Intensifying constructions in second language acquisition

A diasystematic-constructionist approach

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This study analyzes the acquisition of Dutch intensifying constructions by French-speaking learners in Belgium. Additionally, it compares learners enrolled in *Content and Language Integrated Learning* (CLIL) programs with learners following traditional second language instruction. Within the framework of *Diasystematic Construction Grammar*, we study the potential impact of CLIL on the acquisition of Dutch intensification by conducting an in-depth constructional analysis at three different levels of schematization.

The results of our study indicate that a beneficial CLIL effect is apparent throughout the different levels of abstraction. Moreover, the results allow us to unveil specific reorganizational processes that occur in the *diasystem* of French-speaking learners of Dutch, such as the overgeneralization of particular schematic patterns and the inaccurate tagging of specific intensifiers.

Keywords: intensification, L1 French, L2 Dutch, Diasystematic Construction Grammar, Second Language Acquisition, Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), learner corpus research

1. Introduction

Belgium is a small country at the heart of Europe with three official languages (Dutch, French, and German) and provides an ideal context for multilingualism to flourish. Nevertheless, recent research conducted by the European Union shows that the Belgian educational system obtains rather disappointing scores with respect to foreign language teaching and learning, and that the pedagogical methods implemented are often too traditional (Eurostat, 2016; De Standaard, 2016). An innovative didactic approach to foster multilingualism on a large scale and promoted by the European Union is *Content and Language Integrated Learning* (henceforth

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CLIL) (cf. Eurydice, 2012). This approach involves teaching school subjects through the medium of a target language distinct from the school's mainstream language. The additional amount of target-language exposure is expected to be beneficial for foreign language acquisition.

Within the context of a large-scale, multidisciplinary research project on CLIL in French-speaking Belgium (cf. Hiligsmann et al., 2017b),[1] we investigate the acquisition of intensification by French-speaking learners from a Construction Grammar (henceforth CxG) perspective. CxG is a recently developed usage-based linguistic theory that conceives language as a network of "constructions", i.e. systematic and conventionalized form-meaning pairs, which may display different degrees of size, complexity, and schematicity (cf. among others, Ellis & Cadierno, 2009; Goldberg, 2006, 2019; Hoffmann & Trousdale, 2013). The constructionist approach goes beyond the traditional lexicon-grammar divide, as form-meaning pairs are not only instantiated by simple words (to be found in the lexicon), but constructions can have morphological and syntactic complexity as well, ranging from abstract patterns (e.g. [Noun-Suffix$_{\text{DIM}}$]$_{\text{N}}$) and constructions that are partially filled (e.g. Du. [Noun-*je*]$_{\text{N}}$), to substantive constructs (e.g. Du. [*huis-je*] 'little house'). Constructions are seen as the fundamental units of our cognitive linguistic competence and of first and second/foreign language acquisition. The understanding of language as one integrated network of constructions, i.e. the *constructicon*, without compartmentalized grammar and lexicon, implies that "[S]yntactic constructions may form an alternative to, or compete with the morphological expression of semantic and grammatical content" (Booij, 2002, p. 301; also Booij, 2010, 2018) (e.g. *klein huis* 'little house' vs *huisje* 'house-DIM').

This study focuses on intensification of adjectives in Dutch, a construction that can be represented as follows: [[X]$_{\text{INT}}$ [Y]$_{\text{ADJ}}$]$_{\text{ADJ/AP}}$ ↔ 'very Y' (e.g. Du. *heel trots* 'very proud'). The diversity of constructions (degree adverbs, intensifying prefixes, compounds, etc.) and the language-specific preferences for particular types of intensification are assumed to complicate the acquisition of intensifying constructions for second language learners (Hendrikx, Van Goethem, Meunier, & Hiligsmann, 2017; Hendrikx, Van Goethem, & Wulff, 2019; Hendrikx, 2019). Since

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intensifying constructions can be formed either morphologically or syntactically, the theoretical framework of usage-based CxG is particularly suitable for analyzing this kind of data.

More specifically, our research will explore the potential for applying a *Diasystematic Constructionist approach* (henceforth DCxG) (Höder, 2012, 2014a, 2014b, 2018) to studies in Second Language Acquisition (SLA). While DCxG has so far mainly been applied to issues concerning language contact (Boas & Höder, 2018), we believe that the conceptualization of the linguistic competence of multilingual speakers as an "interlingual network of constructions with different degrees of schematicity" (Höder, 2012, p. 255) can offer fruitful insights for SLA too (cf. Höder et al., 2021 (this volume)).

The purpose of this study is threefold:

i. it seeks to provide an in-depth analysis of the acquisition of intensifying constructions at three different levels of abstraction (schematic, semi-schematic, and substantive intensifying constructions);
ii. it aims to investigate the impact of additional L2 input through CLIL programs on the acquisition of intensifying constructions, within the context of learning Dutch in French-speaking Belgium;
iii. it will explore the compatibility of the constructionist perspective, and in particular the DCxG approach, with current usage-based studies in SLA.

This article comprises six sections and is structured as follows. Section 2 concentrates on multilingualism and the DCxG view of this concept: it will present the context of learning foreign languages in multilingual Belgium, provide insight into different conceptualizations of multilingualism and SLA, and will discuss the implications of a DCxG perspective on SLA. Section 3 will then focus on the case study of learning intensifying constructions and will present its different formal and semantic instantiations in the languages under study. Based on the preceding insights from DCxG and from the comparison of the expression of intensification in French and Dutch, we will develop a DCxG view of intensification and formulate our research hypotheses for the remainder of the study. Section 4 will present the corpus data and methods of our study. Section 5 provides an in-depth analysis of the use of intensifying constructions at three different levels of schematicity. Furthermore, we will indicate the implications of these results for a DCxG representation of intensifying constructions in the diasystem of French-speaking learners of Dutch, while comparing the CLIL and non-CLIL populations. In Section 6, finally, we interpret our findings within the framework of DCxG and add some concluding observations.

2. Multilingualism and DCxG

2.1 Multilingualism and language contact in Belgium

Belgium is internationally known as a multilingual country, comprising three official languages (Dutch, French, and German) and four language areas: the Dutch-speaking area (Flanders), the French-speaking area (Wallonia), the Dutch-French bilingual region of Brussels-Capital, and the German-speaking area. Good language skills are highly valued in Belgium and are needed in the job market (Mettewie & Van Mensel, 2009). Nevertheless, recent research conducted by the European Union indicates that foreign language teaching and learning in Belgium is on a downward spiral (Eurostat, 2016; De Standaard, 2016).

The pedagogical approach of CLIL has been promoted by the European Union to enhance widespread multilingualism (Coyle, Hood, & Marsh, 2010). In CLIL, several school subjects (e.g. history, geography, science, and mathematics) are taught in a language other than the students' L1 (Blondin, 2003; Chopey-Paquet, 2008; Hiligsmann et al., 2017b). In order to gain a more complete view of the impact of CLIL on learning foreign languages (Dutch and English) in French-speaking Belgium, a multidisciplinary team of researchers from the Université catholique de Louvain and the Université de Namur have been conducting a joint research project (2014–2019) exploring linguistic, cognitive, educational, and socio-affective avenues of research (cf. Hiligsmann et al., 2017b).

In this regard, it is worth mentioning that the Dutch- and French-speaking communities in Belgium have a relatively high degree of autonomy in political, educational, and other matters, and it might come as a surprise to learn that teenagers living in the French Community are only rarely exposed to Dutch outside the school context. English, by contrast, is pervasive in everyday Belgian life through social media, music, television, etc.[2]

This different extent of extracurricular exposure to Dutch and English is confirmed by a questionnaire administered to the secondary school students (twelfth grade, aged 17–19) involved in our research project (see also Section 4.1). We measured the frequency of current informal contact with the target language (TL) and compiled a composite measure (Cronbach's alpha .78) consisting of frequency of Internet use in the TL, frequency of TL use (both productive and receptive) outside school, and frequency of contact with mother-tongue (L1) Dutch/English speakers outside school (cf. Van Mensel et al., 2020). The students replied on a scale

2. Dutch and English have a different status in the French Community of Belgium: Dutch is an official language in Belgium, and hence considered a 'second language' (L2), whereas English is a 'foreign language' (FL).

of 1 to 5 (never – rarely – sometimes – often – very often). As Table 1 shows, we observe on average a lower degree of extracurricular exposure to Dutch, compared with English. In general terms, the English learners report being at least 'sometimes' in contact with English outside school, whereas the Dutch learners report using this language only 'rarely' in informal extracurricular contexts. Moreover, the results indicate that CLIL students have significantly more informal contact with the TL (Dutch or English) compared with their non-CLIL peers.[3]

Table 1. Extracurricular TL input

	English		Dutch	
	Non-CLIL	CLIL	Non-CLIL	CLIL
n	100	100	108	137
Mean	3.02	3.42	2.05	2.54
S.D.	0.09	0.08	0.07	0.07

As put forth in Muñoz (2014), TL exposure can refer both to formal or informal exposure. Formal input consists of TL instruction in scholarly contexts, often measured in terms of the number of years of instruction. Informal input denotes extracurricular contact with the TL, such as conversations with L1 speakers, watching television or reading books in the TL, or using the TL on the Internet. Recent research shows that exposure time is indeed an important indicator of TL proficiency outcomes (e.g. Lambelet & Berthele, 2015). Second languages are assumed to play a prominent social role in the so-called "extra-curricular level of the learning context" (Housen et al., 2011, p. 89). Yet, given the low degree of informal extracurricular contact with Dutch in French-speaking Belgium, it is obvious that formal second language instruction at school, especially for Dutch, becomes even more crucial if students are to acquire good proficiency in this national language. Students enrolled in CLIL secondary schools in the French-speaking Community of Belgium receive a considerable amount of additional target-language exposure, at least 4 hours per week more than their non-CLIL peers (cf. Section 4.1), which is expected to be beneficial for their foreign language acquisition.

Although the CLIL approach has been extensively documented internationally (e.g. Ruiz de Zarobe et al., 2011; Rumlich, 2016), its impact on SLA remains a subject of scholarly debate. Dalton-Puffer (2007) reports that, at least for English as a foreign language, morphology, receptive skills, vocabulary, and spoken fluency are skills that are positively affected by CLIL, while skills such as syntax, writing, and pragmatics are less clearly affected. More than two decades after it was first

3. English $U = 3455.0, z = -2.9, p < 0.05, r = -0.21$; Dutch $U = 4386.0, z = -4.3, p < 0.05, r = -0.27$

implemented in French-speaking Belgium, the number of schools and students involved in CLIL programs continue to increase steadily. Nonetheless, research on CLIL in French-speaking Belgium is still relatively scarce (Chopey-Paquet, 2008; Beheydt, 2014; Rasier, Bu, Jouniaux, & Hiligsmann, 2014). This study will contribute to filling this gap by assessing the impact of CLIL on the acquisition of Dutch intensification by learners in French-speaking Belgium.

2.2 Multilingualism and SLA

As already mentioned, this study takes a constructionist perspective on SLA that comes under the umbrella of usage-based approaches. According to Ortega (2013, pp. 113–114), usage-based/emergentist theories share the following viewpoints. First, grammar learning is not rule-based (deductive), but driven by experience (inductive), that is, guided by exposure and how learners process input (cf. Ellis & Cadierno, 2009). Second, both input variables, such as frequency and salience, and learner variables, such as attention and ability of categorization, are key factors in language learning. Third, learner language and language development are characterized by variability and by a dynamic interaction of multiple variables (see also Verspoor et al., 2011).

In the next sections, we will briefly introduce some key insights from recent cognitive and usage-based research for the study of SLA, focusing on the implications of these approaches for the concepts of multilingualism (2.2.1), exposure-induced implicit learning (2.2.2), and cross-linguistic influence (2.2.3).

2.2.1 *Holistic view of multilingualism*

Earlier (generative) conceptualizations of multilingualism can be considered *fractional* or *additive*, as "speakers are said to 'add up' whole autonomous languages or even partial structural bits of these languages" (García & Li Wei, 2014, p. 12). However, Cummins (1979) observed that multilingual speakers do not store their language knowledge in two separate compartments in the brain and that proficiency in one language is related to proficiency in another language (cf. the so-called "Common Underlying Proficiency" hypothesis).

Recent psycho- and neurolinguistic research has corroborated Cummins' (1979) hypothesis and shows even stronger interrelatedness between bilinguals' language skills. When one language is being used, the other language is simultaneously activated (Hartsuiker, Pickering, & Veltkamp, 2004; De Groot, 2011; Hartsuiker & Bernolet, 2017). García and Otheguy (2015, p. 644) even claim that "there are no two languages that are cognitively activated or deactivated as the social and contextual situation demands, but rather, […] a single array of disaggregated features that is always activated".

2.2.2 *Exposure-induced implicit learning*

Similar to L1 acquisition, usage-based approaches to SLA postulate that L2 acquisition is largely dependent on the learner's implicit exposure to the language to be learned. Frequency of use in the input is indeed deemed to foster the *entrenchment* (Langacker, 1987) of L2 constructions.[4]

The acquisition of a particular construction involves a process in which learners are able to detect patterns in their input, to generalize about particular examples, recognizing an overarching category, and to extend patterns to new contexts (Bybee, 2008). This does not mean that particular occurrences of constructions disappear in the process of generalization and abstraction. Specifically, if these particular occurrences reappear frequently in the input (high token frequency), their mental representations will be strengthened too. As such, "language emerges as a complex and adaptive ([…] continuously fine-tuning) system from the interaction of simple cognitive learning mechanisms with the input (and in interaction with other speakers in various social settings)" (Ellis & Wulff, 2008, p. 3).

