bring
the body, [*eigenlijk*] the bodily centre of gravity, closer to the burden.'

(Mortier & Degand, 2009:356)

(51) *Vrouwen hebben "aan de wieg van onze beschaving" gestaan. Vrouwen hebben eigenlijk alles van betekenis uitgevonden.*
'Women have always been at the birthplace of our civilization. Women have [*eigenlijk*] invented everything of consequence.'
(Mortier & Degand, 2009: 357)

According to Mortier and Degand (2009), *eigenlijk* in (50) is used as reformulation and *eigenlijk* in (51) is used as enhancement or as attenuation. However, both occurrences of *eigenlijk* can be captured by the monosemous analysis of Van Bergen et al. (2011). In (50), *eigenlijk* marks a contrast with the contextually raised expectation that the body should be brought closer to the burden. I argue that this contextually raised expectation is there, because the speaker uttered this first, after which the speaker uses *eigenlijk* to contradict their previous statement. Of course, this is a reformulation, but *eigenlijk* does not perform this function itself. In (51), the speaker can expect that the hearer does not expect that women have invented everything of consequence, because this is not generally excepted or general knowledge. Therefore, the speaker can use *eigenlijk* to mark a mismatch between what the speaker thinks the hearer expects and their actual utterance. Again, this shows that the monosemous analysis of *eigenlijk* can replace the polysemous account of *eigenlijk* Mortier and Degand (2009) gave (Van Bergen et al., 2011), which is preferable from the point of view of accuracy.

Let us now compare the accounts of Schmitz and Schröder (2004) and Schmitz (2008) with the account of Van Bergen et al. (2011). According to Schmitz and Schröder (2004) and Schmitz (2008), 'a speaker uses *eigentlich* to prevent a hearer from having, or strengthening, a particular expectation that would follow from using the utterance without *eigentlich*' (Van Bergen et al., 2011: 3878). Consider the following situation:

(52) *Das ist eigentlich ein Apfel.*
'That is [*eigentlich*] an apple'.
(Van Bergen et al., 2011: 3879)

'Someone points to a piece of fruit in a bowl that looks like a pear' (Van Bergen et al., 2011: 3878) and utters (52). (52) without *eigentlich* would yield the default conclusion that if something is an apple, it assumedly looks like an apple. According to the analyses of Schmitz (2008), *eigentlich* blocks the model strengthening, which would mean that the apple in (52) 'does not look like an apple' (Van Bergen et al., 2011: 3879). Van Bergen et al. (2011: 3879) mention that the 'highly relevant question that is not addressed by Schmitz (2008), however, is why, given that p evokes false expectations, would a speaker ever utter p to begin with?' Instead, in their analysis, Van Bergen et al. (2011) put forward that *eigenlijk* reacts to an already existing expectation, and not to the expectation evoked by the sentence containing *eigenlijk*. As we saw from the study that Van Bergen et al. (2011) conducted, *eigenlijk* was indeed used in response to a context.

Finally, let me compare the analysis of Eckardt (2009) with the analysis of Van Bergen et al. (2011). Eckardt (2009) argues that *eigentlich* contrasts the nominal content of a concept *C* with a contextually given notion of phenomenological evidence for *C*-hood' (Eckardt, 2009: 77). In other words, in the case of *eigentlich* as an adjective, *eigentlich* is used

to 'contrast the "real stuff" with something that, even though it might look similar, is not the real stuff' (Van Bergen et al., 2011: 3879). Van Bergen et al. (2011) argue that their analysis differs because they 'take into account the difference between the speaker's perspective and hearer's perspective (according to the speaker). This has consequences for the discrepancy (stated in terms of Nom and Phän)' (Van Bergen et al., 2011: 3885). Let me illustrate this with example (53):

    (53) A. *Een walvis is eigenlijk een zoogdier.*
       'A whale is *eigenlijk* a mammal'.

     B. # Een walvis is eigenlijk een vis.
      'A whale is *eigenlijk* a fish'.

   (Van Bergen et al., 2011: 3885)

Van Bergen et al. (2011: 3885) argue that in (53A), 'the speaker estimates the hearer's perspective such that s/he is aware of the fact that whales have typical characteristics of fish, so that s/he might draw the conclusion that whales are fish (Phän (p)→ Nom (p)'. In other words, the speaker argues that the hearer probably reasoned that a whale phenomenologically looks like a fish and therefore is a fish. Van Bergen et al. (2011: 3885) argue that in (53B), 'the belief state of the hearer is estimated such that s/he knows that whales are mammals, and that from that piece of knowledge, the hearer infers that wales have all typical characteristics of mammals (Nom(p) → Phän (p)), which the speaker knows is not the case'. In other words, they argue that Phän → Nom can be the case, but Nom → Phän is incorrect. Let us see whether a Nom(p) → Phän (p) inference is incorrect when looking at another example:

    (54) *Mevrouw Meier heeft de dagelijkse leiding over het bedrijf. # De eigenlijke baas is mevrouw Schmitz.*
      'Mrs. Meier makes the day-to-day business decision. The [*eigenlijke*] boss is Mrs. Schmitz.

(Eckardt, 2009; in Van Bergen et al., 2011: 3880)

Van Bergen et al. (2011) argue that (52) is not felicitous in Dutch, but that it might be that Dutch and German differ in this respect. However, I would say that the sentence is felicitous. If we take the account of *eigenlijk* by Van Bergen et al. (2011), the speaker of (52) could have reasoned that the hearer thought that Mrs. Meier is the 'real boss', because she functions like a boss, but in reality, Mrs. Schmitz is the boss. By using *eigenlijk¸* the speaker can indicate that they get why the hearer would think that Mrs. Meier is the real boss, while in fact Mrs. Schmitz is the real boss. Most importantly, in Eckardt's analysis, 'the directionality from the apparent to the real world is lost, and with it the connection between the use of *eigentlich/eigenlijk* and expectations of discourse participants' (Van Bergen et al., 2011: 3880). It seems that that *eigenlijk* is an interpersonal discourse particle, because Van Bergen & Hogeweg (in press: 18) showed that 'the intersubjective meaning distinctions between *wel,*

toch and *eigenlijk* [are] lexicalisations of distinct generalized politeness strategies in social interaction,' which shows that a semantic account of *eigenlijk* should include a reference to its interpersonal function.

