

# Sprachvergleich

30. Jahrestagung  
der  
Deutschen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft

27.02. - 29.02.2008  
in Bamberg

## **Organisationskomitee der DGfS Jahrestagung 2008**

Thomas Becker, Helmut Glück, Martin Haase, Gabriele Knappe, Manfred Krug,  
Jan-Henning Schulze

*Technik, Infrastruktur:* Thomas Becker

*Tagungsbüro:* Helga Münch, Philipp Burdy

*Webauftritt, Hilfskräfte:* Jan-Henning Schulze

*Finanzen:* Helmut Glück

*Sponsoren:* Manfred Krug

*Catering, Warming-up, Geselliger Abend:* Martin Haase, Monika Fiedler

*Tagungsbroschüre:* Gabriele Knappe, Manfred Krug, Liesbeth Dietel

*Umschlag- und Postergestaltung:* Holger Klatte, Pero Köhler

*Verlagsausstellung:* Thomas Becker, Gabriele Knappe

*Raumverteilung:* Thomas Becker, Sarah Bauch

*Sekretariat:* Liesbeth Dietel, Monika Fiedler, Barbara Heger, Helga Münch

*Programmausschuss:* Stefan Müller, Regine Eckardt, Martin Haase, Barbara Stiebels

*Weitere Helferinnen und Helfer:*

Wieland Eins, Stefanie Förtsch, Klaus Guenther, Isabel Haller, Dorothea Hüttinger,  
Ole Schützler, Valentin Werner

### **Danksagung**

Der Dank der Organisatoren gilt allen Personen und Institutionen, die die Tagung unterstützt  
haben:

Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg

Universitätsbund Bamberg e.V.

Präsident der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft (DGfS)

Vorstand und Programmausschuss der DGfS

Stadt Bamberg

HypoVereinsbank

Walter de Gruyter Stiftung

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F. A. Brockhaus AG

Helmut Buske Verlag

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Mouton de Gruyter

Institut für Deutsche Sprache

IUDICIUM Verlag

Alfred Kröner Verlag

Peter Lang Verlagsgruppe

Langenscheidt KG

LINCOM Europa

Missing Link Versandbuchhandlung

Narr Francke Attempto Verlag

Max Niemeyer Verlag

Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung

Oxford University Press

Erich Schmidt Verlag

Stauffenburg Verlag

WAHRIG in Wissen Media Verlag

Waxmann Verlag GmbH

Universitätsverlag Winter

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## Vorwort des Präsidenten der Universität Bamberg



Liebe Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer an der 30. Jahrestagung der DGfS,

ich heiße Sie alle ganz herzlich an der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg willkommen! Es ist uns eine Ehre, dass die größte sprachwissenschaftliche Tagung in Deutschland 2008 in Bamberg stattfindet. Der Zeitpunkt für eine derart bedeutende Veranstaltung könnte für uns aber auch kaum günstiger sein: In Bamberg haben die Philologien durch den Profilbildungsprozess der vergangenen Jahren zusätzlich an Ansehen gewonnen. Neue modularisierte Studienprogramme sind entstanden. Wir haben in den Philologien einen regelrechten Generationenwechsel hinter uns. In der Folge dieser fast gleichzeitigen Neubesetzung der meisten Linguistik-Professuren ist nun auch eine junge Generation am Zuge, die sich vor allem dem Ziel, interdisziplinär und vernetzt zu arbeiten, verschrieben hat. Sie sehen das unter anderem daran, dass die anglistische, germanistische und romanistische Sprachwissenschaft diese Tagung gemeinsam organisieren und durchführen. Nicht nur dem Thema "Sprachvergleich" dürfte diese Gemeinschaftsarbeit zugute kommen. Wir freuen uns auch, dass wir unseren Sachverstand durch renommierte Plenarvorträge und ein breites Spektrum hochkarätig besetzter Arbeitsgruppen mit in das diesjährige Programm einbringen konnten.

Ich wünsche Ihnen allen eine erfolgreiche Tagung, viele neue Erkenntnisse und gute Gespräche.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, which appears to read "G. Ruppert". The signature is fluid and cursive.

Prof. Dr. Dr. habil. Godehard Ruppert



## Grußwort der Stadt Bamberg



Alle Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer der Jahrestagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft heiße ich herzlich in der Welterbestadt Bamberg willkommen.

Als Oberbürgermeister freue ich mich sehr, dass ein so hochrangiger und bundesweiter Kongress in unserer Stadt stattfindet. Ich sehe dies auch als Anerkennung der hervorragenden Arbeit, die seit vielen Jahren an der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg im Bereich der Sprachwissenschaft geleistet wird.

Allen Organisatorinnen und Organisatoren vor und hinter den Kulissen danke ich für ihr Engagement und die umfangreichen Arbeiten, die bei der Vorbereitung einer solchen Veranstaltung notwendig sind. Angesichts des reichhaltigen und hochkarätigen Programms bin ich mir sicher, dass Sie viele Anregungen und neue Erkenntnisse mit nach Hause nehmen werden.

Ich hoffe darauf, dass Sie trotz des dichtgedrängten Zeitplans Gelegenheit finden, unsere Stadt zu entdecken. Wenn Sie dann Lust bekommen sollten auf eine Vertiefung – Bamberg ist zu jeder Jahreszeit eine Reise wert!

Ich wünsche der Tagung einen fruchtbaren und harmonischen Verlauf und allen Gästen aus nah und fern einen angenehmen Aufenthalt in Bamberg.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Andreas Starke'. The signature is fluid and cursive.

Andreas Starke  
Oberbürgermeister





## Allgemeine Informationen zur Tagung

- Veranstaltungsort: Otto-Friedrich-Universität  
Kapuzinerstr. 16  
D-96047 Bamberg  
Lagepläne S. 12 und S. 13
- Homepage: <http://www.uni-bamberg.de/fakultaeten/guk/tagungen/dgfs2008/>
- Tagungsbüro: An der Universität 7, Raum 105 (1. Stock)  
Telefon: +49 (0)951/863-2201
- Öffnungszeiten: 27.02.2008: 8.30-19.00 Uhr  
28.02.2008: 8.30-19.00 Uhr  
29.02.2008: 8.30-16.00 Uhr
- Im Tagungsbüro können Sie:
- sich registrieren lassen und die Tagungsunterlagen (Tagungsmappe, usw.) erhalten.
  - Änderungen im Tagungsablauf erfahren.
  - eine Anleitung zur Einrichtung des WLAN-Netzes erhalten. [Vorher können Sie sich hier informieren: <http://www.uni-bamberg.de/rz/netze/mobil/wlan/>; eine pdf-Datei zum Herunterladen finden Sie unter: [http://www.uni-bamberg.de/fileadmin/uni/service/rechenzentrum/serversysteme/anleitungen/Anleitung\\_WLAN.pdf](http://www.uni-bamberg.de/fileadmin/uni/service/rechenzentrum/serversysteme/anleitungen/Anleitung_WLAN.pdf)]
  - diverse Annoncen (z.B. Stellenangebote) auf dem Schwarzen Brett platzieren und lesen.
- Tagungsräume: Die AGs finden in Räumen der Universitätsgebäude U2, U5, U11, H016 und H201 statt. Einen genauen Lageplan finden Sie auf S. 12  
Tipp: Da die einzelnen Veranstaltungen in verschiedenen Gebäuden der Universität stattfinden, bitte Regenschirm nicht vergessen!
- Kontaktadresse: Frau Helga Münch  
Lehrstuhl für Deutsche Sprachwissenschaft  
Universität Bamberg  
Hornthalstr. 2  
D-96047 Bamberg  
+49 (0)951/863-2201