The language network of an L2 learner is expected to reflect the order of acquisition and the frequency with which a learner has encountered and used a particular pattern in his/her L2. Constructions that are salient, that are contingent in form and meaning, and that occur frequently and cohesively (without structural changes) in a learner's input may be acquired earlier and become more entrenched (Ellis & Wulff, 2008; Bybee, 2010; Diessel, 2016). Importantly, the acquisition process is crucially dependent on the type and token frequencies with which particular constructions appear in the input (Ellis & Cadierno, 2009, p. 112).

Applied to our case study, we assume that the amount and quality of both abstract types of intensifying constructions (e.g. intensifying compounds $[[X]_N\ [Y]_{ADJ}]_{ADJ}$, cf. Section 3.2) and concrete instantiations (chunks) (e.g. *bloedheet* 'lit. blood-hot') to which learners are exposed will be key to successful target-like acquisition of Dutch intensification.

2.2.3 *Cross-linguistic influence*

According to Ringbom (2016, p. 43), L2 acquisition consists of linking L2 items (words, phonemes, morphemes, syntactic units) to familiar L1 items in such a manner that a "one-to-one relationship" is established. This process of linkage may be straightforward when the L2 item has an equivalent in the L1. Nevertheless, if the L2 construction does not perfectly map onto an existing L1 construction, the process may be more problematic. Ellis & Cadierno (2009, p. 112) conclude that L2

4. Schmid (2015, p. 10) defines entrenchment "as the continuous routinization and re-organization of association, depending on exposure to and frequency of identical or similar processing events, subject to the exigencies of the social environment".

acquisition is more complex than L1 acquisition, not only due to issues of quantity and quality of exposure, but also because "during development, L2 constructions are in direct competition with those of the learners' L1, and these may represent alternative ways of construing the same reality". As a result, a learner's L1 knowledge can be considered to be advantageous as well as disadvantageous for SLA (Bybee, 2008, p. 232). Even though L2 input and teaching are assumed to foster L2 acquisition, the L1-specific attentional biases may still result in *blind spots* for particular structures in the L2 (Ellis & Sagarra, 2011; Jach, 2017).

The concepts of *interlanguage* (Selinker, 1972, 2014) or *multicompetence* (Cook, 2016) precisely refer to learners' L2 use, which preserves some features of their L1 and may also overgeneralize some L2 features and rules. Learners develop their own language, using the assets available to them, such as their mother tongue, their target-language input through schoolbooks or from teacher input, and their own learning strategies.

In that respect, the term *transfer* has been criticized as being too narrow to capture all cognitive processes that may take place in an L2 learner's mind. Cook (2016, p. 24), for instance, argues that transfer restricts "L2 users to the position of cumulative monolinguals rather than seeing the richness of the L2 mind".[5] He furthermore advances that learners "do not have a defective copy of the L2 in their minds so much as an interlanguage of their own making. An L2 learner thus possesses an L1 and an L2 interlanguage" (Cook, 2016, p. 27).

The development of a learner's interlanguage during SLA has recently been conceptualized as a complex process of mental restructuring.[6] In this context, the work of Treffers-Daller and Tidball (2015) presenting different scenarios of cognitive restructuring is highly relevant. First, in the *transfer scenario*, the L2-users are significantly different from monolingual users of L2 but not from monolingual users of L1. Second, the *restructuring scenario* implies that the learners' use of the target language is significantly different from that of monolingual users of the learners' L1, but not from language produced by monolingual users of the target language. The third scenario is the *creative or hybrid* one, in which the learners' use of the target language differs significantly from both groups of monolingual L1

5. This depends of course on one's understanding of transfer. Jarvis (2000, p. 250) postulates that transfer is "an inert outcome of a shared conceptual system underlying both L1 and IL structures". The latter view is much more in accordance with usage-based approaches, which theorize that linguistic experiences of both languages contribute to the development of constructions, since all experiences are stored in the memory; any previous linguistic experience may favor or hinder acquiring another language (Jach, 2017).

6. Proof of such a shift in cognitive processes in the minds of learners is provided by Athanasopoulos (2006, 2011), whose study suggests that intermediate-level learners display cognitive processing based on their L1, whereas advanced learners show more cognitive patterns based on the L2.

speakers. Finally, in the *convergence scenario*, the learners' use of the target language does not differ significantly from either group of monolinguals.

2.3 A DCxG view of multilingualism and SLA

Most research conducted to date within the constructionist framework has mainly adopted theoretical and descriptive perspectives, but recently applied approaches have been developed. De Knop & Gilquin's (2016) edited volume on *Applied Construction Grammar*, for instance, provides a collection of studies showing the direct relevance of CxG-inspired insights to the domains of SLA and foreign language pedagogy. In this constructionist view of SLA, "[F]oreign language learning is construction learning" (Herbst, 2016, p. 21).

Following up on the recent cognitive insights into multilingualism (Section 2.2), Hilpert and Östman (2014, p. 139) argue that "[b]ilingual or multilingual speakers have the ability to form meta-generalizations that connect corresponding constructions from different languages in their repertoire". In the same vein, the new model of *Diasystematic Construction Grammar* (DCxG) (Höder, 2012, 2014a, 2014b, 2018) conceptualizes the linguistic competence of multilingual speakers as one integrated "interlingual network of constructions with different degrees of schematicity" (Höder, 2012, p. 255), which are connected to each other along inheritance links. Höder (2018, p. 37) advances that "multilingual speakers and communities organize their grammatical knowledge on the basis of the available input via processes of interlingual identification, abstraction, generalisation, and categorisation, regardless of language boundaries". The so-called *multilingual constructicon* (see Figure 1) contains "some constructions [that] are unspecified for language (such as abstract syntactic constructions and lexical concepts), while others (above all lexically and phonologically filled constructions) are language-specific" (Höder, 2012, p. 247). The common structures are called *diaconstructions*, the latter *idioconstructions*.

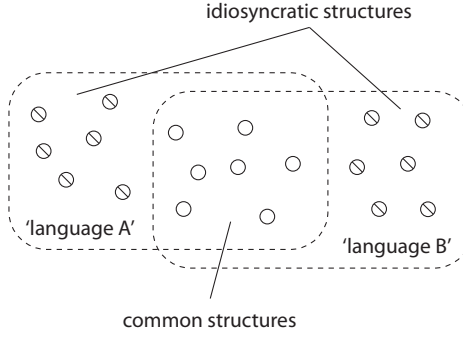

Figure 1. The multilingual constructicon (Höder, 2018, p. 44)

Although Höder's framework has so far mainly been applied to issues of language contact (cf. Boas & Höder, 2018), it could become a relevant analytical tool for SLA if we accept a definition of constructions as *learned*, but not necessarily as *conventionalized* form-meaning pairs (Höder et al., 2021 (this volume)) because learner constructions can be non-idiomatic (in the sense of 'non-target-like'). In the context of DCxG, SLA should be conceptualized as a dynamic process of constructional reorganization, involving construction addition (entrenchment of newly acquired constructions) and deletion (disentrenchment of redundant constructions) (Höder et al., 2021 (this volume)). During the process of L2 acquisition, new L2 constructions become entrenched and labelled for structural, semantic, and/or socio-linguistic properties, while at the same time previously acquired L1 constructions are either generalized or tagged for the L1.

The compatibility of the DCxG approach with recent insights into SLA is evidenced by the way processes of constructional reorganization map onto the four restructuring scenarios identified by Treffers-Daller & Tidball (2015) (see Section 2.2.3). The *transfer scenario* may involve overgeneralization of L1 constructions to the L2, with non-target-like outcomes. The *restructuring scenario*, on the other hand, implies successfully adding L2 constructions and forming diasystematic links between L1 and L2 constructions. Third, the *creative or hybrid scenario* may involve incorrect tagging of newly acquired L2 constructions. Finally, the process of successful (dis)entrenchment and generalization, resulting in productions that do not differ significantly from either the L1 or the L2, corresponds to the *convergence scenario*.

To sum up, the diasystematic view moves away from comparison (implicit or otherwise) with the target, and conceptualizes the constructions specific to each language as *tagged* for that particular language, in a similar manner to how constructions are tagged for particular social or contextual variables. Moreover, DCxG can elucidate the effect of cross-linguistic similarities and differences. Whereas typologically similar languages have a higher degree of diasystematicity (i.e. more abstract constructions are shared between the two languages, and learners can build on their L1 experiences and routines for their L2 productions), typological differences between languages imply a lower degree of diasystematicity. The greater the typological difference between the L1 and L2, the more reorganizational processes need to take place in the learners' diasystem.

3. Intensifying constructions in French and Dutch: A DCxG view

3.1 Intensification from a CxG perspective

In various languages, intensification can be expressed by both syntactic and morphological constructions (cf. among others, Oebel, 2012; Rainer, 2015; van der Wouden & Foolen, 2017; Hendrikx, 2019) – leaving aside phonological intensification, such as vowel lengthening (e.g. Du. *Dit huis is gigaaantisch!* 'this house is huuuge') (cf. Buntinx & Van Goethem, 2018), and inherent lexical intensification (e.g. Fr. *merveilleux* 'marvelous'). Since intensifying structures are formed either morphologically or syntactically, a constructionist approach going beyond the traditional lexicon-grammar divide allows us to examine intensification in a unified way. Focusing on intensification of adjectives, we represent an intensifying construction as follows:

(1) $[[X]_{INT}\ [Y]_{ADJ}]_{ADJ/AP} \leftrightarrow$ 'very Y'

The Examples (2–4) illustrate that the Dutch adjective *koud* 'cold', for instance, can be intensified by a degree adverb (2), an intensifying prefix (3), or by forming part of an intensifying compound (4). In (2), a syntactic intensifying phrase is constructed (AP = adjectival phrase), while in (3) and (4) the intensifier-adjective combination forms a morphological construction (ADJ = adjective) (cf. Booij, 2010, 2018).

(2) $[[heel]_{ADV}\ [koud]_{ADJ}]_{AP} \leftrightarrow$ 'very cold'

(3) $[[super\text{-}]_{PREF}\ [koud]_{ADJ}]_{ADJ} \leftrightarrow$ 'very cold' (lit. super-cold)

(4) $[[steen]_{N}\ [koud]_{ADJ}]_{ADJ} \leftrightarrow$ 'very cold' (lit. stone-cold)

In the next sections, we discuss the formal (3.2) and semantic (3.3) properties of intensifying constructions, with a focus on the languages under study (French and Dutch), and indicate how they could be represented in a diasystematic constructional network (3.4).

3.2 Intensifying constructions at the formal level

Based on the information provided in various grammars, reference books, and specific studies focusing on intensification (cf. among others, Riegel et al., 1997; Booij, 2010; Rainer, 2015; van der Wouden & Foolen, 2017; Broekhuis, 2018), we inventoried the main intensifying constructions in the two languages under study. Table 2 shows that intensification in French and Dutch can overall be expressed by similar syntactic and morphological construction types. However, these may

not occur in the same proportions in both languages. Syntactically, French/Dutch adjectives can be intensified by degree adverbs, by adjective reduplication/repetition, or through inclusion in a comparative (simile) construction. Morphologically, French/Dutch adjectives can be intensified by prefixes or by forming adjectival compounds. Finally, superlative constructions are also subject to express intensification. Phonological means of intensification have not been taken into consideration in this study since we examine only written corpora (see Section 4.2).[7]

In spite of considerable cross-linguistic similarities between the expression of intensification in French and Dutch, some remarkable differences and language-specific preferences may be detected.

First, with respect to degree adverbs, French regularly makes use of the adverbial suffix *-ment* (e.g. *profondément* 'deeply', *absolument* 'absolutely', *complètement* 'completely') (Riegel et al., 1997, p. 363), while in Dutch, no suffix is used to form adverbs from adjectives (e.g. *diep, absoluut, compleet*). Second, both languages productively make use of intensifying prefixes (e.g. *super-, hyper-, ultra-*), but only French has an intensifying suffix at its disposal (e.g. *rarissime* 'extremely rare'). Third, intensifying compounds (*ijskoud* 'ice-cold', *ijzersterk* 'iron-strong', *bloedmooi* 'lit. blood-beautiful; very beautiful') are a productive way of expressing intensification in Dutch, as in other Germanic languages (cf. Norde & Van Goethem, 2014, 2018; van der Wouden & Foolen, 2017), but are marginal in French (Hendrikx, Van Goethem, Meunier, & Hiligsmann, 2017; Hendrikx, 2019). Fourth, typical of French – yet non-existent in Dutch[8] – is the intensifying infinitival construction (e.g. *laid à hurler* 'lit. ugly to shout; very ugly') (Riegel et al., 1997, p. 363).[9] Fifth, with respect to superlative constructions, the morphological formation is the unmarked strategy in Dutch, while the syntactic one is subject to specific restrictions (Hiligsmann et al., 2017a). Actually, contrary to English, even long adjectives (three or more syllables) form morphological superlatives in Dutch as a rule (e.g. *belangrijkst* 'most important'). French, on the other hand, displays the opposite tendency, with superlatives being expressed through syntactic formation ([*le/la plus* $[X]_{ADJ}]_{AP}$, e.g. *le plus important* 'the most important'), leaving aside some irregular formations (e.g. *le meilleur film que j'ai jamais vu* 'the best movie I've ever seen').

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7. The use of intensification in a spoken subset of our data is analyzed in Buntinx & Van Goethem (2018).