2.2.3 Processing Dutch eigenlijk

In the previous section, I argued why I believe that the semantic analysis of Van Bergen et al. (2011) correctly describes how *eigenlijk* is used in Dutch. In the remainder of this chapter, I will discuss why *eigenlijk* itself might be even more difficult to learn than particles in general. Particles such as *eigenlijk* are claimed to be difficult to learn because of their untransparency, their non-obligatoriness and their low perceptual saliency (Hogeweg et al., 2016). In addition, there are in general no similar concepts across languages (Hogeweg et al., 2016), which means that negative transfer can occur. There is one more reason to believe why *eigenlijk* may be difficult to learn, which I will discuss here.

Van Bergen & Bosker (2018) did an eye-tracking experiment in which they investigated how native speakers respond to Dutch *eigenlijk* and Dutch *inderdaad,* 'indeed'. *Inderdaad* functions in the opposite way as Dutch *eigenlijk,* because it confirms a contextually raised expectation instead of disagreeing with one (Van Bergen & Bosker, 2018). In their study, participants had to read a context, after which they clicked on a button, which caused the computer to play a question and a response:

(55) Context
  Ondanks haar angst voor dieren is Marie naar het circus geweest.
  'Despite her fear of animals, Mary went to the circus.'

  Question
  Je vond de dierenact zeker doodeng?
  'You must have been terrified by the animal act?'

  Response
  Ik schrok eigenlijk van de rondrennende *BEEP* aan het eind.
  'I was [eigenlijk] scared by the running *BEEP* at the end.'
  (Van Bergen & Bosker, 2018: 194)

The participants were presented with four discourse referents, two of which were distractors, one expected and one unexpected dialogue completion. In the case of (55), the participants saw a picture of a bride and a mailman (distractors) and a lion (expected) and a clown (unexpected). Participants could click on the picture they thought best fitted the beep. In (55), participants heard *eigenlijk,* but there were also items that contained *inderdaad* or a control adverb. Van Bergen & Bosker (2018) found that after encountering *inderdaad,* listener's quickly reduced 'attention to alternative discourse continuations during listening, and yielded more and faster contextually likely dialogue completions relative to encountering an adverb' (Van Bergen & Bosker, 2018: 205). In addition, after encountering *eigenlijk*, speakers shifted their attention to the contrastive option. 'However, this early commitment to a referential interpretation of *eigenlijk* did not result in faster dialogue completions: participants

experienced sustained visual competition from alternative dialogue interpretations, and were slower to complete dialogue with the referent that contrasted with the contextually most likely interpretation' (Van Bergen & Bosker, 2018: 205). This suggests that *eigenlijk* is more difficult to process than *inderdaad*, which could mean that *eigenlijk* is even more difficult to learn for non-native speakers of Dutch. The difference between *eigenlijk* and *inderdaad* is that *eigenlijk* mars a contrast with a contextually raised expectation and that *inderdaad* matches with a contextually raised expectation. This suggests that the feature 'marks a contrast' of *eigenlijk* could make it more difficult to process. There is however no evidence its contrastive feature is the ultimate factor that makes it difficult to learn. Therefore, I will investigate whether either one or both of its characteristics (responds to a context and marks a contrast with a contextually raised expectation) make *eigenlijk* difficult to learn for non-native speakers of Dutch.

2.2.4 Conclusion

Particles are difficult to learn for non-native speakers (Fox Tree, 2010; Hogeweg et al., 2016). This is a result of their polyfunctionality, their untransparency, low perceptual saliency and their non-obligatoriness (Hogeweg et al., 2016). In addition, there are in general no similar concepts across languages (Hogeweg et al., 2016), leaving not much room for positive transfer. In addition, research by Van Bergen & Bosker (2018) shows that *eigenlijk* is difficult to process, which gives more reasons to believe that *eigenlijk* is difficult to learn for non-native speakers of Dutch. It is important that non-native speakers do learn how to use discourse particles, because otherwise, they can sound rude or inconsiderate (Hogeweg et al., 2016). However, there is in general not much classroom attention to them (Foolen, 2010), which means that non-native speakers have to learn how to use the particle by themselves or by enough exposure to the target language.

2.2.5 Research questions and hypotheses

This research will investigate whether non-native speakers of Dutch use discourse particles differently than native speakers of Dutch. It is hypothesized that non-native speakers of Dutch will perform worse in this experiment than native speakers of Dutch and that non-native speakers of Dutch will find both the features 'responds to a contextually raised expectation' and 'marks a contrast with a contextually raised expectation' difficult. In addition, this research will also test whether native speakers indeed use *eigenlijk* as put forward by Van Bergen et al. (2011).

Research question

1) Do non-native speakers of Dutch use interpersonal discourse particle *eigenlijk* differently than native speakers of Dutch?

The assumption is that native speakers use Dutch *eigenlijk* as Van Bergen et al. (2011) describe.

Hypotheses

I formed two related hypotheses based on the literature review.

1) Native speakers will use *eigenlijk* as Van Bergen et al. (2011) describe.
2) Non-native speakers of Dutch will use *eigenlijk* differently than native speakers of Dutch, in particular:

   a. Non-native speakers will not understand that *eigenlijk* responds to a contextually raised expectation.

   b. Non-native speakers will not understand that *eigenlijk* marks a contrast with a contextually raised expectation.