### 30. Jahrestagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft

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- Tagungsgebühr: (bei Zahlungseingang nach dem 01.02.2008)  
DGfS-Mitglieder mit Einkommen €30  
DGfS-Mitglieder ohne Einkommen €20  
Nicht-Mitglieder mit Einkommen €50  
Nicht-Mitglieder ohne Einkommen €25
- Kosten Geselliger Abend: €25 für das Büffet (inkl. Getränke). Der Gesellige Abend kann nur gleichzeitig mit der Anmeldung gebucht werden!
- Bankverbindung: Kontoinhaber: Helmut Glück  
Kreditinstitut: HypoVereinsbank  
Kontonummer: 361 946 111  
BLZ: 770 200 70  
Verwendungszweck: Tagungsbeitrag DGfS 2008
- Registrierung: 26.02.2008, 19.00-21.00 Uhr (während des Warming-Ups):  
Klosterbräu, Obere Mühlbrücke 1-3, Eingang Judenstraße  
27.02.2008, 9.30-13.00 Uhr: In der Aula der Universität,  
Dominikanerstr. 2a  
Ab 27.02.2008, 14.00 Uhr: Im Tagungsbüro (U7, Raum 105)  
Bei der Registrierung erhalten Sie Ihre Tagungsmappe,  
Namensschild, etc.
- Hotelreservierung: Zimmer können online gebucht werden unter:  
<http://germany.nethotels.com/info/bamberg/events/dgfs2008>  
Jugendherberge (sehr schön gelegen):  
<http://jugendherberge.de/jh/bamberg/>
- Bus: Busse fahren alle 10 min vom Bahnhof in die Innenstadt.
- Taxi: Taxi Zentralruf +49 (0)951/19410  
CityTaxi Bamberg +49 (0)951/34545  
Taxi Fliegl +49 (0)171/5128655  
Taxi Knau +49 (0)951/31783  
Taxi Neller +49 (0)172/8644404  
Schick Taxi +49 (0)951/51935853

## **Anreise, Verkehrsmittel, Lagepläne**

### **Anreise nach Bamberg und zur Universität in der Innenstadt**

#### **Anreise mit dem Flugzeug**

Der nächstgelegene internationale Verkehrsflughafen ist der Flughafen Nürnberg. Von dort gelangen Sie mit der U-Bahn-Linie U2 in 12 Minuten zum Bahnhof Nürnberg, wo Sie Anschluss mit der Bahn nach Bamberg haben. Für internationale Anreisen sind oft die Verbindungen über den Flughafen Frankfurt/Main bzw. den Flughafen München besser. Vom Flughafen Frankfurt fahren InterCity-Züge direkt nach Würzburg, wo Sie nach Bamberg umsteigen. Vom Flughafen München bringt Sie die S-Bahn zum Bahnhof München und den InterCity-Zügen nach Bamberg. Anschlussflüge von Frankfurt oder München nach Nürnberg lohnen sich nicht: Sie sind in der Regel zu teuer, und Sie brauchen mehr Zeit als mit dem Zug.

#### **Anreise mit der Bahn**

Bamberg ist Haltepunkt der ICE-Linie Hamburg-Berlin-München. Zu den meisten deutschen Großstädten fahren tagsüber die Züge im Stundentakt. Anschluss zu den IC-/ICE-Linien von und nach Stuttgart, Frankfurt/Main oder Hamburg haben Sie in Würzburg oder Nürnberg.

Die durchschnittliche Fahrtzeit beträgt ca. 2,5 Stunden von Frankfurt/Main, ca. 2 Stunden von München, ca. 4 Stunden von Berlin und ca. 4,5 Stunden von Hamburg.

Informationen zu Zugverbindungen finden Sie unter [www.bahn.de](http://www.bahn.de).

Die Universität ist ungefähr 1,5 km vom Bahnhof entfernt. Wir empfehlen die Weiterfahrt mit dem öffentlichen Nahverkehr. Eine Karte kostet 1,10 Euro. Benutzer des „Bayern-Ticket“ können auf dem Liniennetz der Bamberger Stadtbusse weiterfahren ohne zuzahlen zu müssen. Die Kosten für ein Taxi vom Bahnhof zu den Universitätsgebäuden betragen ca. 7-8 Euro. Die Universitätsgebäude sind aber auch zu Fuß in ca. 20 Minuten gut zu erreichen.

#### **Vom Bahnhof Bamberg zur Universität**

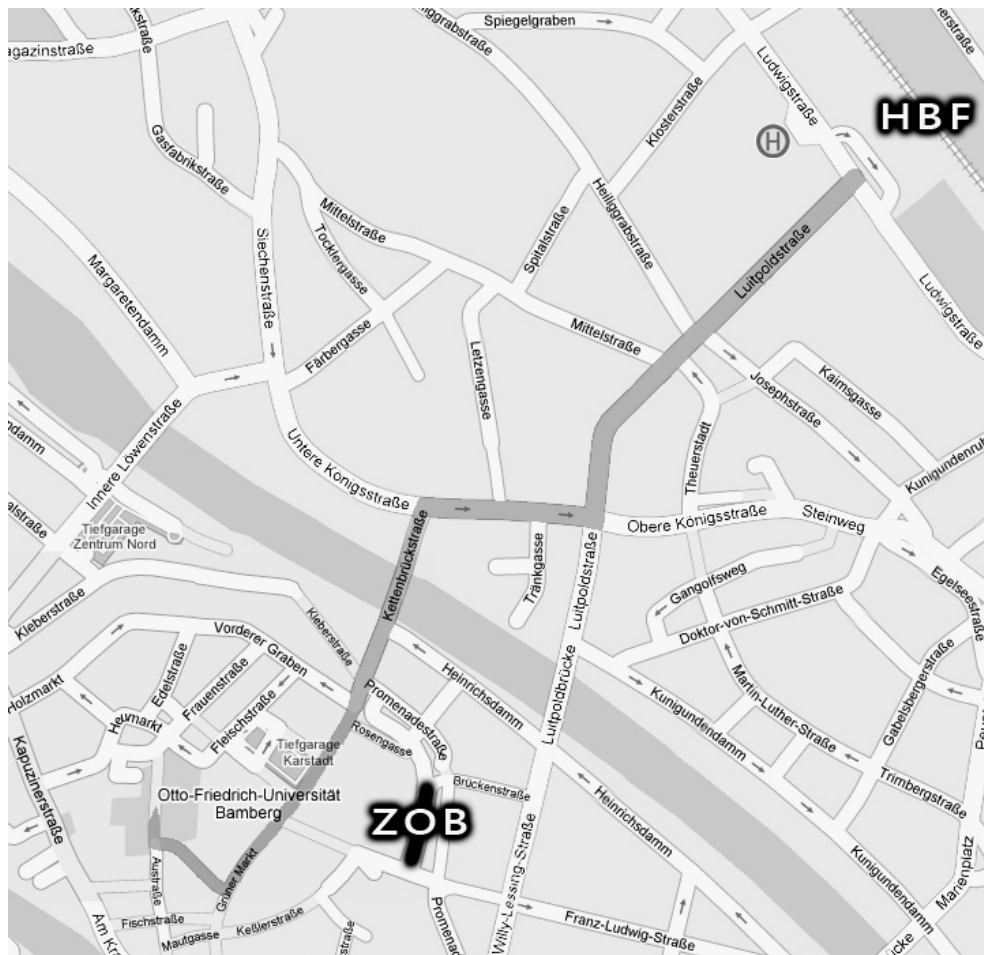
Wenn Sie am Bahnhof ankommen, haben Sie zwei verschiedene Möglichkeiten um zur Universität in der Innenstadt zu gelangen:

1. Überqueren Sie die Ludwigstraße vor dem Bahnhof. Auf der rechten Seite befindet sich eine Bushaltestelle. Alle Busse, die an dieser Haltestelle halten, bringen Sie zum Zentralen Omnibusbahnhof (ZOB). Die Busse fahren im Abstand von wenigen Minuten. Vom ZOB aus gehen Sie zu Fuß weiter in die Fußgängerzone (Franz-Ludwig-Straße) und biegen nach links in den Grünen Markt ein. Nach wenigen Schritten erblicken Sie auf der rechten Seite die St. Martin Kirche. Hier biegen sie rechts in die Jesuitenstraße ein.

Am Ende der Jesuitenstraße stoßen sie auf die Straße: An der Universität. Biegen Sie in diese rechts ein. Die Gebäude der Universität Bamberg befinden sich nun zu ihrer Rechten und Linken.

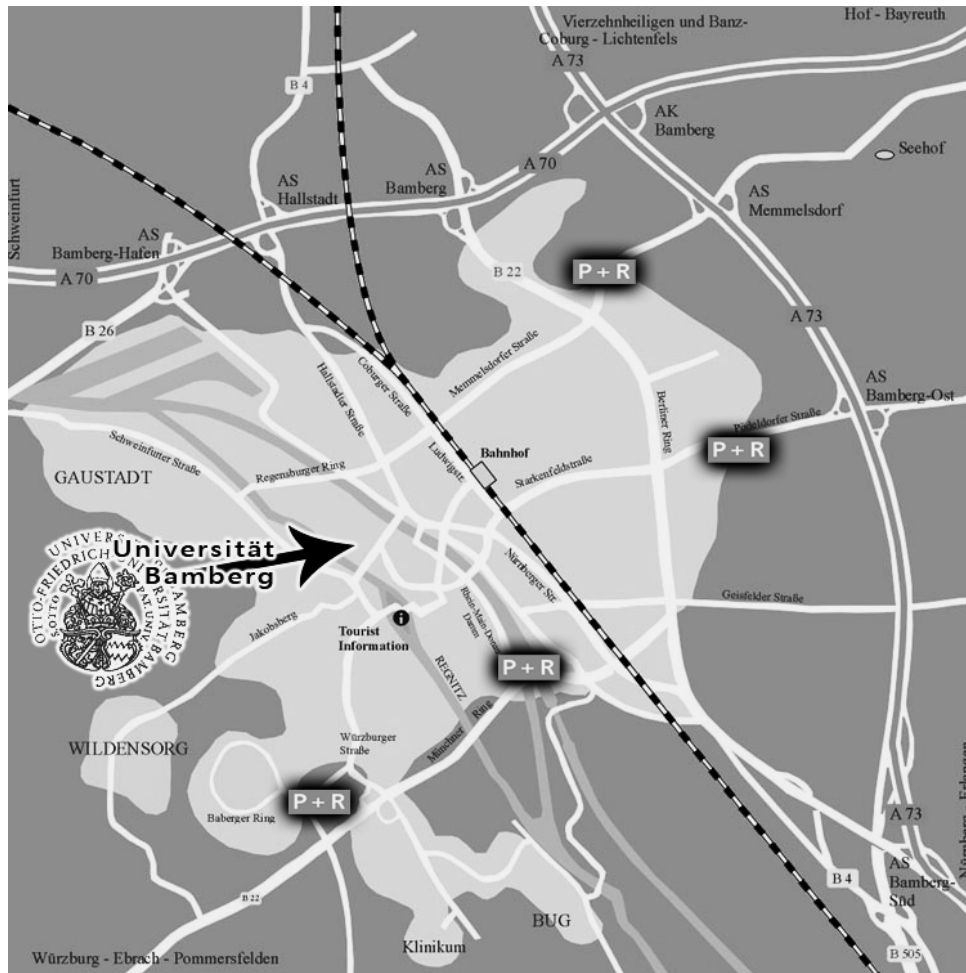
- Überqueren Sie die Ludwigstraße vor dem Bahnhof und folgen Sie der Luitpoldstraße. Bei der nächsten großen Kreuzung biegen Sie rechts in die Untere Königsstraße ein. Nach ca. 200 m biegen Sie nach links ab und überqueren die Kettenbrücke. Sie folgen nun der Hauptwachstraße, welche in den Grünen Markt (Fußgängerzone) mündet. Sie folgen dem Grünen Markt bis zur St. Martin Kirche. Hier biegen sie rechts in die Jesuitenstraße ein. Am Ende der Jesuitenstraße stoßen sie auf die Straße: An der Universität. Biegen Sie in diese rechts ein. Die Gebäude der Universität Bamberg befinden sich nun zu ihrer Rechten und Linken.

### Lageplan Bahnhof Bamberg (im Plan: HBF)



### Anreise mit dem Auto

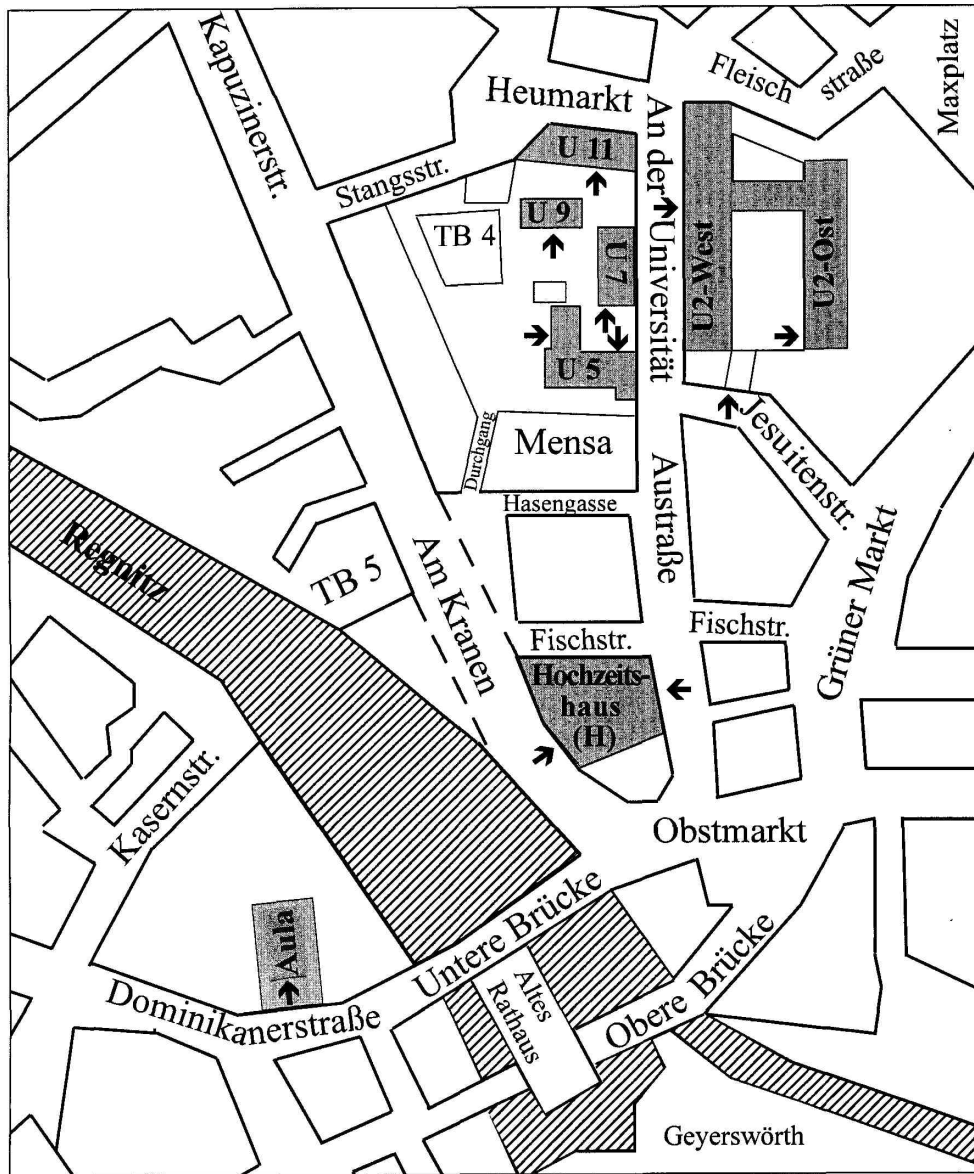
Bamberg können Sie über die Bundesautobahnen A70 und A73 erreichen. Das Parken rund um die Innenstadt ist nur sehr stark eingeschränkt möglich. Es ist zu empfehlen das P+R-System Breitenau oder Heinrichsdamm zu nutzen. Ein Gruppenticket für den Bus zum ZOB kostet dann 2,50 Euro und der P+R-Parkschein 0,50 Euro pro Tag.