8. At least not as a means of adjective intensification. A closely related Dutch construction to express high intensity related to nouns is [N *om van te* Inf], e.g. *Voetbal om van te huilen* 'lit. football to of to cry; Football that makes you cry (= really bad football)'.

9. Riegel et al. (1997, p. 363) add even more phrasal intensifying expressions typical of French: for instance *on ne peut plus (facile)* 'couldn't be easier', *(beau) comme tout* 'beautiful as can be'.

More generally speaking, and basing ourselves on typological research distinguishing between analytical and synthetic tendencies in languages (among others, van Haeringen, 1956; Hüning et al., 2006; Lamiroy, 2011), we can assume a greater preference for analytical intensification in French (i.e. syntactic constructions) in comparison to Dutch, where a higher proportion of synthetic intensification (i.e. morphological constructions) may be expected.[10] In other words, we expect morphological intensifying constructions (such as prefixes and compounds) to be more exemplary of Dutch than of French. This cross-linguistic divergency may complicate the acquisition of Dutch synthetic intensifying constructions.

Table 2. Intensifying constructions at the formal level

	Intensifying construction	**Dutch**	**French**
Syntactic construction	*Intensifying adverb*		
	$[[X]_{ADV} + [Y]_{ADJ}]_{AP}$	*diep ontgoocheld* 'deeply disappointed'	*profondément déçu* 'deeply disappointed'
	Reduplicative construction		
	$[[X]_{ADJ}\ [X]_{ADJ}([X]_{ADJ})]_{AP}$	*mooi, mooi, mooi* 'nice nice, nice'	*un monde fou fou fou* 'a crazy crazy crazy world'
	Phrasal simile construction		
	Du. [(*zo)* $[X]_{ADJ}$ *als* $[Y]_{NP}]_{AP}$ Fr. [(*aussi*) $[X]_{ADJ}$ *que/ comme* $[Y]_{NP}]_{AP}$	*zo trots als een aap* 'lit. proud as a monkey; very proud'	*bête comme ses pieds / aussi bête que ses pieds* 'lit. stupid as his feet; very stupid'
	Infinitival construction		
	Fr. $[[X]_{ADJ}$ *à* $[Y]_{INF}]_{AP}$	/	*bête à pleurer* 'lit. stupid to cry; very stupid'

(*continued*)

10. The 'Germanic Sandwich Hypothesis' (van Haeringen, 1956; Hüning et al., 2006) draws a cline between English, Dutch, and German based on the encoding of grammatical knowledge. German is considered a synthetic language since grammatical information is typically encoded morphologically, through inflection for example, while English is seen as an analytical language since it typically encodes grammatical information syntactically. Dutch is situated in between these two poles. Van der Wouden & Foolen (2017) apply this hypothesis to the domain of intensification and observe that intensification in German, Dutch, and English generally follows this cline, with most intensifying compounds found in German, and most intensifying adverbs found in English.

Table 2. (*continued*)

	Intensifying construction	Dutch	French
Morphological construction	*Intensifying prefix*		
	[PREF + [Y]$_{ADJ}$]$_{ADJ}$	*overgelukkig* 'overjoyed'	*hypersensible* 'hypersensitive'
	Intensifying suffix		
	[[X]$_{ADJ}$ + SUFF]$_{ADJ}$	/	*richissime* 'extremely rich'
	Intensifying compound		
	[[X]$_{N/V/ADJ}$ + [Y]$_{ADJ}$]$_{ADJ}$	*bloedmooi* 'lit. blood-beautiful; very beautiful' *fonkelnieuw* 'lit. sparkle-new; brand-new' *dolblij* 'lit. crazy-happy; very happy'	[*ivre-mort* 'dead drunk']
Morphological or syntactic construction	*Superlative construction*		
	Du. [ADJ-*st*]$_{ADJ}$ Du. [*(de/het) meest* ADJ]$_{AP}$ Fr. [*(le/la) plus* ADJ]$_{AP}$	*de leukste film ooit* 'the nicest movie ever' *het meest eenzame beroep ter wereld* 'the loneliest job in the world'	*le plus beau film que j'ai jamais vu* 'the nicest movie film I've ever seen'

3.3 Intensifying constructions at the semantic level

With respect to the semantics of intensification, various scholars have shown that the gradability, boundedness, and scalarity of an adjective play an important role in the formation of intensifying constructions. In line with Broekhuis (2018, Section 1.3.2.2) and Biber et al. (1999, p. 521), we consider that only *gradable* adjectives can undergo intensification; non-gradable adjectives cannot be intensified (e.g. **very daily*, Du. **heel driehoekig* 'lit. very triangular'). Following Paradis (1997, 2001), gradable adjectives are divided into *scalar, limit*, and *extreme* adjectives. Scalar adjectives are implicit antonyms (e.g. *long* vs. *short*) and the property they express is situated on an open scale. They can be used as comparatives and superlatives (*good, better, best; interesting, more interesting, most interesting*) (Paradis, 1997, p. 51). Extreme adjectives are implicit antonyms (e.g. *fantastic* vs. *horrible*), situated on a bounded scale. Contrary to scalar adjectives, they occupy the outer regions of a mental scale. For instance, on the scale of merit, the superlatives *excellent* and *terrible* occupy the positive and the negative extremes of the scale (Paradis, 1997,

p. 54). This implies that extreme adjectives are typically not scaled upwards: **this one is even more excellent*. Finally, limit adjectives are implicitly complementary (cf. one cannot be "not entirely dead but not entirely alive either"). The property they express is situated on a bounded scale and, like extreme adjectives, they are typically not scaled upwards (**more dead, *deader*), although they are gradable (e.g. *completely dead*). They differ from scalar adjectives in that they are free from subjective features (Paradis, 1997, p. 50): that is to say, speakers will agree on whether a person is dead or not, but they might disagree on whether a person is beautiful or not.

Like adjectives, degree-modifying adverbs can be differentiated according to the same criteria of boundedness and oppositeness. Bounded modifiers or *maximizers* denote the upper extreme of the scale (Quirk et al., 1997, p. 590) and are apt to intensify bounded adjectives (limit and extreme adjectives) (e.g. *totally empty, absolutely excellent*). Unbounded modifiers or *boosters*, on the other hand, denote a high point on the scale (Quirk et al., 1997, p. 591) and are found to modify especially unbounded (scalar) adjectives (e.g. *very long, deeply disappointed*).[11] A schematic overview of the semantic types of adjectives and intensifiers can be found in Figure 2.

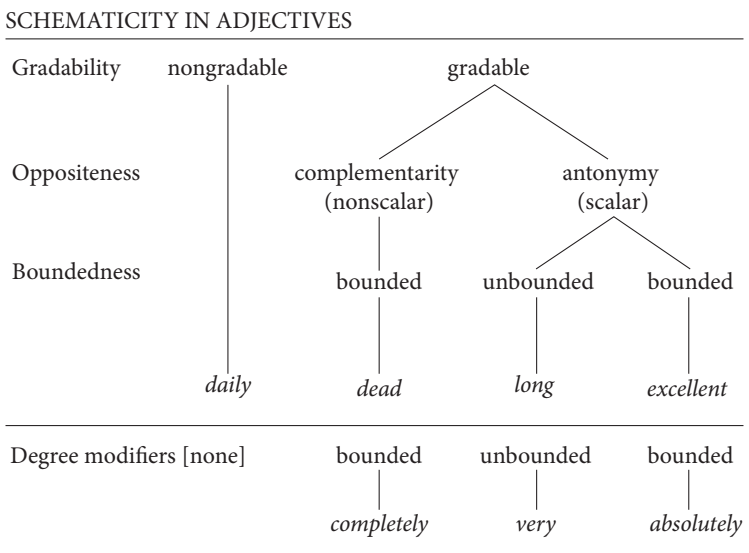

Figure 2. Semantic classification of intensifying constructions (from Paradis, 1997, p. 62)

11. Other classifications of intensifiers can be found in, for example, Rainer (2015) and König (2017).

This classification suggests a strong correlation between the semantic type of the intensifier and the semantic type of the modified adjective. Bounded intensifiers (maximizers) tend to modify bounded adjectives (limit and extreme adjectives), whereas unbounded intensifiers (boosters) are more likely to modify unbounded adjectives (scalar adjectives) (Paradis, 1997). However, boundedness is not necessarily fixed in adjectives, since an adjective can acquire a different status of boundedness according to the context in which it occurs, through a process of *contextual modulation* or *coercion* (Michaelis, 2004; Paradis, 2001, p. 48). Quirk et al. (1985, pp. 469–470) describe this process as follows:

> Amplifiers and comparatives are available for adjectives that refer to a quality that is thought of as having values on a scale. Thus, in *John is English* the adjective *English* does not allow amplifiers or comparatives if it refers to John's nationality, which is not a quality of John's. However, if the adjective refers qualitatively to the way he behaves or to his racial background, they are admitted *John is very English/more English than the English. She is thoroughly/three quarters Irish*.
>
> (Quirk et al., 1985, pp. 469–470)

Importantly, Paradis's (1997) classification is based on English and may not have universal explanatory power. Tribushinina (2011), for instance, shows that boundedness in Russian adjectives does not necessarily follow the same principles. More specifically, she observes that scalar adjectives in Russian are frequently intensified by bounded intensifiers (such as maximizers), while this is not a productive construction in English (e.g. **totally long*). Nevertheless, since French and Dutch are typologically much closer to English than Russian, we do not expect to find such different semantic organizations in the languages under study.

3.4 A diasystematic constructional network of intensification in Dutch and French

Applying the DCxG approach to our case study, we expect the multilingual constructicon of French-Dutch bilinguals to comprise some pre-existing *diaschemas*, such as the prototypical intensifying construction combining a boosting intensifier with a scalar adjective.

Figure 3 indicates how some of the intensifying constructions presented in Section 3.2 are integrated into such a French-Dutch multilingual constructional network. The overarching schematic intensifying diaconstruction is instantiated by another schematic construction involving degree modification by a boosting adverb in both languages. At the lower levels of schematicity, this diaconstruction is represented by lexically filled idioconstructions in French and Dutch (e.g. Fr. *très facile* 'very easy', Du. *heel leuk* 'very nice'). However, both French and Dutch

have some language-specific constructions at their disposal, which will need to be tagged for the respective languages, although they are still instantiations of the overarching [$INT_{BOOSTER}$ + ADJ_{SCALAR}]$_{ADJ/AP}$ pattern. This can be illustrated by the French infinitival intensifying construction (e.g. *bête à pleurer* 'lit. stupid to cry; very stupid') and the Dutch intensifying compound pattern (e.g. *bloedmooi* 'lit. blood-beautiful; very beautiful').

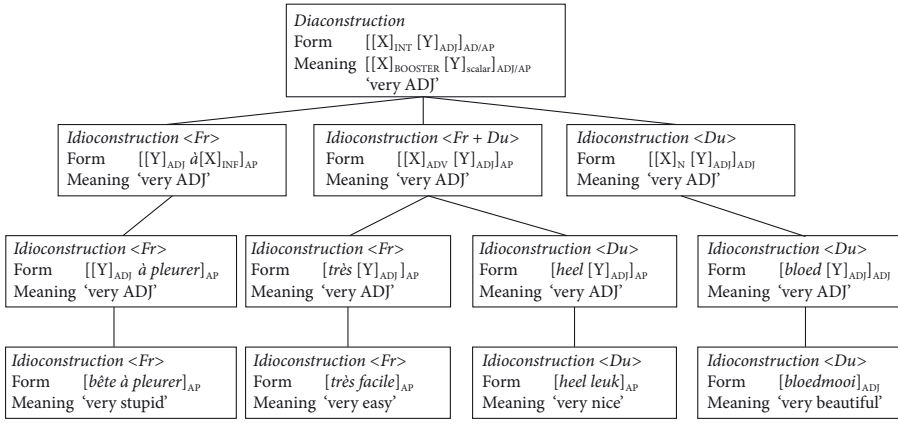

Figure 3. Intensifying diaconstructions and idioconstructions in French and Dutch

Whereas Figure 3 represents only a snapshot of the *constructicon* in the field of intensification of a bilingual speaker of French and Dutch, the constructional network of an L2 learner will –in principle –be less complete. An L1 speaker of French learning Dutch will have access to all French intensifying idioconstructions, but during the L2 acquisition process, several restructuring processes will have to take place. Some idioconstructions (tagged for Dutch) will have to be added to his/her constructicon, and certain idioconstructions (tagged for French) will have to develop into common diaconstructions, while other French idioconstructions will remain tagged for French and will have to be disentrenched when producing L2 Dutch. Moreover, it can be assumed that Dutch idioconstructions that do not occur in French, or that have a much lower degree of productivity in the L1 than in the L2, may remain blind spots for the learner in case of insufficient exposure to these L2 constructions.

In what follows, we will investigate corpus data collected among secondary school learners of Dutch in French-speaking Belgium. Aside from examining which dia- and idio-intensifying constructions can be retrieved in their L2 Dutch written productions, we will assess the impact of the cross-linguistic differences observed between intensification in French and Dutch and the effect of additional L2 Dutch input in CLIL programs.

We expect non-CLIL learners of Dutch to form fewer intensifying diaconstructions and acquire fewer Dutch idioconstructions during the acquisition of L2 Dutch when producing intensification in Dutch, because of an insufficient exposure to Dutch, both informally (see Section 2.1) and formally. Conversely, the CLIL population benefits from both more informal (Section 2.1) and formal (CLIL) exposure to Dutch and we expect this additional amount of input to enhance more far-reaching reorganizational processes in their multilingual constructicon. As a result, their L2 use of Dutch can be assumed to incorporate more formal and semantic properties typical of L1 Dutch intensification.