3. Method

3.1 Materials

For the purpose of this study, I designed a cloze test in *Qualtrics.* I chose to design my experiment in *Qualtrics,* because it enabled me to distribute my experiment online. The test was approved by the ethics committee of the Radboud university (ETC-GW number 2020-2723). The test was written in Dutch and was identical for both native speakers and non-native speakers. Therefore, the language in general was slightly simplified in such a way that I was certain non-native speakers would understand all that was written. In order to test the hypotheses, I created three different conditions. Condition A evoked a contextually raised expectation, but the final utterance matched with this expectation, hence *eigenlijk* was not elicited. Condition B evoked a contextually raised expectation with which the final utterance did not match, hence *eigenlijk* was elicited. Condition C did not evoke a contextually raised expectation and therefore did not elicit the use of *eigenlijk* (see table 3 for an overview and tables 4, 5, 6 and 7 for examples per condition and for the fillers). I used 15 items per condition. Items consisted of a context sentence, a response and an answer to that response. I received the contexts I used in the conditions and fillers from a previous study done by Rasenberg, Rommers and Van Bergen (2020). I got permission to use the contexts in this study. All test items were pretested by these authors. In total, I received 144 high-constraining (predictable) contexts, and 72 low-constraining (not predictable) contexts. I needed 30 high-constraining contexts for condition 1 and 2 together, and 15 low-constraining context for condition 3. In addition, I used the low-constraining contexts for my fillers, so I needed another 45 low-constraining conditions. I selected the contexts for this study as follows. I first went through all the high-constraining contexts, and I set aside the contexts which according to me, clearly raised an expectation. In addition, I checked whether the language was understandable for non-native speakers of Dutch from CEFR-level B1 and higher. [9] If this was not the case, I changed the language in the contexts slightly to make it more understandable for them. I did not use contexts which were very culturally specific or sentences that I could not simplify without also getting rid of the contextually raised expectation. After this, I selected the low-constraining contexts for condition C and the fillers. When choosing between the low-constraining contexts, I noticed that many contexts still somehow raised an

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[9] CEFR-levels range from A1 up and until C2 and give an indication of someone's language level in a foreign or second language. CEFR-levels are employed by many countries, making them very useful in practice (Council of Europe, 2001).

expectation. I chose the contexts which in my opinion did not at all raise an expectation. Again, I also simplified the language if necessary. The most important criterium for the fillers was that the language was understandable. It did not matter whether it was really clear that there was no contextually raised expectation, since participants could not choose *eigenlijk* in these contexts. Still, the contexts selected for the fillers did in general not evoke a contextually raised expectation. I made sure that only one adverb suited the context, so that I could also compare performance on the fillers to get an insight into how native and non-native speakers performed in my study in general.

Table 3. Overview of test items per condition.

	Description	Answer options	Target answers	Number of items
Condition A	The context matches with the contextually raised expectation.	other adverb *eigenlijk*	other adverb	15
Condition B	The context does not match with the contextually raised expectation.	other adverb *eigenlijk*	*eigenlijk*	15
Condition C	There is no contextually raised expectation.	other adverb *eigenlijk*	other adverb	15
Fillers	There is no contextually raised expectation.	adverb 1 adverb 2 (never *eigenlijk*)	adverb 1 or adverb 2	45

Table 4. Example of condition A items.

Condition A: The answer matches with the contextually raised expectation. *Eigenlijk* should not be used.

Context:	*Vivian is naar een feestje geweest en komt laat thuis.* 'Vivian has been to a party and arrives home late.'
Question:	*Haar huisgenoot zegt: Het was zeker erg leuk?* 'Her roommate says: You had fun, didn't you?
Answer:	*Vivian zegt: Het was _____ heel leuk vanavond.* 'Vivian says: It was _____ really nice tonight.'

Answer options	*-eigenlijk*
	-echt 'truly'

Target answer	*-echt*

Explanation	In this situation, the context evokes the expectation that Vivian enjoyed the party, because she arrived home late. She confirms this expectation. Therefore, *eigenlijk* cannot be used. Native speakers will select *echt,* which fits in this context.

Table 5. Example of condition B items.

Condition B: The answer does not match with the contextually raised expectation. *Eigenlijk* should be used.

Context:	*Vivian is naar een feestje geweest en komt laat thuis.* 'Vivian has been to a party and arrives home late.'
Question:	*Haar huisgenoot zegt: Het was zeker erg leuk?* 'Her roommate says: You had fun, didn't you?
Answer:	*Vivian zegt: Het was _____ heel saai vanavond.* 'Vivian says: It was _____ really boring tonight.'

Answer options	*-eigenlijk*
	-echt *'truly'*

Target answer	*-eigenlijk*

Explanation	In this situation, the context evokes the expectation that Vivian enjoyed the party, because she arrived home late. However, Vivian did not enjoy the party, but found it 'boring' *(saai).* Therefore, she needs to contrast with this contextually raised expectation. She can do this by using *eigenlijk.* Native speakers will select *eigenlijk* here, because they intuitively know that they have to mark a contrast with the contextually raised expectation.

Table 6. Example of condition C items.

Condition C: There is no contextually raised expectation. *Eigenlijk* should not be used.	

Context:	*Nico en Alex zitten samen in de trein en Nico kijkt in het Metro krantje.* 'Nico and Alex are on a train and Nico is looking into the 'Metro' newspaper.'
Question:	*Alex vraagt: Wat ben je aan het lezen?* 'Alex asks: What are you reading?'
Answer:	*Nico zegt: er staat eigenlijk/vandaag een grappig artikeltje in over de overheid van België.* 'Nico says: There is _____ a funny article about the Belgian government.'

Answer options	*-eigenlijk* *-vandaag* 'today'
Target answer	*-vandaag* 'today'
Explanation	In this situation, there is no contextually raised expectation. This means that the information did not give a clue as for what Nico is reading. Therefore, native speakers would not use *eigenlijk* since there is no contextually raised expectation.

Table 7. Example of the fillers.

Fillers: There is no contextually raised expectation and participants choose between two adverbs other than *eigenlijk*.	