### Parkmöglichkeiten

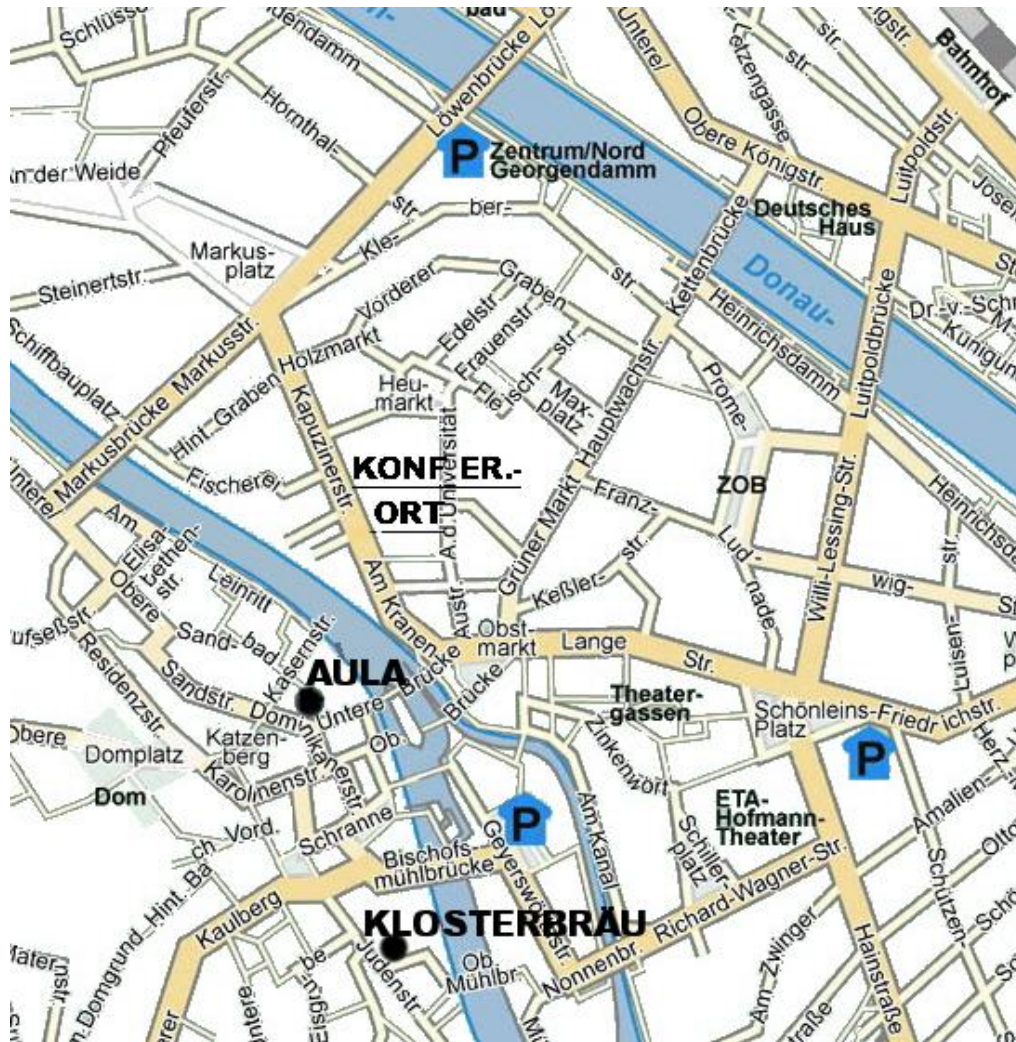
Es gibt einige Parkhäuser in der Innenstadt, die jedoch relativ teuer sind. Es ist ratsamer das P+R-System zu nutzen, das auf dem obigen Lageplan gekennzeichnet ist.

Lageplan der Universitätsgebäude



➔ Eingänge zu den Universitätsgebäuden

## Übersichtsplan der Innenstadt Bamberg



### Wegbeschreibung zum Warming-up im Klosterbräu Obere Mühlbrücke 1-3, 96049 Bamberg

Das Klosterbräu liegt im Herzen der Altstadt und ist am besten zu Fuß zu erreichen (keine Parkmöglichkeit). Auf dem Übersichtsplan der Innenstadt (vgl. S. 13) ist es gekennzeichnet.

Von der Oberen Brücke, beim Alten Rathaus, ist das Klosterbräu in ca. 10 Minuten zu Fuß zu erreichen. Bitte benutzen Sie den Eingang in der Judenstraße, da von dort aus der reservierte Saal zu erreichen ist.

Von der Oberen Brücke aus begeben Sie sich Richtung Karolinenstraße, folgen dieser und biegen dann links in die Roppeltsgasse ein. Nachdem Sie das Pfahlplätzchen in selber Richtung überquert haben, befinden Sie sich in der Judenstraße. Dieser folgen Sie und biegen dann in die Concordiastraße ein. Zu Ihrer Linken erblicken Sie nun das Klosterbräu.

### Wegbeschreibung zur Begrüßung in der Aula im Dominikanerbau Dominikanerstraße 2a, 96049 Bamberg

Die AULA liegt im Herzen der Bamberger Innenstadt hinter der Unteren Brücke und ist von der Langen Straße über die Untere Brücke in 2 Minuten zu erreichen. Auf dem Lageplan der Universitätsgebäude ist im linken unteren Viertel die Aula mit „Dominikanerbau“ gekennzeichnet. Auch auf dem Übersichtsplan der Innenstadt (vgl. S. 13) findet man sie mit einem Kreis gekennzeichnet.