These research hypotheses will be addressed by investigating the written output of the learners at three different levels of schematicity (schematic, semi-schematic, and substantive intensifying constructions), while taking into account both formal and semantic aspects of intensification (Section 5). Before presenting this multilevel constructional analysis, we provide more information on the corpus data and methods underlying our research in Section 4.

4. Corpus data and methods

4.1 Participants

The data were collected from 196 sixth-year (twelfth grade) French-speaking learners of Dutch from six different secondary schools in Wallonia: 123 students (62.76%) were enrolled in CLIL programs and 73 (37.42%) were taking the traditional foreign language program.[12] The schools in the sample were diversified with regard to location, socio-economic status, and education authority (official education and publicly subsidized schools) (see also Hiligsmann et al., 2017b; Van Mensel et al., 2020). The average age of the participants was 18.03 years old in non-CLIL and 17.95 in CLIL; 47.45% were female and 52.55% male.

Data from the control group of L1 Dutch speakers were collected in both the Netherlands and Flanders (the Dutch-speaking community of Belgium) in fall 2015 and winter 2016 from 59 Dutch-speaking fifth-year (eleventh grade)

12. A total number of 245 French-speaking learners were involved in the research project (133 in CLIL and 112 in non-CLIL), but some texts were lost due to technical problems, and others were excluded from the analyses because the project was longitudinal, and some students did not participate in all stages of data collection. Consequently, the analysis includes more texts written in L1 French than texts written in L2 Dutch from French-speaking learners (cf. Table 4). Only 8 non-CLIL students had previously been enrolled in the CLIL track during their L2 Dutch education; 11 students had changed from CLIL English to CLIL Dutch in the previous years.

secondary-school students, of whom 18.64% were male, and 81.36% female (average age: 16.64 years old).

Table 3 provides the descriptive statistics for the participants in the sample. Note that the CLIL students benefitted from almost two years' more L2 Dutch instruction on average.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics for the students in the sample

		L2 Dutch Non-CLIL (73)	**L2 Dutch CLIL (123)**	**L1 Dutch (59)**
Gender	Female	37	56	48
		50.68%	45.53%	81.36%
	Male	36	67	11
		49.32%	54.47%	18.64%
Age	Mean	18.03	17.95	16.64
	S.D.	0.55	0.40	0.64
L2 Dutch instruction (number of years)	Mean	8.76	10.14	–
	S.D.	2.46	2.66	
Nationality	Belgian	73	123	36
		100%	100%	61.02%
	Dutch	–	–	23
				38.98%

4.2 Task and collected data

All participants were asked to write an e-mail to a friend on the topic of an imaginary party they had been to or about their holiday. Since intensification is used more frequently in informal contexts (Grandi, 2017, p. 64), it was expected that the task of writing an e-mail to a friend would elicit relatively informal language use, including intensifiers.

The participating students wrote one e-mail in their target language (Dutch) in the morning and one e-mail on the other topic in their L1 French in the afternoon. The text topics were randomly assigned; the participants received the same written and oral instructions. The texts had to be at least 15 lines long, and the students were given 25 minutes for the writing exercise. The spell-check on the personal computers used for data collection was turned off. The control group followed the same procedure, but they wrote only one e-mail (in their L1).

The participants wrote their e-mail directly in a text window in LimeSurvey; some party/holiday pictures were added for inspiration. Table 4 provides an overview of the total number of texts and words per subcorpus.

Table 4. Number of texts and number of words per subcorpus

	L1 French	L2 Dutch non-CLIL	L2 Dutch CLIL	L1 Dutch (controls)
Texts	255	72	123	59
Words	80,237	15,535	33,495	13,220
Average text length (in words)	315	216	272	224

4.3 Annotation of the data and methods

In order to extract all intensified adjectives from the corpus data, the written productions were first tagged for part of speech, using the language-specific versions of TreeTagger (Schmid, 1994). However, the tagging was used only as a support and was manually corrected where necessary (excluding elements that were incorrectly tagged as adjectives, and including adjectives that were not recognized as such by the tagger).

In addition to the use of intensification in the aggregate data sets, our analysis in the next sections will also provide information on the individual scores calculated for each e-mail. For instance, the proportion of syntactic intensifying constructions was calculated as follows: the number of syntactic intensifying constructions divided by the total number of intensifying constructions in that particular text. The scores calculated for each text individually were compared across conditions (CLIL and non-CLIL and the control groups) using the Mann-Whitney U test.

5. Intensifying constructions in the diasystem of French-speaking learners of Dutch (non-CLIL and CLIL)

In order to obtain a comprehensive picture of the learners' L2 Dutch use of intensification, we study their output of intensifying constructions at three different levels of constructional analysis: the higher level of the schematic intensifying construction (Section 5.1), the intermediate level of the semi-schematic structural patterns (Section 5.2), and the lower level of lexically specified intensifying constructions (Section 5.3). As shown by Gilquin (2015) for the study of phrasal verbs, this kind of multilevel analysis does not necessarily produce similar results at each level: the difficulties for the learners may be more or less marked depending on the level of constructional analysis.

5.1 Intensifying constructions at the schematic level

At the highest level of schematicity, we analyze in 5.1.1 the use of intensifying constructions at the formal level, and in 5.1.2 at the semantic level.

5.1.1 *Formal properties*

Table 5 shows the absolute and relative frequencies of use of the main intensifying construction types in the merged data from the L1 French, L2 Dutch (CLIL and non-CLIL learner data), and L1 Dutch (control data) corpora.

The results show that adverbs noticeably stand out as the default intensifiers in all subcorpora. All other types of intensifying constructions can be considered marginal since they do not represent more than 7% of the use of intensifying constructions in any of the conditions. Compared with the results of the non-CLIL group, the use of intensifying constructions by the CLIL learners approaches the target (L1 Dutch) better in the overall proportions of use of degree adverbs, superlatives, and prefixes. This is not the case for the use of intensifying compounds, which, however, correspond to surprisingly low frequencies, even in the control condition of the native speakers of Dutch. Moreover, the difference in the use of compounds between the non-CLIL and the CLIL group is not statistically significant.

Table 5. Frequencies of intensifying constructions in L1 French and L1/L2 Dutch – based on group values

		L1 French	L2 Dutch non-CLIL	L2 Dutch CLIL	L1 Dutch (controls)
Adverbs	*n*	519	222	479	166
	%	94.88	95.69	93.19	88.3
Superlatives	*n*	17	6	21	13
	%	3.11	2.59	4.09	6.91
Prefixes	*n*	0	2	9	6
	%	0	0.86	1.75	3.19
Compounds	*n*	0	2	4	1
	%	0	0.86	0.78	0.53
other	*n*	11	0	1	2
	%	2.01	0	0.19	1.06
TOTAL		**547**	**232**	**514**	**188**

In Table 6, all the abovementioned intensifying construction types are grouped according to their formation of a syntactic (degree adverbs) or morphological construction (prefixes, compounds). Superlatives and 'other' intensifying constructions

have been manually classified into the matching category.[13] The results in Table 6 are based on individual values (i.e. mean scores per student).

The resulting figures confirm the expected cross-linguistic differences between French and Dutch (Section 3.2). On average, the L1 Dutch speakers use a significantly higher proportion of morphological constructions (prefixes and compounds, and superlatives formed morphologically) than the native speakers of French,[14] although the mean proportion of syntactic intensifying constructions by far exceeds the mean proportion of morphological constructions in all conditions. Additionally, the results suggest that the CLIL learners seem to be a bit more sensitive to the use of morphological intensifying constructions than the non-CLIL learners of Dutch, even though this difference is not statistically significant.[15]

Table 6. Syntactic and morphological intensifying constructions in L1 French and L1/L2 Dutch – based on individual values

		L1 French	L2 Dutch non-CLIL	L2 Dutch CLIL	L1 Dutch (controls)
Syntactic cxn	Mean	0.817	0.878	0.900	0.754
	S.D.	0.384	0.289	0.238	0.382
Morphological cxn	Mean	0.004	0.008	0.019	0.029
	S.D.	0.064	0.046	0.112	0.109

5.1.2 *Semantic properties*

According to the semantic typology introduced in Section 3.3, the most frequent patterns to be expected are [$INT_{booster}$ + ADJ_{scalar}], [$INT_{maximizer}$ + $ADJ_{extreme}$] and [$INT_{maximizer}$ + ADJ_{limit}]. All other combinations would result from contextual modulation or coercion (see 3.3. and below). Table 7 indicates the use of intensifying constructions in the different conditions of our dataset.

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13. Hybrid constructions combining morphological and syntactic strategies have been left out (e.g. *de bekend**ste** Griekse tempel **ter wereld*** 'the most famous (lit. famous-est) Greek temple in the world').

14. $U = 5111.50$, $z = -2.95$, $p < .05^*$, $r = -0.13$. Note that the effect is significant, but the effect size is small.

15. Both learner groups produce significantly more syntactic intensifying constructions than L1 Dutch speakers (L2 Dutch non-CLIL/ control group L1 Dutch: $U = 1729.50$, $z = -2.15$, $p < .05^*$, $r = -0.19$; L2 Dutch CLIL/ control group L1 Dutch: $U = 3002.00$, $z = -1.20$, $p < .05^*$, $r = -0.09$). There are, however, no significant differences between the L2 non-CLIL and CLIL learner groups.

Table 7. Semantic types of intensifying constructions in L1 French and L1/L2 Dutch – based on individual values (* indicates a significant difference compared with L1 Dutch)

		L1 French	L2 Dutch non-CLIL	L2 Dutch CLIL	L1 Dutch (controls)
[booster + scalar]	Mean	0.445	0.877*	0.825	0.743
	S.D.	0.386	0.209	0.262	0.305
[booster + extreme]	Mean	0.059	0.017	0.035	0.036
	S.D.	0.190	0.076	0.112	0.158
[booster + limit]	Mean	0.085	0.031	0.030	0.046
	S.D.	0.228	0.100	0.117	0.107
[maximizer + scalar]	Mean	0.056	0.048*	0.063	0.109
	S.D.	0.161	0.158	0.161	0.185
[maximizer + extreme]	Mean	0.055	0	0.007	0
	S.D.	0.181	0	0.051	0
[maximizer + limit]	Mean	0.036	0	0.007	0.018
	S.D.	0.146	0	0.040	0.080

It can be deduced from Table 7 that the prototypical configuration of boosting intensifiers modifying scalar adjectives is the most frequent intensifying construction by large, especially in the L1 and L2 Dutch conditions. L1 French displays more varied proportions of semantic combinations and a considerable proportion of 'other' types. The latter category mostly includes markers that express an 'excess' meaning (*hyper, trop* 'too') and differ from boosters and maximizers in indicating that the highest degree of the scale is exceeded. According to Rainer (2015, p. 1346), excess markers quickly tend to become markers of high intensity (e.g. *C'était vraiment trop beau* 'lit. it was really too nice') and therefore we included them in a separate category of intensification.

Comparing the mean individual scores indicates that the non-CLIL students use the [booster + scalar] combination, exemplified in (5), even more frequently than their peers in CLIL and the L1 Dutch speakers, but only the difference with the L1 speakers is statistically significant ($U = 1225.5$, $z = -2.75$, $p < .05$*, $r = -0.240$).

(5) *L2 Dutch – Non-CLIL*
   a. *De sfeer was* ***heel goed****.*
      the atmosphere was very good
      'The atmosphere was very good.'
   b. *Dat was* ***echt tof****.*
      that was really cool
      'That was really cool.'

We assume that this combination characterizes learner language because it typically involves an all-round intensifier, such as *heel* 'very' or *echt* 'really', modifying a core, scalar adjective such as *goed* 'good', *tof* 'cool, nice' or *groot* 'big'.[16] Hence, it does not require the learner to make use of more advanced inherently emphatic vocabulary items (extreme adjectives such as *geweldig* 'tremendous' or *gigantisch* 'gigantic'). In addition, this combination avoids a possible non-target-like outcome in terms of semantic incompatibility, as exemplified in (6).

(6) *L2 Dutch – CLIL*
Haar jurk was ***totaal vuil****.*
Her dress was totally dirty
'Her dress was dirty all over/absolutely filthy.'

This finding ties in with earlier research on the acquisition of intensification. Lorenz (1999) reports similar results in his study on intensification by 16- to 18-year-old German-speaking learners of English. The English essays written by the learners were marked by an overrepresentation of intensifying constructions compared with the essays written by the L1 English speakers. This overrepresentation of intensifiers in Lorenz's learner data applies specifically to the group of *all-purpose intensifiers* as he calls it: "[t]he learners – much more than the native speakers – were found to employ closed-class, all-purpose intensifiers" (Lorenz, 1999, p. 215) (e.g. *very, so*). Granger's (1998) study on intensification by French-speaking learners of English reports comparable outcomes: "[learners] tend to use some amplifiers as 'all-rounders', a tendency confirmed by their use of the amplifier *very* […]. The analysis showed a highly significant overuse of *very*, the all-round amplifier par excellence" (Granger, 1998, p. 151). Interestingly, the finding also supports our hypothesis about a shared schematic diaconstruction between French and Dutch, with a boosting adverb modifying a scalar adjective (cf. Section 3.4). At the highest level of the constructional network, both CLIL and non-CLIL learners of L2 Dutch seem to have generalized (and even overgeneralized) this pattern from their L1 to their multilingual French-Dutch constructicon.