Context:	*Milou en Jasper zoeken een origineel cadeau voor één van hun vrienden.* 'Milou and Jasper are looking for an original present for one of their friends.'
Question:	*Milou vraagt: Waar dacht jij aan?* 'Milou asks: Do you have an idea?'
Answer:	*Jasper zegt: Het lijkt me _____leuk om een grote mok met een foto te bestellen.* 'Jasper says: I think it's nice to order a big mug with a picture on it'.

Answer options	*-eventjes* 'momentarily' *-erg* 'very'
Target answer	*-erg* 'very'
Explanation	There is no contextually raised expectation in the fillers. In addition, participants cannot choose *eigenlijk* anyway, so they do not need this information. Only one adverb suits the context.

3.2 Participants

I recruited native speakers and non-native speakers via social media and via friends and family. I also reached out to non-native speakers of Dutch via my own Dutch as a second language classes. I also contacted other Dutch as a second language teachers and asked them to distribute my test among their students. Participants could also participate through the Sona system of the Radboud University. This is an online platform on which researchers can add their research, and on which students can participate in these studies. Participants who participated via Sona received 0,5 ppu (participation points). 195 participants (122 native speakers of Dutch, mean age 38.06 years, 85 females, and 73 non-native speakers of Dutch, mean age 32.41 years, 50 females) completed the cloze test. In order to be sure that the Dutch participants filled in the cloze-test attentively, I removed participants that made mistakes on the filler items. This left me with 109 native speakers and 73 non-native speakers. Within the group of non-native speakers of Dutch, there were 24 participants with CEFR-level B1, 40 speakers with CEFR-level B2, 6 participants with CEFR-level C1 and 3 participants with CEFR level C2. Two participants were bilingual and spoke both Arabic and Kurdish as their native language. The most represented language groups were Arabic (25), Kurdish (6), German (7) and Persian (4). The two bilingual speakers were excluded from the above amounts, because they were not monolingual.

3.3 Procedure

If participants clicked on the link to the test, they were first directed to an information page. Participants were told that this study was about the comprehension of Dutch words. In addition, they read that they voluntarily took part in this study, that their answers would remain available for 10 years for other researchers, and that their answers remained anonymous. If participants did not agree with the above information, they could click on *ik wil niet meedoen* 'I do not want to participate', which directed them to an end of survey message. If participants did want to participate, they could click on *ik ga akkoord* 'I agree'. Participants were then directed to questions with regard to demographics. They were asked for their age, their gender and whether Dutch is their native language or not. If participants were younger than 16, they were directed to an end of survey message, since participants had

to be at least 16 years old to participate in this study. If participants were not a native speaker of Dutch, they had to fill what their CEFR-level of Dutch is, what their native language is, how many hours per week they are in contact with Dutch, whether they lived in the Netherlands and if so, for how long, and since when they started learning Dutch. These questions were asked in order to get a better understanding of the level of Dutch the participants had. I asked for their CEFR-level of Dutch instead of their own estimation of their language proficiency, because this questionnaire was mostly sent to non-native speakers of Dutch who took part in language courses that work with the CEFR-levels. In addition, this enabled me to make clear-cut distinctions between language levels, although I am aware that the CEFR-levels do not say everything about someone's language level.

After this, all participants were directed to the practice block. First, they were told how the test worked. They were told to first read the context, question and answer, which were displayed on the screen. After that, they had to select the answer that most suited the context (the gap indicated where the word belonged in the sentence). If they did not understand a word, they were told to still fill in the answer that they thought suited the context best. They had to fill in this gap by choosing between two options, that were both displayed below the question (see tables 4, 5, 6 and 7). They were told that there were no wrong answers.

After the practice block, participants were directed to the experimental items. Participants were evenly directed to either list 1 or list 2. list 1 and 2 were almost identical: they both consisted of the same fillers and condition C items. The only difference between list 1 and 2 were that contexts number 1 up to and including 15 occurred in condition A in list 1, and in condition B in list 2. This was the other way around for contexts 16 up to and including 30. This made sure that participants did not see the same context in both condition A and B. All items were presented in a random order to the participants. After participants completed 90 items, they were directed to an end of survey message in which they were thanked for their participation. Data was exported from *Qualtrics* into *SPSS*. After this, the data was analysed.

4. Results

Table 8 shows the mean proportion of *eigenlijk* in condition A, B and C, broken down by language background. Every use of *eigenlijk* was rewarded with one point. Theoretically, native speakers would have obtained a mean score of 0 in condition A and C and a mean score of 1 in condition B, because in condition A and C, *eigenlijk* should not be used, and in condition B, *eigenlijk* should be used. Table 8 shows that native speakers obtained a score of .11 in condition A, a score of .72 in condition B and a score of .02 in condition C. In order to find out whether the native speakers performed significantly different than the expected values, I ran three one sample T-tests. Native speakers scored significantly different than expected (mean = 0) in condition A (mean = 0.11, SD = 0.09): $t(108)$ 12.32, $p< 0.001$. $r= 0.76$. Native speakers scored significantly different than expected (mean = 1) in condition B: (mean = .72 SD= .18): $t(108)$ -15.98, $p< 0.001$. $r= .84$. Native speakers scored significantly different than expected (mean = 0) in condition C (mean =0.02 SD= 0.04): $t(108) = 5.16$, $p<0.001$. $r = .44$. Therefore, native speakers did not behave precisely as could be theoretically expected (based on the semantic account of *eigenlijk* by Van Bergen et al. (2011)). However, native speakers scored better (that is, more as expected) on certain test items, which suggests

that not all test items elicited the expected answer (*eigenlijk* or an adverb) (see tables 9, 10 and 11).

Table 8. Mean proportions of *eigenlijk* and standard deviation broken down by condition and native language (native Dutch and non-native Dutch).

Condition	Native/non-native speakers of Dutch	Mean	SD	N
A	Native speakers	.11	.09	109
	Non-native speakers	.30	.15	73
	Total	.19	.15	182
B	Native speakers	.72	.18	109
	Non-native speakers	.45	.21	73
	Total	.61	.24	182
C	Native speakers	.02	.04	109
	Non-native speakers	.28	.16	73
	Total	.12	.17	182

Table 9. Mean proportions of *eigenlijk* per item and per list for condition A.