## Kopiermöglichkeiten und Internetzugang

### Kopieren

Generell wird empfohlen, fertige Handouts zur Tagung mitzubringen!

#### *An der Universität*

stehen Kopiergeräte in den Bibliotheken zur Verfügung. Außerdem An der Universität 5 (hinteres Treppenhaus zwischen dem 1. und 2. Stock) und An der Universität 9 (1. Stock links in der Teeküche).

#### *In der Nähe der Universität*

befinden sich folgende Copy Shops:

Kopier und Druckladen, Am Kranen 12a, Telefon:      Tel.: +49 (0)951/982120

Die Kopie, Kapuzinerstr. 15, Telefon:                      Tel.: +49 (0)951/201451

Kopierkiste, Fischstr. 8, Telefon:                              Tel.:+49 (0)951/2086013

### Internetzugang

Ihnen stehen die Computerräume U5/223, H/002 und H/105 zur Verfügung.

Login: Benutzer: ba999902,

    Kennwort: DGfS2008

Außerdem gibt es einen offenen Zugang zum WLAN-Netz der Universität Bamberg. Eine genaue Anleitung zur Einrichtung dieser Verbindung erhalten Sie im Tagungsbüro.



## Essen und Trinken

– zu Fuß vom Tagungsort bequem zu erreichen –

### Mensa

(täglich wechselnde Gerichte und Snacks – auch vegetarisch, Barzahlung möglich)

Austraße 37

[www.semanticcampus.de/studentenwerk/pages/speiseplan\\_mensen](http://www.semanticcampus.de/studentenwerk/pages/speiseplan_mensen)

Öffnungszeiten: Mo-Fr 11.30-14.00 Uhr

### Speiselokale

#### **Hofbräu**

(mediterrane und fränkische Küche im Jugendstil-Ambiente)

Karolinenstraße 7, Tel. 5 33 21

[www.hofbraeu-bamberg.de](http://www.hofbraeu-bamberg.de)

Öffnungszeiten: So-Fr 10.00-01.00 Uhr, Sa 10.00-02.00 Uhr

#### **Messerschmitt**

(exklusive Wild- und Fischspezialitäten, daneben Auswahl an französischen Gerichten)

Lange Straße 41, Tel. 29 78 00

[www.hotel-messerschmitt.de](http://www.hotel-messerschmitt.de)

Öffnungszeiten: täglich 09.00-23.30 Uhr

#### **Palais Schrottenberg**

(mediterrane und fränkische Küche in barockem Ambiente, hausgemachte Kuchen)

Kasernstraße 1, Tel. 95 58 80

[www.palais-schrottenberg.de](http://www.palais-schrottenberg.de)

Öffnungszeiten: Mo-Fr. 09.00-01.00 Uhr, Sa 10.00-14.00 Uhr, So 10.00-13.00 Uhr und 17.00-21.30 Uhr

#### **St. Nepomuk**

(exklusive regionale und internationale Küche)

Obere Mühlbrücke 9, Tel. 98 42 0

[www.hotel-nepomuk.de](http://www.hotel-nepomuk.de)

Öffnungszeiten: täglich 11.00-14.00 Uhr und 18.00-22.00 Uhr

#### **Wilde Rose**

(mehrfach ausgezeichnete bayerische Küche und große Weinauswahl)

Keßlerstraße 7, Tel. 98 18 20

[www.hotel-wilde-rose.de](http://www.hotel-wilde-rose.de)

Öffnungszeiten: Mo-Sa 11.30-14.00 Uhr und 18.00-21.30 Uhr; So 11.30-14.00 Uhr

**Zünftig Fränkisch**

**Hotel-Restaurant Alt Ringlein**

(traditionelle fränkische und deutsche Küche)

Dominikanerstraße 9, Tel. 95 32 0

[www.alt-ringlein.de](http://www.alt-ringlein.de)

Öffnungszeiten: Fr 17.00-24.00 Uhr, Sa 11.00-24.00 Uhr, So 11.00-15.00 Uhr

**Alte Fischerei**

(regionale Küche, fränkische Bier- und Weinspezialitäten)

Fischerei 15, Tel. 25 01 3

Keine Homepage

Öffnungszeiten: Di-So 18.00-01.00 Uhr

**Brudermühle**

(herzhafte fränkische Brotzeiten sowie Fisch- und Steakgerichte)

Schranne 1, Tel. 95 52 20

[www.brudermuehle.de](http://www.brudermuehle.de)

Öffnungszeiten: täglich 07.00-24.00 Uhr, montags Ruhetag

**Zum Domreiter**

(internationale und fränkische Speisen)

Dominikanerstraße 5, Tel. 51 93 69 6

[www.zum-domreiter.de](http://www.zum-domreiter.de)

Öffnungszeiten: Di-Fr ab 17.00 Uhr, Sa und So ab 11.30 Uhr

**Kachelofen**

(Brotzeitplatten sowie eine Auswahl an Braten-, Fisch- und Pfannengerichten)

Obere Sandstraße 1, Tel. 57 17 2

[www.zumkachelofen.de](http://www.zumkachelofen.de)

Öffnungszeiten: Täglich 10.00-01.00 Uhr, warme Küche von 10.00-23.00 Uhr

**Scheiners Gaststuben**

(gutbürgerliche und mediterrane Küche ergänzt durch ein reichhaltiges Weinangebot)

Katzenberg 2, Tel. 50 90 81 9

[www.scheiners.de](http://www.scheiners.de)

Öffnungszeiten: täglich 11.00-01.00 Uhr

**Weierich**

(fränkische und internationale Küche sowie eine Auswahl an Bamberger Bier-spezialitäten)

Lugbank 5, Tel. 29 99 39 0

[www.restaurant-weierich.de](http://www.restaurant-weierich.de)

Öffnungszeiten: Di-Fr 17.00-24.00 Uhr, Sa und So 11.00-24.00 Uhr

### Brauereigaststätten

#### **Schlenkerla**

(Brotzeiten und deftige Küche sowie das bekannte Bamberger Rauchbier)  
Dominikanerstraße 6, Tel. 56 06 0  
www.schlenkerla.de  
Öffnungszeiten: täglich außer dienstags 09.30-23.30 Uhr, warme Küche durchgehend 12.00-22.00 Uhr

#### **Ambräusianum**

(Braten, Salate und fränkische Brotzeiten)  
Dominikanerstraße 10, Tel. 50 90 26 2  
www.ambraeusianum.de  
Öffnungszeiten: Montag: Ruhetag, Di-Sa 11.00-23.00 Uhr, warme Küche bis 22.00 Uhr, Sonntag: 11.00-21.00 Uhr, warme Küche bis 20.00 Uhr

#### **Fässla Brauerei**

(rustikale Gaststube mit fränkischer Küche und großer Bierauswahl)  
Obere Königsstraße 19, Tel. 26 51 6  
www.faessla.de  
Öffnungszeiten: Mo-Sa 08.30-23.00 Uhr, So 08.30-13.00 Uhr, Warme Küche von 11.00-14.00 Uhr und von 18.00-21.00 Uhr, Sonntags ruht die Küche