A second relevant finding is that, compared with native speakers of Dutch (cf. Example (7)), the L2 learners of Dutch appear to be much less at ease using intensifying constructions that are not exactly harmonious in terms of boundedness, such as the [maximizer + scalar] combination:

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16. Considering the all-round boosting adverbs *echt* 'really', *erg* 'lit. terribly, very', *heel* 'very', and *zeer* 'very' in the different subcorpora, we do indeed observe that these intensifiers are used much more frequently by the learners than by the L1 Dutch speakers. In L1 Dutch, *echt, erg, heel*, and *zeer* make up 52.08% of all intensifiers (n = 100) in contrast to 70.04% of all intensifiers used by CLIL learners (n = 360), and 82.76% of all intensifiers used by non-CLIL learners (n = 192).

(7) *L1 Dutch*
Iedereen werd ***echt helemaal gek*** *toen ze het zagen.*
everyone became really completely crazy when they it saw
'Everyone went absolutely crazy when they saw it.'

The non-CLIL learners of Dutch use significantly fewer [maximizer + scalar] combinations than the natives ($U = 1360.0$, $z = -2.52$, $p < .05^*$, $r = -0.220$). This may indicate once again that learners stick to the safer combinations of boosting scalar adjectives, while avoiding more creative combinations involving coercion. The latter are more subject to collocational restrictions and, hence, do not always result in successful outcomes (cf. Example (6)). Besides these two significant tendencies, we did not, however, observe any significant differences between the CLIL and the non-CLIL learners at this semantic level of the analysis, nor between the CLIL learners and the L1 Dutch speakers.

In terms of restructuring, the data suggest that the learners have overgeneralized a schematic intensifying pattern that is common to the L1 and the L2, at the expense of a more varied formal use and a more creative semantic use of intensification.

5.2 Intensifying constructions at the semi-schematic level

We will now turn our focus to the use of intensifying constructions at the semi-schematic level. To give an initial overview, we will compare in Section 5.2.1 the variation in use of intensifiers based on mean scores of Type-Token ratios in the different conditions. In 5.2.2 and 5.2.3, we will analyze this variation in use in more depth, focusing on semi-schematic patterns with lexically filled intensifiers (5.2.2) and adjectives (5.2.3). Section 5.2.4 will reveal that the L1 French and L1 Dutch productions contain specific partially filled idioconstructions that are not generalized/picked up by the CLIL and non-CLIL learners.

5.2.1 *Variation in use: General observations*

In this subsection, we consider the variation in use of intensifiers, by means of a Type-Token Ratio (TTR), based on the orthographically correct lemmas.[17]

Table 8 presents the average TTR of intensifiers in the e-mails written in L1 French and L2 Dutch, as well as the TTR of intensifiers in the e-mails written by the L1 Dutch speakers. The boxplots in Figure 4 show the variation in use of intensifiers per condition.

17. Spelling mistakes could affect the TTR and give a false impression of variation, while the same intensifier is actually used several times but misspelled in different ways.

Table 8. TTR of intensifiers in L1 French and L1/L2 Dutch – based on individual scores

	L1 French	L2 Dutch non-CLIL	L2 Dutch CLIL	L1 Dutch (controls)
Mean	0.82	0.58	0.65	0.76
S.D.	0.25	0.30	0.29	0.25

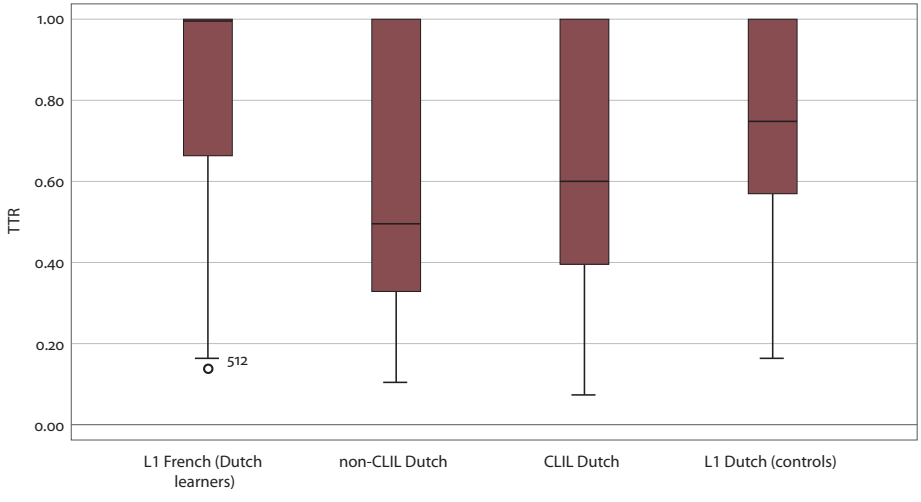

Figure 4. TTR of intensifiers in L1 French and L1 and L2 Dutch – based on individual scores

The results indicate that both learner groups (CLIL and non-CLIL Dutch) display a significantly less varied use of intensifiers in their L2 than in their L1 French. On average, they also use a significantly smaller variety of intensifiers than the L1 Dutch speakers.[18] Finally, the mean scores indicate that, overall, the non-CLIL learners of Dutch use a smaller variety of intensifiers than the CLIL Dutch learners, but this difference is not statistically significant.

In the next section, we take a closer look at the variety of intensifiers used in semi-schematic constructions in the learners' and L1 speakers' productions.

5.2.2 *Semi-schematic constructions with a lexically specified intensifier*

In the previous section, we observed an overall greater variety of intensifiers in the L1 data (both French and Dutch), compared with the learner data. In this section, we will explore the variety of intensifiers in each of the corpora based on

18. Non-CLIL versus L1 Dutch: $U = 1109.0$, $z = -3.23$, $p < .05^*$, $r = -0.28$.
CLIL versus L1 Dutch: $U = 2417.5$, $z = -2.22$, $p < .05^*$, $r = -0.16$.

a random sample of 100 intensifying constructions per condition. Based on this random sample, Table 9 provides an overview of the shared and specific intensifying constructions per condition, compared with the control corpus of L1 Dutch.

Table 9. Shared and specific intensifying constructions based on a random sample of 100 intensifiers per condition (number of tokens given between brackets)

L2 Dutch non-CLIL		L2 Dutch CLIL		L1 Dutch
Shared with L1 Dutch	**Specific to L2 Dutch**	**Shared with L1 Dutch**	**Specific to L2 Dutch**	**Specific to L1 Dutch**
7 types	**6 types**	**8 types**	**4 types**	**17 types**
[*heel* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (72)	*[*heel veel* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (2)	[*heel* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (32)	[*kei*+ADJ]$_{ADJ}$ (3)	[ADJ-*st*]$_{ADJ}$ (3)
[*echt* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (5)	*[*veel* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (2)	[*zo* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (12)	[*gewoon* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (2)	[*heel erg* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (3)
[*super* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (5)	*[ADJ-*st in the world*]$_{AP}$ (1)	[*echt* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (10)	[ADJ-*st in mijn leven*]$_{AP}$ (1)	[*ontzettend* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (3)
[*zeer* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (4)	[ADJ-*st ter wereld*]$_{AP}$ (1)	[ADJ-*st ooit*]$_{AP}$ (2)	*[*zeer* ADJ-*st*]$_{AP}$ (1)	[*echt super* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (2)
[*zo* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (3)	[*gewoon* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (1)	[*erg* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (2)		[ADJ-*st van de wereld*]$_{AP}$ (1)
[ADJ-*st van zijn leven*]$_{AP}$ (1)	[*zeer zeer* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (1)	[*super* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (2)		[*bloed*+ADJ]$_{ADJ}$ (1)
[*erg* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (1)		[*zeer* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (2)		[*compleet* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (1)
		[ADJ-*st van mijn leven*]$_{AP}$ (1)		[*echt mega* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (1)
				[*echt te* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (1)
				[*helemaal* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (1)
				[*lekker* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (1)
				[*meeega* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (1)
				[*ongelofelijk* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (1)
				[*te* ADJ *voor woorden*]$_{AP}$ (1)
				[*te* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (1)
				[*totaal* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (1)
				[*vet* ADJ]$_{AP}$ (1)

The sample taken from the written productions of the L1 Dutch speakers contains 17 constructions that do not appear in the samples of the learner groups. From these types, we can deduce some tendencies typical of L1 Dutch intensification, such as:

- complex intensification combining two intensifiers: e.g. [*echt mega* ADJ]$_{AP}$ 'really mega ADJ', [*heel erg* ADJ]$_{AP}$ 'lit. very terribly ADJ';
- lexically more complex degree adverbs (without a lexical equivalent in French): [*ongelofelijk* ADJ]$_{AP}$ 'incredibly ADJ', [*ontzettend* ADJ]$_{AP}$ 'tremendously ADJ';

- the use of maximizers: [*compleet* ADJ] 'completely ADJ', [*helemaal* ADJ]$_{AP}$ 'completely ADJ', [*totaal* ADJ]$_{AP}$ 'totally ADJ';
- excess markers conveying intensification: [*te* ADJ]$_{AP}$ 'too ADJ', [*te* ADJ *voor woorden*]$_{AP}$ 'too ADJ for words';
- intensifiers belonging to informal registers: [*lekker* ADJ]$_{AP}$ 'lit. tasty ADJ', [*vet* ADJ]$_{AP}$ 'lit. fat ADJ', [*meeega* ADJ]$_{AP}$ 'megaaa ADJ'.

Moreover, we can recognize the intensifying compound construction [*bloed*+ ADJ]$_{ADJ}$ (e.g. *bloedmooi* 'lit. blood-beautiful') as a semi-schematic idioconstruction in L1 Dutch. However, another intensifying compound construction appears in the CLIL sample, i.e. [*kei*+ADJ]$_{ADJ}$ (e.g. *keihard* 'lit. boulder-hard'), indicating that particular semi-schematic patterns for compounding do form part of the multilingual constructicon of some of the CLIL learners.

Overall, the learner samples are characterized by the use of short, basic, boosting degree adverbs, such as *echt* 'really', *erg* 'terribly', *heel* 'very', *zeer* 'very' and *zo* 'so', sometimes used in a reduplicative construction, e.g. [*zeer zeer* ADJ]$_{AP}$ 'very very ADJ'. Nevertheless, we can observe that the CLIL sample shows a somewhat more target-like use of intensifying constructions in terms of the variety of semi-schematic constructions. The CLIL learners of Dutch use more constructions that are also used by the L1 Dutch speakers (the sample contains 8 shared construction types), and fewer constructions that are not used by L1 Dutch speakers (the sample contains 4 constructions of the latter type), in comparison to the non-CLIL learners (7 shared construction types with the L1 Dutch speakers and 6 that are not used by the native speakers of Dutch).

Lastly, we notice that there are some erroneous intensifying constructions specific to the L2 data, and especially to the non-CLIL sample. Two of the constructions in the sample based on the non-CLIL productions are not grammatical: *[*heel veel* ADJ]$_{AP}$ 'lit. very much ADJ' and *[*veel* ADJ]$_{AP}$ 'lit. much ADJ'. In these two constructions, the quantifier *veel* 'many, much' is misused as an intensifier. Another construction involves code-switching: [ADJ-*st in the world*]$_{AP}$. We will further analyze any misuse in the learner data in Section 5.3.2.

5.2.3 *Semi-schematic constructions with a lexically specified adjective*

To enable us to consider in more detail how this variety manifests itself, we will now examine a case study that focuses on the different intensifiers combined with the adjective *leuk* 'nice'. We selected this adjective because it is the most frequently intensified adjective in our data. We will analyze all the occurrences of *leuk* 'nice' extracted from each of the subcorpora. Table 10 presents the intensifiers co-occurring with the adjective *leuk* 'nice' in the semi-schematic [[X]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$]$_{ADJ/AP}$ construction in L1 and L2 Dutch – they are ordered according to their frequency of appearance in the L1 Dutch data.

Table 10. Semi-schematic constructions with *leuk* in L1 and L2 Dutch

	L2 Dutch non-CLIL	L2 Dutch CLIL	L1 Dutch (controls)
	9 types	**11 types**	**12 types**
[[*super*]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$]$_{ADJ/AP}$[19]	2	17	13
	4.44%	16.19%	31.71%
[[*heel*]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$]$_{AP}$	27	29	11
	60.00%	27.62%	26.83%
[[*aller*]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$ [*-st*] $_{INT}$]$_{ADJ}$	2	8	3
	4.44%	7.62%	7.32%
[[*erg*]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$]$_{AP}$	–	–	3
	–	–	7.32%
[[*ontzettend*]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$]$_{AP}$	–	–	3
	–	–	7.32%
[[*echt super*]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$]$_{AP}$	–	–	2
	–	–	4.88%
[[*geweldig*]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$]$_{AP}$	–	–	1
	–	–	2.44%
[[*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$ [*-st*]$_{INT}$ [*ooit*]$_{INT}$]$_{AP}$	–	–	1
	–	–	2.44%
[[*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$ [*-st*]$_{INT}$ [*van mijn leven*]$_{INT}$]$_{AP}$	–	–	1
	–	–	2.44%
[[*te*]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$ [*voor woorden*]$_{INT}$]$_{AP}$	–	–	1
	–	–	2.44%
[[*zo*]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$]$_{AP}$	2	4	1
	4.44%	3.81%	2.44%
[[*zo*]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$ [*mogelijk*]$_{INT}$]]$_{AP}$	–	–	1
	–	–	2.44%
[[*zeer*]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$]$_{AP}$	5	31	–
	11.11%	29.52%	–
[[*echt*]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$]$_{AP}$	3	7	–
	6.67%	6.67%	–
[[*kei*]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$]$_{ADJ}$	–	4	–
	–	3.81%	–
[[*heel heel*]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$]$_{AP}$	–	1	–
	–	0.95%	–
*[[*heel veel*]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$]$_{AP}$	1	–	–
	2.22%	–	–

(*continued*)

19. In Dutch, *super* can be used as either a prefix or an adverb, forming an adjective (*superleuk*) or an adjectival phrase (*super leuk*). The distinction was based on the spelling criterion.