Condition A list A	Mean score of native speakers	Mean score of non-native speakers	Condition A list B	Mean score of native speakers	Mean score of non-native speakers
A1A	.07	.32	A16B	.06	.17
A2A	.00	.11	A17B	.06	.11
A3A	.09	.50	A18B	.02	.14
A4A	.28	.58	A19B	.08	.14
A5A	.03	.29	A20B	.08	.26
A6A	.07	.13	A21B	.14	.54
A7A	.02	.42	A22B	.16	.40
A8A	.05	.11	A23B	.16	.29
A9A	.00	.05	A24B	.45	.69
A10A	.45	.26	A25B	.06	.60
A11A	.00	.11	A26B	.18	.57
A12A	.05	.05	A27B	.02	.11
A13A	.19	.58	A28B	.06	.29
A14A	.09	.42	A29B	.02	.29
A15A	.22	.24	A30B	.16	.34

Table 10. Mean proportions of *eigenlijk* per item and per list for condition B.

Condition B list A	Mean score of native speakers	Mean score of non-native speakers	Condition B list B	Mean score of native speakers	Mean score of non-native speakers
B16A	.90	.47	B1B	.76	.34
B17A	.60	.13	B2B	.92	.54
B18A	.97	.61	B3B	.92	.66
B19A	.93	.47	B4B	.82	.60
B20A	.83	.47	B5B	.49	.46
B21A	.91	.68	B6B	.80	.31
B22A	.86	.50	B7B	.29	.51
B23A	.83	.53	B8B	.45	.17
B24A	.98	.58	B9B	.55	.17
B25A	.53	.39	B10B	.92	.37
B26A	.33	.39	B11B	.49	.40
B27A	.76	.39	B12B	.78	.29
B28A	.55	.32	B13B	.37	.57
B29A	.91	.50	B14B	.57	.43
B30A	.71	.34	B15B	.86	.74

Table 11. Mean proportions of *eigenlijk* per item and per list for condition C.

Condition C List A	Mean score of native speakers	Mean score of non-native speakers	Condition C list B	Mean score of native speakers	Mean score of non-native speakers
C1A	0.03	.21	C1B	.04	.23
C2A	0.00	.13	C2B	.00	.11
C3A	0.02	.32	C3B	.00	.29
C4A	0.00	.32	C4B	.00	.17
C5A	0.00	.08	C5B	.02	.06
C6A	0.00	.24	C6B	.00	.29
C7A	0.00	.13	C7B	.00	.11
C8A	0.02	.50	C8B	.06	.46
C9A	0.02	.16	C9B	.02	.26
C10A	0.03	.37	C10B	.06	.51
C11A	0.00	.61	C11B	.00	.54
C12A	0.00	.05	C12B	.00	.23
C13A	0.00	.18	C13B	.00	.31
C14A	0.02	.08	C14B	.00	.11
C15A	0.12	.61	C15B	.08	.69

In order to find out whether non-native speakers used *eigenlijk* differently than native speakers, I ran a repeated measures Anova with 1 within-subject-factor and 3 levels (conditions) and native language (Dutch/ non-Dutch) as a between-subject-factor. Since the assumption of sphericity had been violated according to Mauchly's test: $\chi2$ (2) = 105.37, p<0.001, the degrees of freedom were corrected using the Greenhouse-Geisser (ε.692) estimates of sphericity.

There was a main effect of language background (Dutch native/Dutch non-native): F(1, 180) 21.73, p< 0.001. This means that native speakers scored significantly different than non-native speakers over all three conditions. The descriptive statistics show us that native speakers scored better than non-native speakers on condition A (mean= .11 versus mean = .30) , condition B (mean = .72 versus mean = .45) and condition C (mean = .02 versus mean= .28).

In order to see whether performances differed significantly between conditions, I looked at the main effect of condition: F (1.38, 249.15) 471.08 p < 0.001, which means that participants scored significantly different over all three conditions. Contrasts show that scores were significantly different between conditions A and condition B: F (1, 0.06) 446.66 p< 0.001 and scores also differed significantly between conditions B and C: F (1, 0.06) 603,80 p< 0.001.
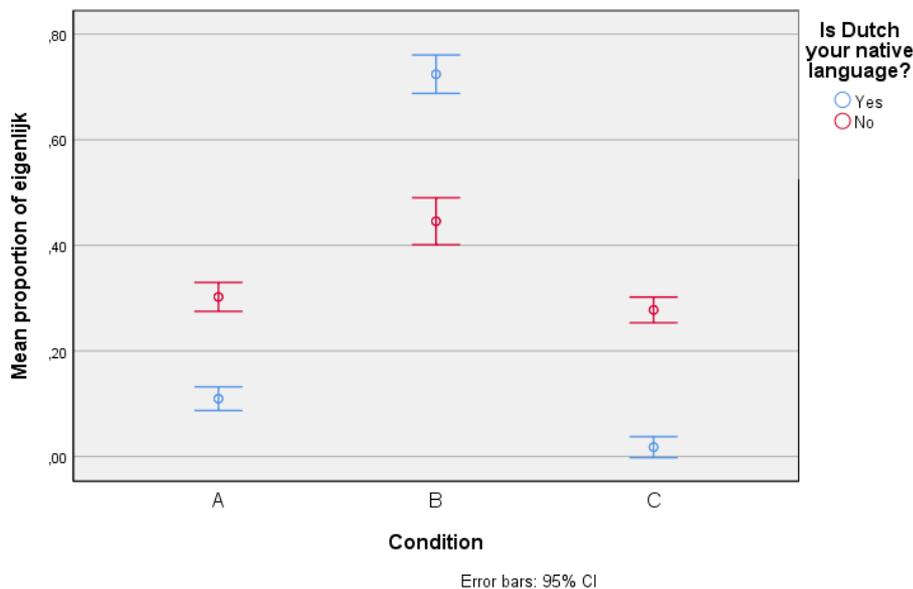

figure 2. Mean proportion of 'eigenlijk' per condition and per language background (native Dutch and non-native Dutch).