#### **Klosterbräu**

(fränkische Küche und umfassendes Bierangebot)  
Obere Mühlbrücke 1-3, Tel. 52 26 5  
www.klosterbraeu.de  
Öffnungszeiten: Täglich warme Küche von 11.00-14:00 Uhr und 17.00-22.00 Uhr; Sa, So und feiertags bis 14.30 Uhr, So bis 21.00 Uhr

#### **Spezial**

(gutbürgerliche Küche und das bekannte Bamberger Rauchbier)  
Obere Königstraße 10, Tel. 24 30 4  
www.brauerei-spezial.de  
Öffnungszeiten: täglich 09.00-23.00 Uhr, Sa ab 14.00 Uhr geschlossen (nur Frühschoppen und Mittagstisch)

#### **Zum Sternla**

(fränkische Spezialitäten und Snacks in rustikalem Ambiente)  
Lange Straße 46, Tel. 28 75 0  
www.sternla.de  
Öffnungszeiten: täglich 10.00-23.00 Uhr

### Internationale Küche

#### **Bolero**

(Tapasauswahl sowie spanische Steak- und Fischgerichte)  
Judenstraße 7-9, Tel. 5 09 02 90  
[http://bolero.calimeros.de/www\\_bolero/home\\_1\\_1\\_0\\_f.htm](http://bolero.calimeros.de/www_bolero/home_1_1_0_f.htm)  
Öffnungszeiten: Mo-Fr 17.00-01.00 Uhr, Sa und So 10.00-02.00 Uhr

#### **Caracas**

(Steak- und Fischgerichte in südamerikanischem Flair, große Cocktaileauswahl)  
Obere Brücke 8, Tel. 29 75 79 5  
Keine Homepage  
Öffnungszeiten: So-Do 11.00-01.30 Uhr, Fr-Sa 11.00-03.00 Uhr

#### **Culinar**

(Restaurant im „Il Centro“, italienische Küche sowie Salate und Snacks)  
Lange Straße 30-40, Tel. 29 99 70 2  
[www.il-centro-bamberg.de](http://www.il-centro-bamberg.de)  
Öffnungszeiten: So-Do 18.00-02.00 Uhr, Fr-Sa 18.00-03.00 Uhr

#### **Gasthaus Redwitzhaus**

(italienische Küche)  
Kapuzinerstraße 24, Tel. 23 65 3  
Keine Homepage  
Öffnungszeiten: Di-So 11.00-14.00 Uhr und 17.30-24.00 Uhr, Mo Ruhetag

#### **Habaneros**

(„texikanisches“ Restaurant mit südamerikanischem Flair)  
Karolinenstraße 24, Tel. 50 99 89 50  
[www.habaneros.de](http://www.habaneros.de)  
Öffnungszeiten: Di-Fr ab 17.00 Uhr, Sa und So ab 10.00 Uhr

#### **Dal Passatore**

(hausgemachte Pastaspezialitäten, daneben Pizza und Salate)  
Untere Königstraße 6, Tel. 21 71 3  
[www.dal-passatore.de](http://www.dal-passatore.de)  
Öffnungszeiten: Mo-Sa 12.00-14.30 Uhr und 18.00-24.00 Uhr; So ab 18.00 Uhr; Di Ruhetag

#### **Salino Holzofenpizza**

(front-cooking am Holzofen sowie Nudelspezialitäten und Salate)  
Schillerplatz 11, Tel. 5 79 80  
[www.sodaspace.de/salinoweb/index.htm](http://www.sodaspace.de/salinoweb/index.htm)  
Öffnungszeiten: So-Fr 11.00-14.30 Uhr und 17.00-24.00 Uhr, Sa 11.00-14.30 Uhr und 17.00-01.00 Uhr

**Swarg**

(indische Lamm-, Fisch- und Currygerichte vom Sterne-Koch)  
Frauenstraße 2, Tel. 29 74 08 6  
[www.swarg-indien-restaurant.de](http://www.swarg-indien-restaurant.de)  
Öffnungszeiten: So-Fr 11.30-14.30 Uhr und 17.30-24.00 Uhr, Sa 17.00-24.00  
Uhr, warme Küche bis 23.30 Uhr

**Weinschänken**

**Bischofsmühle**

(hausgemachte Brotzeiten und saisonal wechselnde Snacks)  
Geyerswörthstraße 4, Tel. 27 57 0  
[www.bischofsmuehle-mueller.de](http://www.bischofsmuehle-mueller.de)  
Öffnungszeiten: So-Do 17.00-23.00 Uhr, Fr-Sa 17.00-24.00 Uhr

**Bauernstube Weinfass**

(fränkische Brotzeiten und Snacks)  
Habergasse 12, Tel. 23 03 5  
[www.schloss-geyerswoerth-blick.de/weinfass/index.html](http://www.schloss-geyerswoerth-blick.de/weinfass/index.html)  
Öffnungszeiten: täglich, durchgehend

**Würzburger Weinstuben**

(fränkische Küche und große Bocksbeutelauswahl)  
Zinkenwörth 6, Tel. 22 66 7  
[www.restaurant-wuerzburger-weinstuben.de](http://www.restaurant-wuerzburger-weinstuben.de)  
Öffnungszeiten: 11.30-14.00 Uhr und 17.30-24.00 Uhr, Dienstagabend und  
Mittwoch ganztags Ruhetag

**Bars, Bistros und Kneipen**

**Il Centro**

(große Auswahl an Cocktails und mediterranen Weinen)  
Lange Straße 38-40, Tel. 29 99 70 2  
[www.ilcentro.de](http://www.ilcentro.de)  
Öffnungszeiten: So-Do 18.00-02.00 Uhr, Fr-Sa 18.00-03.00 Uhr

**Easy Living**

(moderne Bar mit Snack-, Suppen-, Pastauswahl sowie umfangreichem  
Cocktailangebot)  
Lange Straße 24, Tel. 30 14 26 0  
[www.easyliving-bamberg.de](http://www.easyliving-bamberg.de)  
Öffnungszeiten: Mo-Sa ab 09.00 Uhr, So ab 11.00 Uhr

**Pizzini**

(uriges Ambiente mit gelegentlicher Livemusik, kleine Speisenauswahl)  
Obere Sandstraße 17, Tel. 56 38 9  
Keine Homepage  
Öffnungszeiten: Mo-Sa 20.00-02.00, So Ruhetag

**Plückers im Ziegelbau**

(Hotelbar mit internationalen Gerichten und Snacks in gehobenem Ambiente)  
Mußstraße 7, Tel. 70 00 0  
[www.welcome-to-bamberg.com](http://www.welcome-to-bamberg.com)  
Öffnungszeiten: Mo-So 16.00-02.00 Uhr, Küche geöffnet Mo-So 18.00-24.00  
Uhr

**Rincon**

(Erlebnisgastronomie mit internationaler Speisekarte, Frühstücksbuffet)  
Ludwigstraße 25, Tel. 2 08 60 29  
Keine Homepage  
Öffnungszeiten: Mo-Fr ab 08.00 Uhr, Sa ab 09.00 Uhr, So ab 10.00 Uhr

**Cafés**

**Caféhaus Beckstein**

(Kaffeehaus im Wiener Stil; Frühstück, hausgemachte Kuchen)  
Lange Straße 9, Tel. 25 43 5  
[www.kaffeehaus-beckstein.de](http://www.kaffeehaus-beckstein.de)  
Öffnungszeiten: Mo-Sa, 08.00-18.00 Uhr