Table 10. (*continued*)

	L2 Dutch non-CLIL	L2 Dutch CLIL	L1 Dutch (controls)
	9 types	**11 types**	**12 types**
[[*ongelofelijk*]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$]$_{AP}$	–	2	–
	–	1.90%	–
*[[*veel*]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$]$_{AP}$	2	–	–
	4.44%	–	–
*[[*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$ [*-st*]$_{INT}$ [*nooit*]$_{INT}$]$_{AP}$	–	1	–
	–	1.90%	–
[[*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$ [*-st*]$_{INT}$ [*van de wereld*]$_{INT}$]$_{AP}$	–	1	–
	–	1.90%	–
[[*zeer zeer*]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$]$_{AP}$	1	–	–
	2.22%	–	–
Frequency of *leuk*	**81**	**204**	**84**
Frequency of intensified *leuk*	**45**	**105**	**41**

While both learner groups produce a slightly smaller variety of [[X]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$]$_{ADJ/AP}$ constructions than the L1 Dutch speakers (12 types), the non-CLIL Dutch learners make use of an even smaller variety of intensifier types than the CLIL Dutch learners (9 versus 11 different intensifiers, respectively).

A more crucial finding to be noted is that the construction [[*heel*]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$]$_{AP}$, which makes up 26.83% of the [[X]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$]$_{ADJ/AP}$ constructions in the sample of L1 productions, is noticeably overused by the non-CLIL learners. While the CLIL students use this construction in a native-like proportion (27.62%), in the sample of the non-CLIL learners' productions this construction can be considered 'overused', as it makes up 60% of the [[X]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$]$_{ADJ/AP}$ constructions. This finding can again be related to the fact that L2 learners tend to overgeneralize all-rounders that boost the meaning of basic scalar adjectives, as discussed in Section 5.1.

Another striking observation is the frequent use of the degree adverb *zeer* 'very' in combination with the adjective *leuk* as typical of the CLIL sample: although this construction is not present in the L1 Dutch sample, it represents almost 30% of the [[X]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$]$_{ADJ/AP}$ constructions in the L2 Dutch CLIL productions. *Zeer* 'very' is a more formal synonym of *heel* 'very' and less appropriate in an informal e-mail. It is likely that the CLIL learners picked up this intensifier from their formal input at school, for instance in their Dutch textbooks.

Finally, we can observe that among the 9 types of intensifying constructions with *leuk* present in the non-CLIL Dutch sample, two constructions (3 tokens) are ungrammatical because of the erroneous use of the quantifier *veel* 'many, much' as an intensifier: *[[*heel veel*]$_{INT}$ [*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$]$_{AP}$ 'lit. very much nice' and *[[*veel*]$_{INT}$

[*leuk*]$_{ADJ}$]$_{AP}$ 'lit. much nice'. Among the 11 types of constructions produced in the CLIL sample, only one construction (1 token) is not grammatical, i.e. **leukst nooit* 'lit. nicest never' instead of *leukst ooit* 'nicest ever' (see Section 5.3.2 for a more detailed discussion of misused constructions).

5.2.4 *Semi-schematic L1 idioconstructions*

When considering all the different intensifying constructions in the subcorpora, we find that both the L1 French and the L1 Dutch datasets contain some language-specific semi-schematic patterns. Such idioconstructions are exemplified for L1 French in (8–9) and for L1 Dutch in (10–11):

(8) [ADJ-*issime*]$_{ADJ}$
(…) il a décidé d'organiser une fete ***enormissime.***
he has decided to organize a party enormous-SUP
'(…) he decided to organize a huge party'.

(9) [*plus que* ADJ]$_{AP}$
la nourriture locale etait ***plus que bonne***
the food local was more than good
'The local food was more than tasty'

(10) [*te* ADJ *voor woorden*]$_{AP}$
Dat was echt ***te leuk voor woorden***
that was really too nice for words
'That was really too nice for words'

(11) [[*bloed*]$_{INT}$ ADJ]$_{ADJ}$
Vergeleken met het Nederlandse weer is het ***bloedheet.***
compared with the Dutch weather is it blood-hot
'Compared with the Dutch weather, it is boiling hot.'

The French idioconstructions in (8) and (9) do not have a corresponding construction in Dutch and hence are not subject to 'interlingual identification'. The Dutch idioconstructions in (10) and (11) do not seem to have been sufficiently salient in the learners' L2 input to have been picked up. Since these semi-schematic patterns do not have any equivalents in French, it is particularly difficult for L2 Dutch learners to incorporate them into their multilingual repertoire of intensifying constructions, notwithstanding the amount of target-language exposure they receive.[20]

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20. Other factors may play a role as well, of course, including the contingency and transparency of the construction in the target language input (Long & Sato, 1983; Doughty, 1991; Ellis & Wulff, 2008; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008).

5.3 Intensifying constructions at the substantive level

Finally, to assess the intensifying constructions at the substantive level, we will now analyze the mutually attracted intensifier-adjective pairs in the written productions of the learner groups and of the L1 speakers, making use of covarying collexeme analysis (Section 5.3.1). We will then explore misuse in the learners' productions (Section 5.3.2), which will enable us to gain a better understanding of their developing diasystem.

5.3.1 *Mutually attracted intensifier-adjective pairs*

We used covarying collexeme analyses (Gries & Stefanowitsch, 2004; Gries, 2007) to calculate the collostructional strength of the intensifier-adjective pairs in each of the subcorpora. Based on this analysis, we identified all intensifying collostructions, i.e. the intensifier-adjective pairs that are significantly attracted to each other. The top 20 most strongly mutually attracted pairs in each dataset are listed in Table 11; the full lists and the attraction scores are included in Appendix 1 (see also Hendrikx, 2019 and Hendrikx, Van Goethem, & Wulff, 2019 for a more detailed discussion of this methodology and its results).

Table 11. Top 20 mutually attracted intensifier-adjective pairs based on covarying collexeme analysis (token frequency provided between brackets)

	L1 French	L2 Dutch non-CLIL	L2 Dutch CLIL	L1 Dutch
1	*plein mort* (3) 'lit. full dead; dead drunk'	*peperduur* (2) 'lit. pepper-expensive; very expensive'	*allerleukst* (8) 'lit. all nicest; nicest ever'	*ziekst* (3) 'sickest'
2	*tout seul* (4) 'all alone'	*gewoon fantastisch* (1) 'just fantastic'	*best van mijn leven* (5) 'best of my life'	*zeer traditioneel* (2) 'very traditional'
3	*tout petit* (4) 'lit. all small; very small'	*lelijkst ter wereld* (1) 'ugliest in the world'	*zo moe* (3) 'so tired'	*super leuk* (13) 'super nice'
4	*vraiment génial* (17) 'really awesome'	*zeer praktisch* (2) 'very practical'	*super chic* (3) 'super stylish'	*compleet afgelegen* (1) 'completely remote'
5	*juste trop magnifique* (2) 'lit. just too magnificent'	*super cool* (2) 'super cool'	*echt boos* (3) 'really angry'	*vet bang* (1) 'lit. fat scared; terribly scared'
6	*vraiment super* (8) 'really great'	*erg sympathiek* (2) 'very nice'	**absoluut beschrikbaar* (1) 'absolutely available [spelling mistake]'	*bekendst van de wereld* (1) 'lit. best-known in the world'

Table 11. (*continued*)

	L1 French	L2 Dutch non-CLIL	L2 Dutch CLIL	L1 Dutch
7	*vraiment trop cool* (2) 'lit. really too cool; really very cool'	*best van mijn leven* (3) 'best of my life'	*loodrecht* (1) 'lit. lead-straight; perpendicular'	*mega kwaad* (1) 'mega angry'
8	*juste parfait* (3) 'just perfect'	*erg speciaal* (1) 'very special'	**veel gevaarlijk* (1) 'lit. much dangerous; very dangerous'	*zo zat* (1) 'so drunk'
9	*tout bleu* (2) 'all blue'	*zo aardig* (1) 'so nice'	*heel plezant* (8) 'very pleasant'	*heel erg gezellig* (3) 'lit. very terribly cozy; very cozy'
10	*sérieusement atteint* (1) 'seriously affected'	**zo smakkelijk* (1) 'so tasty [spelling mistake]'	**juist geniaal* (1) 'just fantastic'	*grootst ter wereld* (1) 'biggest in the world'
11	*particulièrement attendrissant* (1) 'particularly endearing'	*allerleukst* (2) 'lit. all nicest; nicest ever'	*meest toeristisch* (1) 'most touristic'	*bloedheet* (1) 'lit. blood-hot; boiling hot'
12	**echt super gâté* (1) 'lit. really [code-switching] super spoilt'		*beroemdst van de wereld* (1) 'most famous in the world'	*ongelofelijk heet* (1) 'incredibly hot'
13	*parfaitement organisé* (1) 'perfectly organized'		*totaal vuil* (1) 'lit. totally dirty; dirty all over'	*geweldig levendig* (1) 'amazingly alive'
14	*largement surmontable* (1) 'largely surmountable'		**zeer zonig* (4) 'very sunny [spelling mistake]'	*echt mega slecht* (1) 'really mega bad'
15	*totalement terrorisé* (1) 'totally terrorized'		*gewoon onvergetelijk* (1) 'just unforgettable'	*best ooit* (2) 'best ever'
16	*très accueillant* (5) 'very welcoming'		*helemaal bruin* (1) 'completely brown'	*totaal anders* (1) 'totally different'
17	*bien fou* (2) 'lit. well crazy; really crazy'		*helemaal kapot* (1) 'completely broken'	*lekker apart* (1) 'lit. tasty different; very different'
18	*bien meilleur* (2) 'lit. well better; much better'		*bekendst ter wereld* (1) 'best-known in the world'	*lekker bruin* (1) 'lit. tasty brown; very tanned'
19	*plus calme au monde* (1) 'the calmest in the world'		**zeer bekendst* (1) 'best-known'	*fucking hard* (1) 'fucking hard'
20	*affreusement dégoûtant* (1) 'horribly disgusting'		*super leuk* (17) 'super nice'	*zeer pikant* (1) 'very spicy'

The collostructional analysis allows us to identify specific intensifier-adjective combinations that occur significantly more frequently together than might be expected to happen randomly, in both the native and the learner language productions. In this manner, we can identify combinations that can be considered specific to the L1 and L2. In what follows, we present a qualitative analysis of the significant intensifying collostructions per condition, while taking into account characteristics such as the level of formality, complexity, and idiomaticity.

First, with respect to L1 French, we observe –among the top 20 of a total of 93 significant intensifying collostructions (see Appendix 1) –the following tendencies: collostructions containing infrequent and advanced vocabulary items and collocations (12), accumulation of intensifiers (13), informal language use (14), including the use of *trop, tout* and *bien* as intensifiers, and superlative constructions expressing intensification (15).[21]

(12) *largement surmontable* 'largely surmountable', *particulièrement attendrissant* 'particularly touching', *affreusement dégoûtant* 'horribly disgusting', *sérieusement atteint* 'seriously affected'

(13) *juste trop magnifique* 'just too magnificent', *vraiment trop cool* 'lit. really too cool; really very cool'

(14) *vraiment génial* 'really awesome', *bien fou* 'really crazy', *tout petit* 'very small'

(15) *plus calme au monde* 'calmest in the world'

Among the top 20 of 32 significant collostructions in the L1 Dutch control corpus, we can observe morphological intensifiers (both prefixes and compounds) (16). Furthermore, several collostructions of the L1 Dutch corpus include complex intensification (17) and superlative constructions (18). Some collostructions contain infrequent and advanced vocabulary items (19), while others stand out for their informal style (20).

(16) *mega kwaad* 'mega angry', *bloedheet* 'lit. blood-hot'

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21. We consulted dictionaries (*Van Dale* online, *Le Petit Robert* (Rey-Debove & Robert, 2014)) to check whether vocabulary items are marked as formal or informal. Moreover, we used samples from the Leipzig Corpora Collection (2002–2012) as reference corpora to check the frequency of the vocabulary items. Vocabulary items that make up less than 0.003% of the Leipzig mixed-typical 1M French 2012 (sample of 100,000 sentences, 647,635 words) or the Leipzig mixed-typical 1M Dutch 2012 (sample of 100,000 sentences, 2,010,700 words) are referred to as 'infrequent'. In addition, we used the EFLLex tool (Dürlich & François, 2018) to determine in which CEFR-level textbooks the vocabulary items occur most frequently. If they occur most frequently in A1 or A2-level textbooks, we considered the items 'basic vocabulary'. By contrast, if they occur most frequently in B1/C1-level textbooks, we referred to them as 'advanced vocabulary'.