In order to see whether the difference between the scores on the conditions differed significantly between native speakers and non-native speakers of Dutch, I looked at the interaction effect of language background and condition: F (1.38, 249.15) 179.84 p< 0.001. This was significant, which means that the score obtained per condition is dependent on the language background. This interaction effect is illustrated in figure 2. Contrasts show that

condition A and condition B differed significantly F (1, 180) 172.65 p< 0.001 and contrasts also show that condition B and condition C differed significantly F (1, 180) 228.87 p< 0.001. This means that the effect of condition was significantly different for native speakers than non-native speakers on the scores between condition A and B, and B and C. The descriptive statistics show us that the difference between condition A and B was bigger for native speakers (mean (condition A) = .11 and mean (condition B) = .72) than it is for non-native speakers (mean (condition A) = .30 and mean (condition B) = .45). In addition, the difference between condition B and C was also bigger for native speakers (mean (condition B) = .72 and mean (condition C) =.02) than it is for non-native speakers (mean (condition B) = .45) and mean (condition C) = .28).

The above results show that non-native speakers score worse than native speakers and that the effect of condition is bigger for native speakers than it is for non-native speakers. However, if we look at the descriptive statistics, it seems that non-native speakers did score somewhat as expected. They scored a mean of .30 in condition A, .45 in condition B and .28 in condition C (see table 8), which shows that they preferred to use and adverb over *eigenlijk* in all conditions, even in condition B, in which *eigenlijk* was expected. In order to test whether non-native speakers understood that *eigenlijk* is used in response to a contextually raised expectation, I checked whether non-native speakers of Dutch used *eigenlijk* significantly more in condition B than in condition C by means of a paired sample T-test: $t(72) = 4.90$, p<0.001, r = 0.5. This was significant, which indicates that non-native speakers used *eigenlijk* more if there was a contextually raised expectation. In order to see whether non-native speakers understood that *eigenlijk* marks a contrast with a contextually raised expectation, I checked whether non-native speakers of Dutch used *eigenlijk* more in condition B than in condition A: $t(72) = -4.60$, p<0.001, r= 0.48. This was significant, which means that non-native speakers used *eigenlijk* significantly more in condition B than in condition A, which suggests that they understood to some degree that *eigenlijk* marks a contrast with a contextually raised expectation.

In order to see whether more proficient non-native speakers performed better than less proficient non-native speakers, I looked at whether participants with a higher CEFR-level scored better than participants with a lower CEFR-level by means of independent sample T-tests. Unfortunately, participants with CEFR-level C1 (N=6) and C2 (N=3) were underrepresented. Therefore, in order to see whether non-native speakers with a higher language level performed better, I checked whether participants with CEFR-level B2 (N=40) scored significantly better than participants with CEFR-level B1 (N=24). I first checked this on the fillers: Participants with CEFR level B2 (mean = 39.68, SD=3.41)) did not significantly score better on the fillers than participants with CEFR level B1 (mean =37.88, SD = 4.60): Levene's test showed that equal variances were assumed, $t(62) = -1.80$, p= 0.08. In addition, I looked at whether participants with CEFR-level B2 scored better than participants with CEFR-level B1 on conditions A, B and C. Participants with CEFR-level B2 (mean = .32, SD = .15) did not score significantly different than participants with CEFR-level B1 (mean = .33 SD = .14) on condition A: Levene's test showed that equal variances were assumed, $t(62)= .27$, p=.79. Participants with CEFR-level B2 (mean = .43, SD= .2) did not score significantly different than participants with CEFR-level B1 (mean = .38, SD = .16) in condition B: Levene's test showed that equal variances were assumed, $t(62) = -.96$, p= .34.

Participants with CEFR-level B2 (mean = .29, SD = .33) also did not score significantly different than participants with CEFR-level B1 (mean =.33 = SD= .13) in condition C: Levene's test showed that equal variances were assumed, $t(62)$ .1.08, p=.28.

Since these differences were not significant, I decided to merge participants with CEFR-level C1 and C2, so that I could compare the B2 group with one C group. This did yield significant results: Participants with CEFR-level C (mean = 43.67, SD = 1.94) scored significantly better than participants with CEFR-level B2 (mean = 39.68, SD= 3.40) on the fillers: Levene's test showed that equal variances were not assumed, $t(20.94) = 4.75$, p<0.001, r=0.72.Participants with CEFR-level C (mean = .19, SD = .12) scored significantly better than participants with CEFR-level B2 (mean = .32, SD= .19) in condition A: Levene's test showed that equal variances were assumed, $t(47) = 2.38$, p= .02, r= .33. Participants with CEFR-level C (mean = .70, SD= .2) scored significantly better than participants with CEFR-level B2 (mean = .43, SD = .20) in condition B: Levene's test showed that equal variances were assumed, $t(47)$ -3.80, , p< 0.001, r= 0.48. Participants with CEFR-level C (mean = 0.6, SD = .1) scored significantly better than participants with CEFR-level B2 (mean = .29, SD = .15) in condition C: Levene's test showed that equal variances were assumed, $t(47)$ 4.48, p< 0.001, r= 0.55. This suggests that non-native speakers better understand how *eigenlijk* is used in Dutch if they have reached CEFR-levels C1. However, 6 out of 9 C1 and C2 speakers were native speakers of German. The particle inventory of Dutch and German is very similar (Hogeweg et al., 2016), which could mean that German speakers would have performed better anyways.

I could not compare all language groups because the non-native speaker group was too heterogeneous. In order to illustrate how four different language groups performed, I illustrated the scores of the four most represented native languages (table 12). The score on the fillers can give an indication of their language level. As a group, the native speakers of German seem to have scored the best in comparison to the three other represented groups in the data (table 12). However, this could be due to their language level (see the score on the fillers). The Kurdish participants seem to have scored the lowest on the fillers, and also the worst in condition B and C. Interestingly, Persian speakers seem to have scored relatively good in condition B, but relatively bad in condition A and C. Recall that we cannot conclude anything from these observations, because they cannot be tested statistically. Further research could investigate whether differences in performances have to do with the language pairs involved.