**Cador**

(Espressospezialitäten sowie hausgemachte Torten und Kuchen)  
Obstmarkt 4, Tel. 20 86 02 8  
[www.cador-bamberg.de](http://www.cador-bamberg.de)  
Öffnungszeiten: Mo-Do 09.00-01.00 Uhr, Fr-Sa 09.00-02.00 Uhr, So 09.00-  
01.00 Uhr

**Café Müller**

(Frühstücksangebot und Snacks in stilvoller Kaffeehausatmosphäre)  
Austraße 23, Tel. 20 29 43  
Keine Homepage  
Öffnungszeiten: täglich von 09.00-01.00 Uhr

**Café Singer**

(Snacks und Kuchenauswahl verbunden mit einer exklusiven Weinkarte)  
Lange Straße 17, Tel. 20 86 14 4  
[www.singers-cafebar.de](http://www.singers-cafebar.de)  
Öffnungszeiten: Mo-Do 07.30-23.00 Uhr, Fr-Sa 07.30-03.00 Uhr



**Conditorei-Café Riffelmacher**

(Traditionskonditorei und Kaffeehaus; hausgemachte Torten)

Obere Brücke 12, Tel. 25 81 5

[www.bamberg.bayern-online.de/gastronomie/Cafe\\_Conditorei\\_Eiscreme\\_Riffelmacher\\_Bamberg.shtml](http://www.bamberg.bayern-online.de/gastronomie/Cafe_Conditorei_Eiscreme_Riffelmacher_Bamberg.shtml)

Öffnungszeiten: täglich 9.00-19.00 Uhr

**DaCaBo – Das Café Botero**

(Café, Bar, Lounge)

Heumarkt 7, Tel. 29 71 86 8

<http://www.dacabo-bamberg.de>

Öffnungszeiten: Mo-Sa 8.00-23.00 Uhr, So 9.00-23.00 Uhr

**Hofcafé**

(umfangreiches Frühstücks- und Speisenangebot sowie Cocktailauswahl)

Austraße 14, Tel. 25 44 7

[www.hofcafe-bamberg.de](http://www.hofcafe-bamberg.de)

Öffnungszeiten: Mo-Mi 08.00-01.00 Uhr, Do-Fr 08.00-02.00 Uhr, Sa 09.00-02.00 Uhr, So 09.00-01.00 Uhr

**Konditorei-Café Graupner**

(traditionelles Café mit einer großen Auswahl an hausgemachten Torten)

Lange Straße 5, Tel. 98 04 0-0

[www.hotel-graupner.de](http://www.hotel-graupner.de)

Öffnungszeiten: täglich 07.00-19.00 Uhr

In der unmittelbaren Umgebung der Universität (Austraße, Heumarkt, Fußgängerzone) befinden sich außerdem weitere Cafés mit Snackangebot sowie diverse Schnellimbisse und Bäckereien.



## Programmübersicht

### Dienstag, 26. Februar 2008

ab 18.00 Uhr      Warming-up  
(Klosterbräu, Obere Mühlbrücke 1-3, Eingang Judenstraße)

### Mittwoch, 27. Februar 2008

10.00 – 12.30 Uhr      Begrüßung und Plenarvorträge (*Aula*)  
Joan Bresnan (Stanford University)  
Bernd Kortmann (Universität Freiburg)

12.30 – 14.00 Uhr      Mittagspause

13.00 – 14.00 Uhr      Mitgliederversammlung der DGfS-Sektion Computerlinguistik  
(U5/122)

14.00 – 16.00 Uhr      Arbeitsgruppensitzungen

16.00 – 16.30 Uhr      Kaffeepause

16.30 – 18.30 Uhr      Arbeitsgruppensitzungen

ab 19.00 Uhr      Geselliger Abend (*Aula*)

### Donnerstag, 28. Februar 2008

9.00 – 11.00 Uhr      Arbeitsgruppensitzungen

11.00 – 11.30 Uhr      Kaffeepause

11.30 – 13.00 Uhr      Arbeitsgruppensitzungen

13.00 – 14.30 Uhr      Mittagspause

14.30 – 18.30 Uhr      DGfS-Mitgliederversammlung (U5/122)

18.30 – 20.00 Uhr      Poster und Demos der DGfS-Sektion Computerlinguistik  
(*Foyer der Aula*)

20.00 Uhr      Musikalischer Abend (*Aula*)

### Freitag, 29. Februar 2008

9.00 – 10.30 Uhr      Arbeitsgruppensitzungen

10.30 – 11.00 Uhr      Kaffeepause

11.00 – 12.00 Uhr      Arbeitsgruppensitzungen

12.00 – 13.30 Uhr      Mittagspause

13.30 – 15.30 Uhr      Plenarvorträge (*Aula*)  
Wolfgang Klein (Max-Planck-Institut, Nijmegen)  
Sarah Grey Thomason (University of Michigan)



## Begleitveranstaltungen

### Unterhaltungsprogramm

- Warming-Up            Dienstag, 26.2.2008 ab 18 Uhr im Klosterbräu,  
Obere Mühlbrücke 1-3, Eingang Judenstraße  
96049 Bamberg  
Bitte den direkten Zugang zum Zehnthaus von der Judenstraße  
aus benutzen.  
Tel.: 0951-52265  
Wegbeschreibung siehe S. 14
- Geselliger Abend        Mittwoch, 27.2.2008, 19 Uhr  
in der Aula der Universität (Dominikanerbau)  
Dominikanerstr. 2a  
96049 Bamberg  
Bitte zeigen Sie Ihr Büffet-Ticket am Eingang vor!  
Kein Einlass ohne Büffet-Ticket!  
Wegbeschreibung siehe S. 14
- Musikalischer  
Abend                    Donnerstag, 28.2.2008, 20 Uhr  
in der Aula der Universität (Dominikanerbau)  
Dominikanerstr. 2a  
96049 Bamberg  
Wegbeschreibung siehe S. 14  
Programm: Josquin des Prez: Ecce tu pulchra es,  
W.A. Mozart: Streichquartett G-Dur, KV 387,  
Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Quartett e-moll, op. 44 Nr. 2

### Weitere Begleitveranstaltungen

- Buchausstellung        während der ganzen Tagung  
An der Universität 7, Raum 105  
Die folgenden Verlage sind mit einer Buchausstellung  
vertreten:  
Akademie Verlag  
John Benjamins Publishing Company  
Bibliographisches Institut & F. A. Brockhaus AG  
Helmut Buske Verlag  
Cambridge University Press  
Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG / Mouton de Gruyter  
Institut für Deutsche Sprache

Peter Lang Verlagsgruppe  
Langenscheidt KG  
Missing Link Versandbuchhandlung  
Narr Francke Attempto Verlag  
Max Niemeyer Verlag  
Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung  
Oxford University Press  
Erich Schmidt Verlag  
Stauffenburg Verlag  
WAHRIG in Wissen Media Verlag  
Universitätsverlag Winter

Posterpräsentation      Donnerstag, 18:30-20:00 Uhr  
Sektion Computer-      – Posterausstellung durchgehend von Mittwoch bis Freitag –  
linguistik                    im Foyer der Aula der Universität (Dominikanerbau)  
   Dominikanerstr. 2a  
   96049 Bamberg  
   Wegbeschreibung siehe S. 14

## Programme

### AGs 1 - 13, Studentische AG

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#### AG 1

#### Sprachwandelvergleich

AG-Leitung: *Jürg Fleischer & Horst Simon*

Raum: U5/122

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#### Mittwoch, 27. Februar 2008