(17) *heel erg gezellig* 'lit. very terribly cozy; very cozy', *echt mega slecht* 'really mega bad'

(18) *bekendst van de wereld* 'best-known in the world', *grootst ter wereld* 'biggest in the world'

(19) *compleet afgelegen* 'completely remote', *ongelofelijk heet* 'incredibly hot', *geweldig levendig* 'amazingly alive'

(20) *fucking hard, vet bang* 'lit. fat scared; terribly scared', *lekker apart* 'lit. tasty different; very different'

To sum up, a typical feature of L1 intensifying collostructions appears to be the use of advanced, complex, and informal intensifying constructions. Next, we investigate whether we can detect the same tendencies in the learner corpora and whether the learners' productions show more similarities to the target language, since the students have benefitted from more CLIL input.

The significant intensifying collostructions in the L2 Dutch CLIL corpus do indeed allow us to detect certain shared tendencies with the L1 Dutch corpus. Among the top 20 of 51 significant intensifying collostructions, we notice the use of morphological constructions (21), creative intensifying constructions in the form of superlatives (22), and lexically advanced (23) as well as relatively informal intensifying expressions (24). However, some of the collostructions in this subcorpus contain non-target-like use, such as the grammatical mistakes or unidiomatic combinations illustrated in (25) (for the typology of mistakes, see 5.3.2).

(21) *allerleukst* 'lit. all nicest; nicest ever', *loodrecht* 'lit. lead-straight; perpendicular'

(22) *best van mijn leven* 'best of my life', *beroemdst van de wereld* 'most famous in the world'

(23) *gewoon onvergetelijk* 'just unforgettable'

(24) *helemaal kapot* 'completely broken', *super chic* 'super stylish'

(25) **veel gevaarlijk* 'lit. much dangerous; very dangerous', **juist geniaal* 'just fantastic'

Finally, the L2 Dutch non-CLIL corpus only contains 11 significant intensifying collostructions. Besides the spelling mistake in (26), these data are characterized by short boosting degree adverbs (27), morphological constructions (28), and more creative intensifying constructions (specifically superlatives) (29).

(26) **zo smakkelijk [smakelijk]* 'so tasty'

(27) *zeer praktisch* 'very practical', *erg speciaal* 'very special', *zo aardig* 'so nice'

(28) *allerleukst* 'lit. all nicest; nicest ever', *peperduur* 'lit. pepper-expensive; very expensive'

(29) *lelijkst ter wereld* 'ugliest in the world', *best van mijn leven* 'best of my life'

These findings suggest that, at the substantive level of abstraction, the CLIL data are characterized by more target-like tendencies, such as the use of both advanced and informal intensifying expressions, than the non-CLIL productions.

5.3.2 *Types of non-target-like use of intensifying constructions*

Lastly, still at the substantive level of constructional analysis, we will now consider the non-target-like use of intensifying constructions in the L2 datasets. We make a distinction between the following categories of non-target-like use:

i. code-switching to L1 French, or to another foreign language such as English (30),
ii. spelling mistakes (31),
iii. grammatical mistakes, e.g. morphological mistakes (wrong inflection) (32), and
iv. unidiomatic uses (33).

With respect to the latter category, we used as a reference corpus the *Corpus Hedendaags Nederlands*[22] to check whether the intensifier-adjective combination was attested in L1 Dutch. In a few cases, an intensifying construction contains more than one mistake: for example, a grammatical mistake and code-switching (34).

(30) *non-CLIL*
Het was ***long*** (Eng.) *maar zeer zeer* ***confortable*** (Fr.).
It was long (Eng.) but very very comfortable (Fr.)
'It was long but very very comfortable.'

(31) *CLIL*
We waren erg ***verdrietigd*** *[verdrietig].*
We were very sad
'We were very sad.'

(32) *non-CLIL*
Ik was ***hele*** *ziek [heel ziek] ik had buikpen [buikpijn].*
I was very sick I had stomach ache
'I was very sick and had stomach ache.'

(33) *CLIL*
Ik vind geen woorden om de gevoelens te beschrijven, ***juist geniaal****.*
I find no words to the feelings to describe just brilliant
'I can't find words to describe the feelings, it's just brilliant.'

22. The *Corpus Hedendaags Nederlands* ('Corpus of Contemporary Dutch') can be accessed on the following webpage: http://chn.inl.nl/. The entire corpus consists of more than 43,000,000 words.

(34) *non-CLIL*
Ze zijn ***veel*** ***symphatieke*** *[heel aardig].*
They are much sympathetic
'They are very nice.'

Table 12 shows that, overall, the non-CLIL learners of Dutch in our sample produce slightly, yet not significantly, more non-target-like uses of intensifying constructions than the CLIL group. The CLIL students make, on average, more spelling mistakes and unidiomatic intensifying combinations, while the non-CLIL students' intensifying constructions contain more grammatical mistakes and more code-switching.

Table 12. Proportion of non-target-like use of intensifying constructions in Dutch non-CLIL and CLIL – based on individual values

		L2 Dutch non-CLIL	L2 Dutch CLIL
Grammar	Mean	0.103	0.083
	S.D.	0.205	0.186
Unidiomatic	Mean	0.003	0.008
	S.D.	0.025	0.056
Spelling	Mean	0.039	0.054
	S.D.	0.147	0.155
Code-switching	Mean	0.028	0.012
	S.D.	0.088	0.062
Combination of mistakes	Mean	0.015	0.013
	S.D.	0.052	0.073
Total mistakes	**Mean**	**0.187**	**0.171**
	S.D.	**0.259**	**0.258**

5.4 Discussion: Intensifying constructions in the diasystem of French-speaking learners of Dutch

After having carried out a multilevel constructional analysis of the use of intensifying constructions in the CLIL and non-CLIL learner data, compared with the output in the students' mother tongue, and compared with a control sample of L1 Dutch productions, we can now summarize our results and interpret them within the framework of Diasystematic Construction Grammar.

At the schematic level of the constructional analysis, we noticed that syntactic intensifying constructions are by far most prominent in both L1 French and L1 Dutch and that L2 learners of Dutch generalized, even overgeneralized, the use of some of the syntactic patterns to express intensification. However, since L1 Dutch has been shown to display a significantly larger proportion of morphological

constructions than L1 French, we might expect that French-speaking learners of Dutch will be stimulated to reorganize their diasystem by adding morphological patterns to express intensification. Our results indicated that, compared with non-CLIL learners, the students enrolled in CLIL do also appear to be a bit more sensitive to the use of morphological schemas, especially intensifying prefixes and morphologically formed superlatives. However, the use of intensifying compounds turned out to be marginal in all conditions, even in L1 Dutch. Specifically, the syntactic $[[X]_{ADV} + [Y]_{ADJ}]_{AP}$ schema can be recognized as an overarching schematic diaconstruction in the French-speaking learners' use of Dutch. Semantically, this pattern is prototypically instantiated by an adverb boosting the meaning of a scalar adjective. Especially non-CLIL learners of Dutch rely (sometimes too heavily) on this schema to express intensification in Dutch, and appear to be reluctant to use more creative constructions, such as combining a maximizer with a scalar adjective (e.g. *helemaal gek* 'totally crazy'). The latter semantic pattern can therefore be considered a blind spot, especially for the non-CLIL learners of Dutch: although the pattern is available in their native language, they have not managed to establish a sufficiently strong interlingual identification as to use it in a target-like manner, probably due to a lack of exposure to this construction in the target language.

The tendencies described above were corroborated when we examined the learners' use of intensifying constructions at the semi-schematic level. We noticed that both learner groups make use of a smaller variety of intensifier types than native speakers of Dutch; in general, they rely heavily on the use of short, basic boosting adverbs, such as *heel* 'very', *zeer* 'very', *erg* 'very', *echt* 'really' and *zo* 'so'. Whereas the case study on the use of $[[X]_{INT}\ [leuk]_{ADJ}]_{AP}$ constructions showed that the non-CLIL group largely overused the all-rounder *heel*, the written productions of the CLIL learners were characterized by an overuse of its more formal variant *zeer*. The latter finding may indicate that they unsuccessfully tagged it as an all-round intensifier, probably based on its frequent appearance in the input available to them, whereas this degree adverb should have been pragmatically tagged as a more formal Dutch degree adverb. In addition, we identified specific L1 Dutch semi-schematic constructions that did not occur in the L2 productions, e.g. $[te$ ADJ *voor woorden*$]_{AP}$, which could therefore be recognized as Dutch idioconstructions that are not yet incorporated into the learners' multilingual constructicon. Conversely, specific French idioconstructions, such as the semi-schematic pattern with an intensifying suffix $[ADJ\text{-}issime]_{ADJ}$, were successfully disentrenched from the learners' diasystem, as suggested by our dataset.

Finally, the third level of the constructional analysis allowed us to reveal some subtler differences between the use of Dutch intensification by CLIL and non-CLIL learners. The covarying collexeme analysis indicated that the CLIL sample looks more target-like than the non-CLIL sample, for instance because it involves more

advanced intensifying vocabulary items. Moreover, the learners enrolled in CLIL turn out to be more sensitive to the use of intensifying constructions belonging to informal registers. This level of analysis also enabled us to detect non-target-like use of Dutch intensification; these instances of misuse can be considered 'learned' but not 'conventionalized' constructions in the learners' multilingual repertoire (cf. Section 2.3). Two main recurring problems could be identified: the misuse of *veel* 'many, much' as an intensifier, probably mixed up with *heel* 'very', and erroneous grammatical inflection within the Dutch $[[X]_{ADV} + [Y]_{ADJ}]_{AP}$ construction. Without discussing the issue in detail, we can attribute this problem to cross-linguistic differences in the morphological features of French and Dutch, especially in the grammatical rules governing adjectival inflection (cf. Hendrikx, 2019).

6. Conclusions

This study aimed to investigate the impact of CLIL on the acquisition of intensifying constructions, in the context of learning Dutch in French-speaking Belgium, and to explore the implications of applying the DCxG approach to SLA.

Starting from the observation that teenagers living in French-speaking Belgium report only a low amount of contact with Dutch in informal extracurricular contexts, we expected that formal instruction at school, and especially additional target-language exposure in CLIL programs, would be beneficial for their L2 proficiency. Moreover, following Herbst's (2016) assumption that "[F]oreign language learning is construction learning", we studied this potential impact of CLIL on the acquisition of Dutch intensifying constructions by conducting an in-depth constructional analysis at three different levels of schematization. This method allowed us to detect both robust tendencies and more subtle features characterizing the learner language of the non-CLIL and CLIL students learning Dutch.

The CLIL effect was apparent throughout the different levels of abstraction, although the differences between both learner groups were not always statistically significant and effect sizes were often small. Overall, the CLIL students showed a less pronounced overrepresentation of the schematic prototypical intensifying construction $[[X]_{BOOSTING\ ADV} + [Y]_{SCALAR\ ADJ}]_{AP}$ than the non-CLIL students, and incorporated a higher proportion of morphological intensifying constructions into their diasystem. At the semi-schematic level, the CLIL students displayed a slightly greater variety of intensifying constructions, without, however, achieving the variety of use typical of native speakers of Dutch. At the substantive level of the analysis, we noticed that the CLIL students were more sensitive to informal ways of expressing intensification and their learner language featured less misuse than that of the non-CLIL learners.

Applying the DCxG perspective, we argued that the acquisition of intensifying constructions in a target language involves different reorganizational processes. Relying on the basic process of interlingual identification, the French-speaking learners of Dutch generalized the pre-existing schema $[[X]_{\text{BOOSTING ADV}} + [Y]_{\text{SCALAR ADJ}}]_{AP}$ into a schematic diaconstruction and productively used (or overused) it to express intensification in Dutch. Our dataset suggests that some patterns, however, remained blind spots for the learners. This was the case, for instance, for the Dutch idiosyncratic semi-schematic [*te* ADJ *voor woorden*]$_{AP}$ construction. The same also held for the schematic $[[X]_{\text{MAXIMIZER ADV}} + [Y]_{\text{SCALAR ADJ}}]_{AP}$ pattern and for complex intensification combining two or more intensifiers (e.g. *heel erg gezellig* 'very very cozy'). We assume that the latter constructions have not been sufficiently salient in the learners' L2 input to give rise to diasystematic links at the schematic level. Furthermore, we noticed that some French idioconstructions successfully remained tagged for French (e.g. the intensifying suffix *-issime*), while French (and even English) vocabulary items occasionally showed up in the Dutch texts written by the learners due to code-switching. Finally, we observed that the Dutch quantifier *veel* was wrongly tagged as a Dutch intensifier, and other items did not receive accurate pragmatic tagging (cf. the use of formal *zeer* in the CLIL sample).

To conclude, we hope we have shown that a constructionist approach to SLA may provide a refined way of studying the acquisition of a specific language feature at different levels of abstraction. Additionally, the diasystematic approach has the merit of recognizing SLA as a dynamic process of constructional reorganization. In line with recent developments in usage-based linguistics and cognitive science, it views the linguistic competence of multilingual speakers as one integrated constructional network with different degrees of schematicity (Höder, 2012, p. 255) and acknowledges the impact of contextual variables, such as the input available to bilingual speakers. In our case study on the acquisition of Dutch intensifying constructions by young learners in French-speaking Belgium, we have demonstrated that additional target-language input does indeed help L2 learners successfully (re) organize their bilingual knowledge and may foster entrenchment of constructions and properties typical of the target language. Thanks to this dynamic perspective to SLA, the DCxG approach is also compatible with a gradient view of bi- and multilingualism. Even though we compared the non-CLIL and CLIL learners' productions with a control group of native speakers of Dutch and pointed out some cases of non-target-like use, we do not consider the L2 Dutch productions of both groups deficient, but rather as representative of different degrees of bilingualism. These are manifested, for instance, through the types and tokens of constructions the learners made use of and their variation in use.