Table 12. Mean (SD) scores of condition A, B and C items for the four most represented language groups.

	Mean (SD) of condition A	Mean (SD) of condition B	Mean (SD) of condition C	Mean (SD) of fillers
Native language				
Arabic (N=25)	.39 (.13)	.41 (.16)	.31 (.14)	39.40 (3.03)
German (N=7)	.15 (.14)	.68 (.17)	.07 (.18)	42.57 (4.72)
Kurdish (N=6)	.28 (.01)	.32 (.11)	.33 (.07)	37.00 (5.93)
Persian (N=4)	.38 (.11)	.62 (.18)	.32 (.08)	38.30 (4.79)

5. Discussion

The results show that native speakers of Dutch did not perform precisely the same as was theoretically expected and that non-native speakers use *eigenlijk* differently than non-native speakers. It seems however that non-native speakers do (to some extent) understand that *eigenlijk* is used to mark a contrast with a contextually raised expectation. I will now discuss these results.

 I hypothesised that native speakers would use *eigenlijk* as Van Bergen et al. (2011) describe. This was not completely the case. Native speakers scored a mean score of .11 in condition A, .72 in condition B and .02 in condition C. What does this mean for the semantic account of *eigenlijk* by Van Bergen et al. (2011)? I argue that the account of *eigenlijk* by van Bergen et al. (2011) holds true and that the deviations from the theoretically assumed scores can be explained by individual differences with regard to what people expect from the context and what people see as a contrast and what not. I will now argue why the deviations from the theoretically assumed perfect scores can be explained per condition.

 Even though the difference between the hypothesised value of zero was significantly different than the obtained value of .02, it seems that non-native speakers almost never used *eigenlijk* in condition C. This means that native speakers almost never used *eigenlijk* if there was no contextually raised expectation. If we look at table 11 above, we see that there are some items in which some native speakers filled in *eigenlijk*. I will explain how this could have happened by means of Items C15 and C10, that elicited the most uses of *eigenlijk*.[10] [11] How can this be explained?

(56) C15 (mean = 0.12 in list A, mean = 0.08 in list B):
 Marte heeft de dag na haar verjaardag haar vriendin Annemarie op bezoek.
 'Annemieke visits her friend Marte the day after Marte's birthday.'

 Annemarie vraagt: wat voor cadeaus heb je gekregen voor je verjaardag?
 'Annemieke asks: what sort of presents did you get for your birthday?

 Marte zegt: ik heb eigenlijk/toen van mijn vriendinnen deze tas gekregen.
 'Marte says: I have [*eigenlijk/*then] received this bag from my friends.

(57) C10 (mean = 0.03 in list A, mean = 0.06 = list B):
 Amber zit met eten in haar mond te praten.
 'Amber is talking with food in her mouth.'

 Tijn zegt: ik verstond je niet, wat zei je?

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[10] There are more items in condition C that elicited *eigenlijk* for some native speakers. I will however not explain every item because I believe my explanation gives an insight into why the obtained scores sometimes deviated from the norm. This reasoning also applies the condition B and C.

[11] Note that the items in condition C were identical both in list 1 and list 2.

'Tijn says: I could not understand you, what did you say?'

Amber zegt: ik had het eigenlijk/net over de nieuwe snelweg rond de stad.
'Amber says: I was [*eigenlijk/*just] talking about the new motorway around the city.'

The items in condition C were not intended to evoke a contextually raised expectation. However, it is possible that native speakers did expect a certain answer, based on the context. For example, in (56), a native speaker could have reasoned that a bag is not something someone wants to get for your birthday. This could cause a native speaker to choose *eigenlijk,* because the native speaker could have wanted to mark a contrast with what is nice to get for your birthday and what someone actually got. In addition, the other option *toen* 'then' might not have been chosen because it did not really suit the context, because the adverb *toen* suggests that it was a while back, while the birthday was only yesterday. In the same sense, a participant could have reasoned that in (57), it was unlikely that Amber said something about a new motorway around the city, and chose *eigenlijk* because they reasoned that Tijn never would have expected that Amber would have talked about the new motorway. Therefore, I argue that native speakers know that *eigenlijk* is only used after a contextually raised expectation and that they sometimes used *eigenlijk* in condition C because they interpreted the sentences in such a way that there still was a contextually raised expectation.

Native speakers scored a mean of .72 on average in condition B. This seems to be relatively low. This suggests that there were more interpretations possible that did not result into a contrastive discourse situation. Sometimes, the contrastive interpretation was the most obvious one, resulting into a preference for *eigenlijk,* and sometimes, there was a preference for a non-contrastive interpretation. Let me illustrate this with example (58) and (59) (see table 10):

(58) B26A (mean = .33)
Lotte is wel 15 kilo afgevallen in de afgelopen maanden.
'Lotte has lost 15 kilo's in the past few months.'

Haar zus vraagt: ben je zoveel afgevallen door je nieuwe eetpatroon?
'Her sister asks: Have you lost so much wait because of your new eating pattern?'

Lotte zegt: het komt waarschijnlijk/eigenlijk doordat ik een zeer streng sportschema volg.
'Lotte says: I [probably/eigenlijk] lost the wait because I follow a very strict sport scheme.'

(59) B13B (mean = .37)
Lauran en Annie wegen hun koffers voordat ze op vakantie gaan.
'Lauran and Annie weigh their suitcases before to go on holidays.'

Lauran zegt: er kan nog een kilo bij, dus je kunt nog wat meer kleding meenemen.
'Lauren says: We still have room for one more kilo, so you can bring some more

clothes.'

> *Annie zegt: ik wil dan eigenlijk/denk ik nog een extra handdoek meenemen.*
> 'Annie says: If that is the case, I [think/*eigenlijk*] I will bring an extra towel.'