Our study enabled us to detect both robust and more subtle tendencies distinguishing between the CLIL and the non-CLIL learners' use of intensification. Nevertheless, we acknowledge that follow-up research is needed to delve deeper into the quality of the input (textbooks, teacher talk), individual variation, and other variables (both learner-internal and learner-external) that possibly affect the results described and may lead to more refined interpretations.

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Appendix 1. Covarying collexeme analysis Appendix 1a. L1 French

Intensifier (word1)	Adjective (word2)	Freq. w1	Freq. w2	Obs.w1_2. in_c	Exp.w1_2. in_c	Relation	Delta.p.constr. to.word	Delta.p.word. to.constr	Coll.Strength
mort	plein	3	3	3	0.02	attraction	1	1	7.436
tout	seul	23	4	4	0.17	attraction	0.965	0.174	5.623
tout	petit	23	5	4	0.21	attraction	0.765	0.172	4.936
vraiment	génial	121	29	17	6.4	attraction	0.386	0.112	4.912
just trop	magnifique	2	7	2	0.03	attraction	0.286	0.991	3.854
vraiment	super	121	10	8	2.21	attraction	0.59	0.061	3.854
vraiment trop	cool	2	8	2	0.03	attraction	0.25	0.989	3.729
juste	parfait	16	7	3	0.2	attraction	0.405	0.18	3.175
tout	bleu	23	2	2	0.08	attraction	0.962	0.087	2.773
sérieusement	atteindre	1	1	1	0	attraction	1	1	2.739
particulièrement	attendrissant	1	1	1	0	attraction	1	1	2.739
echt super	gâté	1	1	1	0	attraction	1	1	2.739
parfaitement	organiser	1	1	1	0	attraction	1	1	2.739
largement	surmontable	1	1	1	0	attraction	1	1	2.739
totalement très	térorisé	1	1	1	0	attraction	1	1	2.739
bien	accueillant	169	5	5	1.54	attraction	0.698	0.03	2.572
bien	fou	19	3	2	0.1	attraction	0.635	0.103	2.475
plus au monde	meilleur	19	3	2	0.1	attraction	0.635	0.103	2.475
affreusement	calme	1	2	1	0	attraction	0.5	0.998	2.438
plus possible	dégoûtant	2	1	1	0	attraction	0.998	0.5	2.438
	précis	2	1	1	0	attraction	0.998	0.5	2.438

Intensifier (word1)	Adjective (word2)	Freq. w1	Freq. w2	Obs.w1_2. in_c	Exp.w1_2. in_c	Relation	Delta.p.constr. to.word	Delta.p.word. to.constr	Coll.Strength
extrêmement plus	riche	1	2	1	0	attraction	0.5	0.998	2.438
du monde	spectaculaire	2	1	1	0	attraction	0.998	0.5	2.438
absolument -isme	top	1	2	1	0	attraction	0.5	0.998	2.438
issime	top	1	2	1	0	attraction	0.5	0.998	2.438
trop	cool	25	8	3	0.36	attraction	0.334	0.11	2.393
tellement	saoûl	22	3	2	0.12	attraction	0.63	0.089	2.346
beaucoup	convivial	1	3	1	0	attraction	0.333	0.996	2.262
franchement fort	dégueu	3	1	1	0	attraction	0.996	0.333	2.262
tout bonnement	rare	3	1	1	0	attraction	0.996	0.333	2.262
plus de ma vie	splendide	1	3	1	0	attraction	0.333	0.996	2.262
juste exceptionel	gros	4	1	1	0.01	attraction	0.995	0.25	2.137
aussi	génial	16	29	4	0.85	attraction	0.115	0.203	2.129
si	exceptionnel	1	5	1	0.01	attraction	0.2	0.993	2.04
	généreux	5	1	1	0.01	attraction	0.993	0.2	2.04
	transparant	5	1	1	0.01	attraction	0.993	0.2	2.04
plus les uns que les autres	alléchant	6	1	1	0.01	attraction	0.991	0.167	1.961
bien	drôle	19	15	3	0.52	attraction	0.17	0.135	1.907
complètement	démodé	7	1	1	0.01	attraction	0.989	0.143	1.894
aussi les uns que les autres	différent	1	7	1	0.01	attraction	0.143	0.989	1.894
complètement	jeter	7	1	1	0.01	attraction	0.989	0.143	1.894
complètement	morbide	7	1	1	0.01	attraction	0.989	0.143	1.894
plus	parfait	1	7	1	0.01	attraction	0.143	0.989	1.894
complètement	pitoyable	7	1	1	0.01	attraction	0.989	0.143	1.894
absolument	délicieux	2	4	1	0.02	attraction	0.248	0.495	1.837
simplement	génial	4	29	2	0.21	attraction	0.065	0.45	1.818

Intensifier (word1)	Adjective (word2)	Freq. w1	Freq. w2	Obs.w1_2. in_c	Exp.w1_2. in_c	Relation	Delta.p.constr. to.word	Delta.p.word. to.constr	Coll.Strength
vraiment	incroyable	121	8	5	1.77	attraction	0.41	0.034	1.814
juste	magnifique	16	7	2	0.2	attraction	0.26	0.116	1.812
vraiment très	bruyant	9	1	1	0.02	attraction	0.985	0.111	1.785
vraiment super	mignon	5	2	1	0.02	attraction	0.493	0.198	1.74
plus possible	petit	2	5	1	0.02	attraction	0.198	0.493	1.74
plus jamais	grand	1	10	1	0.02	attraction	0.1	0.984	1.739
juste	incroyable	16	8	2	0.23	attraction	0.224	0.114	1.694
franchement	délicieux	3	4	1	0.02	attraction	0.246	0.328	1.662
fort	intéressant	3	4	1	0.02	attraction	0.246	0.328	1.662
simplement	magique	4	3	1	0.02	attraction	0.328	0.246	1.662
complètement	bourré	7	2	1	0.03	attraction	0.489	0.141	1.595
affreusement	long	2	7	1	0.03	attraction	0.141	0.489	1.595
absolument	parfait	2	7	1	0.03	attraction	0.141	0.489	1.595
super	bon	60	62	12	6.79	attraction	0.095	0.098	1.576
trop	drôle	25	15	3	0.68	attraction	0.159	0.097	1.576
si	propre	5	3	1	0.03	attraction	0.326	0.196	1.566
aussi	splendide	5	3	1	0.03	attraction	0.326	0.196	1.566
juste	terrible	16	1	1	0.03	attraction	0.973	0.062	1.535
très	long	169	7	5	2.16	attraction	0.411	0.024	1.501
plus les uns que les autres	aimable	6	3	1	0.03	attraction	0.324	0.163	1.487
vraiment très	riche	9	2	1	0.03	attraction	0.485	0.109	1.487
vraiment très	spécial	9	2	1	0.03	attraction	0.485	0.109	1.487
super	clair	60	3	2	0.33	attraction	0.56	0.031	1.483
très	bon	169	62	26	19.12	attraction	0.125	0.059	1.478
très	agréable	169	5	4	1.54	attraction	0.496	0.021	1.476

Intensifier (word1)	Adjective (word2)	Freq. w1	Freq. w2	Obs.w1_2. in_c	Exp.w1_2. in_c	Relation	Delta.p.constr. to.word	Delta.p.word. to.constr	Coll.Strength
vraiment	chouette	121	36	13	7.95	attraction	0.15	0.054	1.47
vraiment très	beau	9	47	3	0.77	attraction	0.052	0.252	1.463
bien	flippant	19	1	1	0.04	attraction	0.967	0.053	1.46
bien	nombreux	19	1	1	0.04	attraction	0.967	0.053	1.46
bien	tranquille	19	1	1	0.04	attraction	0.967	0.053	1.46
tout	bon	23	62	6	2.6	attraction	0.062	0.154	1.451
plus du monde	grand	2	10	1	0.04	attraction	0.098	0.484	1.441
complètement	fou	7	3	1	0.04	attraction	0.322	0.139	1.421
complètement	saoûl	7	3	1	0.04	attraction	0.322	0.139	1.421
comme tout	sympa	1	21	1	0.04	attraction	0.048	0.963	1.417
vachement	sympa	1	21	1	0.04	attraction	0.048	0.963	1.417
jamais aussi	beau	4	47	2	0.34	attraction	0.039	0.417	1.413
plus de ma vie	beau	4	47	2	0.34	attraction	0.039	0.417	1.413
tellement	con	22	1	1	0.04	attraction	0.962	0.045	1.396
tellement	confortable	22	1	1	0.04	attraction	0.962	0.045	1.396
tout	autre	23	1	1	0.04	attraction	0.96	0.043	1.377
tout	choqué	23	1	1	0.04	attraction	0.96	0.043	1.377
tout	gratuit	23	1	1	0.04	attraction	0.96	0.043	1.377
fort	sympathique	3	8	1	0.04	attraction	0.121	0.32	1.364
vraiment	dingue	121	2	2	0.44	attraction	0.782	0.017	1.315
vraiment	ennuyant	121	2	2	0.44	attraction	0.782	0.017	1.315
vraiment	nul	121	2	2	0.44	attraction	0.782	0.017	1.315

Appendix 1b. L1 Dutch

Intensifier (word1)	Adjective (word2)	Freq. w2	Freq. w1	Obs.w1_2. in_c	Exp.w1_2. in_c	Relation	Delta.p.constr. to.word	Delta.p.word. to.constr	Coll.strength
st	ziek	6	3	3	0.1	attraction	0.984	0.5	4.736
zeer	traditioneel	3	2	2	0.03	attraction	0.995	0.667	3.768
super	leuk	26	42	13	5.81	attraction	0.22	0.321	3.132
compleet	afgelegen	1	1	1	0	attraction	1	1	2.274
vet	bang	1	1	1	0	attraction	1	1	2.274
st van de wereld	bekend	1	1	1	0	attraction	1	1	2.274
mega	kwaad	1	1	1	0	attraction	1	1	2.274
zo (dat)	zat	1	1	1	0	attraction	1	1	2.274
heel erg	gezellig	5	17	3	0.45	attraction	0.165	0.523	2.256
st ter wereld	groot	1	2	1	0.01	attraction	0.5	0.995	1.973
bloed	heet	1	2	1	0.01	attraction	0.5	0.995	1.973
ongelofelijk	heet	1	2	1	0.01	attraction	0.5	0.995	1.973
geweldig	levendig	2	1	1	0.01	attraction	0.995	0.5	1.973
echt mega	slecht	1	2	1	0.01	attraction	0.5	0.995	1.973
st ooit	goed	3	13	2	0.21	attraction	0.148	0.607	1.893
totaal	anders	1	3	1	0.02	attraction	0.333	0.989	1.797
lekker	apart	3	1	1	0.02	attraction	0.989	0.333	1.797
lekker	bruin	3	1	1	0.02	attraction	0.989	0.333	1.797
fucking	hard	1	3	1	0.02	attraction	0.333	0.989	1.797
zeer	pikant	3	1	1	0.02	attraction	0.989	0.333	1.797
lekker	romantisch	3	1	1	0.02	attraction	0.989	0.333	1.797
super	tof	26	2	2	0.28	attraction	0.871	0.077	1.733
helemaal	groen	4	1	1	0.02	attraction	0.984	0.25	1.672
helemaal	zwart	4	1	1	0.02	attraction	0.984	0.25	1.672
zo	blij	10	5	2	0.27	attraction	0.356	0.183	1.63

Intensifier (word1)	Adjective (word2)	Freq. w2	Freq. w1	Obs.w1_2. in_c	Exp.w1_2. in_c	Relation	Delta.p.constr. to.word	Delta.p.word. to.constr	Coll.strength
heel erg	cute	5	1	1	0.03	attraction	0.979	0.2	1.575
heel erg	spectaculair	5	1	1	0.03	attraction	0.979	0.2	1.575
heerlijk	warm	1	5	1	0.03	attraction	0.2	0.979	1.575
echt super	jammer	3	2	1	0.03	attraction	0.489	0.328	1.498
ontzettend	leuk	4	42	3	0.89	attraction	0.065	0.538	1.45
echt	goed	12	13	3	0.83	attraction	0.179	0.193	1.401
helemaal	gek	4	2	1	0.04	attraction	0.484	0.245	1.375

Appendix 1c. Non-CLIL Dutch

Intensifier (word1)	Adjective (word2)	Freq. w1	Freq. w2	Obs.w1 2.in c	Exp.w1 2.in c	Relation	Delta.p.constr. to.word	Delta.p.word. to.constr	Coll.strength
peper	duur	2	4	2	0.03	attraction	0.991	0.5	3.65
gewoon	fantastisch	1	1	1	0	attraction	1	1	2.365
st ter wereld	lelijk	1	1	1	0	attraction	1	1	2.365
zeer	praktisch	16	2	2	0.14	attraction	0.125	0.939	2.349
super	cool	10	3	2	0.13	attraction	0.195	0.632	2.308
erg	sympathiek	4	8	2	0.14	attraction	0.474	0.241	2.218
st van (m)(z)ijn leven	goed	3	59	3	0.76	attraction	0.755	0.051	1.801
erg	speciaal	4	2	1	0.03	attraction	0.246	0.487	1.465
zo	aardig	8	1	1	0.03	attraction	0.125	0.97	1.462
zo	smakkelijk	8	1	1	0.03	attraction	0.125	0.97	1.462
aller st	leuk	2	45	2	0.39	attraction	0.813	0.044	1.432