In (58), it could have been the case that an eating pattern and sport scheme were not interpreted as being contrastive. They both contribute to a better health and are considered as healthy. This taxonomic relation (see Mirman, Landrigan & Britt, 2017) might have caused participants to not see a contrast. In addition, an eating pattern and a sport scheme are also thematically related, because they co-occur if someone wants to lose weight. In addition, it is likely that participants did not read clothes as being in contrast with a towel (they are both fabrics and something you need to bring on your holidays), although this was the intended contrast. In addition, I argue that in (59), Lauran's remark can be interpreted as a suggestion, after which it is possible that Annie did not feel the need for saving face (and therefore using *eigenlijk*): it was not Lauran's opinion anyways, it was just a suggestion.

Finally, native speakers obtained a mean score of .11 on condition A. Items in condition A were supposed to be read as non-contrastive. Table 9 shows that some items did elicit the use of *eigenlijk*. I will explain why this could have happened by means of item A4A and item A10A:

(60) A4A: (mean = .28)
> *Pauline en Nico kamperen in het bos en schrikken van een geluid.*
> 'Pauline and Nico are camping in the woods and are scared by a sound.'

> *Pauline vraagt: zou dat van een wild dier zijn?*
> 'Pauline asks: Could that be a wild animal?'

> *Nico zegt: ik dacht echt/eigenlijk dat ik een zwijn hoorde.*
> 'Nico says: I thought [*eigenlijk*/ really] that I heard a boar.'

(61) A10A: (mean =.45)
> *Liam is afgestudeerd en wil daarom een feest geven.*
> 'Liam has graduated and wants to throw a party.'

> *Zijn moeder vraagt: wil je al je vrienden hier thuis uitnodigen?*
> 'His mother asks: Do you want to invite all your friends to our home?'

> *Liam zegt: ik wil heel/eigenlijk graag een feestje in de tuin geven.*
> 'Liam says: I [*eigenlijk/*really] want to throw a party in the garden.'

In (60), it is plausible that not all participants thought that a boar is a wild animal because the term *zwijn* in Dutch is not only used for a wild boar (*everzwijn* in Dutch), but also for an ordinary pig, in which case there was no contrast. In the same sense, in (61), participants

might have reasoned that the garden is in fact contrastive with a home (which is inside), which might have caused them to use *eigenlijk*.

As we have seen, in some cases, there are many interpretations possible, which sometimes will elicit a contrastive situation and sometimes not. These interpretations are listener specific, although the results also show that many items, almost all participants assumedly interpreted the situation the same. For example, see (62):

(62) B24A: mean = .98
Bram wil graag een nieuwe auto kopen, maar weet nog niet in welke kleur.
'Bram wants to buy a new car, but he still has to decide on the colour.'

Zijn zus zegt: als je een opvallende kleur neemt, vind je 'm altijd snel terug in een parkeergarage!
'His sister says: If you buy a striking colour, you will always be able to find it easily in a parking garage!'

Bram zegt: ik zat er zeker/eigenlijk aan te denken om een zwarte te kopen.
'Bram says: I was [indeed/*eigenlijk*] thinking about buying a black car.

In (62), 98 percent of the participants interpreted the context as being contrastive: black is not a striking colour. This clearly illustrates that theoretically, the account of Van Bergen et al. (2011) holds true, but in practice, several inferences are possible, and these inferences seem to be listener specific. This shows that *eigenlijk* is indeed highly context-dependent.

I hypothesised that non-native speakers would use *eigenlijk* differently than native speakers and in particular: non-native speakers would not understand that *eigenlijk* responds to a contextually raised expectation and that *eigenlijk* marks a contrast with this contextually raised expectation. As we have seen, non-native speakers scored significantly lower than native speaker over all three conditions and native speakers showed bigger differences between the scores of condition A, B and C. However, it cannot be concluded that non-native speakers did not understand *eigenlijk* at all, because they did obtain significantly different scores between conditions A, B and C in the native-like direction. If we look at tables 9, 10 and 11 above, we see that non-native speakers also responded differently per test item, although they do seem to show more fluctuation than the native speakers. Therefore, it could also be the case that non-native speakers made a different inference that was not meant to be made originally, such as was explained by means of examples (56) up and until (61). It could also have been the case that the non-native speakers did not understand the language in the contexts completely, which might have caused them to interpret some sentences as being contrastive or not contrastive because of a misinterpretation due to the language used. [12]

It seems that native language (although this is only speculative, based on table 12) does influence particle use, because native speakers of German scored relatively high scores. However, their language levels were also the highest, so we cannot conclude that native speakers of German have an advantage over native speakers of another language, based on this research. Finally, non-native speakers with CEFR-level B2 did not perform better than non-native speakers with CEFR-level B1. Participants with CEFR-level C did perform better

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[12]Note that I did put in a serious effort to make all the contexts understandable for non-native speakers.

than participants with CEFR-level B2, but we cannot conclude that non-native speakers in general start to better understand how *eigenlijk* is used after they pass the CEFR-C levels, because this group mainly consisted of native speakers of German, of whom it is thought that they have an (almost) identical use of *eigenlijk* (Van Bergen et al., 2011).

6. Conclusion

Non-native speakers used *eigenlijk* differently than native speakers. We can however not say that they have no clue when to use the particle: non-native speakers used *eigenlijk* in the native-like direction, which means that they somewhat understand that *eigenlijk* marks a contrast with a contextually raised expectation. Native speakers of Dutch did not behave precisely as was expected based on the semantic account of *eigenlijk* by Van Bergen et al. (2011). However, their account still holds true because the deviations from what was theoretically expected can be explained by individual differences: it seems that some participants made a different inference than was originally expected. This underscores the context-dependency of *eigenlijk*. Further research could investigate whether non-native speakers with CEFR-levels C1 and C2 use *eigenlijk* the same as native speakers and whether someone's mother tongue influences the use of *eigenlijk* in Dutch.

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