- 14.00 – 15.00 *Bernd Heine:*  
Are there any generalizations on grammatical change in language contact?
- 15.00 – 15.30 *Muriel Norde:*  
Deflexion and related (?) morphosyntactic changes in the Scandinavian language family
- 15.30 – 16.00 *Hans-Olav Enger:*  
Case reduction in Norwegian (and Swedish)
- 16.00 – 16.30 KAFFEPAUSE
- 16.30 – 17.00 *Ruth Kempson:*  
Grammars as parsers & syntactic change: clitic clusters as calcified scrambling
- 17.00 – 17.30 *Georg A. Kaiser:*  
Language change in comparison: the (special) case of Raeto-Romance
- 17.30 – 18.00 *Elisabeth Stark & Sanda Şora:*  
Why is there differential object marking in Romance?
- 18.00 – 18.30 *Miriam Butt, Tafseer Ahmed & Tikaram Poudel:*  
Development of case in South Asian languages

#### Donnerstag, 28. Februar 2008

- 9.00 – 9.30 *Rosemarie Lühr:*  
Vergleich von syntaktischem Wandel in indogermanischen Sprachen
- 9.30 – 10.00 *Damaris Nübling:*  
Der Umlaut – und was aus ihm in den germanischen Sprachen wurde
-

## 30. Jahrestagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft

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- 10.00 – 10.30 *Martin Joachim Kümmel:*  
Interaktion zwischen phonologischem und morphologischem Systemwandel
- 10.30 – 11.00 *Elham Rohany Rahbar:*  
A historical study of the Persian vowel system
- 11.00 – 11.30 KAFFEEPAUSE
- 11.30 – 12.00 *Eric Fuß & Melani Wratil:*  
Der Nullsubjektzyklus: Verlust und Etablierung von Nullargumenten
- 12.00 – 12.30 *Susann Fischer:*  
A comparative approach of non-nominative subjects: Romance vs. Germanic
- 12.30 – 13.00 *Anne Breitbarth, Christopher Lucas & David Willis:*  
Incipient Jespersen's Cycle: the (non-)grammaticalisation of new negative markers

### Freitag, 29. Februar 2008

- 9.00 – 9.30 *Frans Plank:*  
The duration of historical-linguistic events
- 9.30 – 10.00 *Mark L. Loudon:*  
Structural convergence in Pennsylvania German
- 10.00 – 10.30 *Alexandra Lenz:*  
GIVE and GET verbs in West Germanic languages
- 10.30 – 11.00 KAFFEEPAUSE
- 11.00 – 11.30 *Dmitry Ganenkov:*  
Towards a diachronic typology of labiality: evidence from East Caucasian
- 11.30 – 12.00 *Kazuha Watanabe:*  
Perfect to perfective: gradual or cyclic change

#### Ersatzvorträge:

*Agnes Jäger:* *Anything is nothing is something.* Comparing polarity type changes of indefinites

*Peter Siemund & Alexander Haselow:* From synthetic to analytic – not quite!  
Contact-induced exceptions to a general trend in the history of English

*Antje Dammel & Sebastian Kürschner:* Prinzipien des Flexionsklassenwandels in den germanischen Sprachen



**AG 2**

**Foundations of language comparison:  
human universals as constraints on language diversity**

AG-Leitung: *Dietmar Zaefferer & David Poeppel*

[http://www.itl.uni-muenchen.de/forschung/tagungen/human\\_universals/index.html](http://www.itl.uni-muenchen.de/forschung/tagungen/human_universals/index.html)

Raum: U5/024

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**Mittwoch, 27. Februar 2008**

- 14.00 – 14.05 *David Poeppel & Dietmar Zaefferer:*  
Welcome
- 14.05 – 14.30 *Dietmar Zaefferer:*  
Definitional and empirical features of human and language
- 14.30 – 15.00 *Christoph Antweiler:*  
The many determinants of human universals
- 15.00 – 15.30 *Peter J. Richerson:*  
Patterns of human conflict and cooperation: language and linguistic diversity
- 15.30 – 16.00 *Ljiljana Progovac:*  
The core universal and language evolution
- 16.00 – 16.30 KAFFEPAUSE
- 16.30 – 17.00 *Rainer Dietrich, Werner Sommer & Chung Shan Kao:*  
The influence of syntactic structures on the time course of microplanning: a cross-linguistic experiment
- 17.00 – 17.30 *Adriana Hanulíková, James M. McQueen & Holger Mitterer:*  
The differing role of consonants and vowels in word recognition
- 17.30 – 18.30 *Michael T. Ullman:*  
Variability and redundancy in the neurocognition of language
- 18.30 End of session

**Donnerstag, 28. Februar 2008**

- 9.00 – 10.00 *Daniel L. Everett:*  
Can culture license finite grammars?
- 10.00 – 10.30 *Hedde Zeijlstra:*  
Parameters are epiphenomena of grammatical architecture
-

## 30. Jahrestagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft

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- 10.30 – 11.00 *Wolfram Hinzen & Boban Arsenijević:*  
Recursion as an epiphenomenon
- 11.00 – 11.30 KAFFEPAUSE
- 11.30 – 12.00 *Andrew Nevins:*  
Invariant properties of human grammatical systems
- 12.00 – 13.00 *Jeffrey Lidz:*  
The representational basis for statistical inference in language learning
- 13.00 End of session

### Freitag, 29. Februar 2008

- 9.00 – 9.30 *Asifa Majid:*  
Constraints on event semantics across languages
- 9.30 – 10.00 *Friedemann Pulvermüller:*  
Discreteness, rules, pushdown storage and the brain
- 10.00 – 10.30 *David Poeppel:*  
Linguistics and the future of the neurosciences
- 10.30 – 11.00 KAFFEPAUSE
- 11.00 – 12.00 *T. G. Bever:*  
The general and the individual in linguistic universals
- 12.00 End of session

Ersatzvortrag/Posterpräsentation:

*Joana Rosselló:* Duality of patterning in the architecture of language: a reassessment

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### AG 3

#### Specific language impairment across languages

AG-Leitung: *Ezel Babur & Solveig Kroffke*

Raum: U2/204 (West)

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### Mittwoch, 27. Februar 2008

- 14.00 – 14.30 *Funda Acarlar:*  
Language profiles of Turkish children with developmental language disorders: case studies

- 14.30 – 15.00 *Christina Kauschke:*  
Crosslinguistic characteristics of Specific Language Impairment – a comparison of German and Korean children with SLI
- 15.00 – 15.30 *Jelena Kuvač, Marijan Palmović & Melita Kovačević:*  
Language-specific and language-universal traits of SLI in Croatian
- 15.30 – 16.00 *Fabrizio Pizzioli, Marie-Anne Schelstreat & Marinka Grobler:*  
A richer morphology helps: a comparison of French and Slovenian children with normal language and specific language impairment
- 16.00 – 16.30 KAFFEPAUSE
- 16.30 – 17.00 *Jan de Jong, Nazife Cavus, Antje Orgassa, Anne Baker & Fred Weerman:*  
Symptoms of SLI in Turkish-Dutch bilingual children
- 17.00 – 17.30 *Ezel Babur & Solveig Chilla:*  
Language profiles of bilingual Turkish children with/without SLI
- 17.30 – 18.00 *Monika Rothweiler, Ianthi Tsimpli, Despina Papadopoulou, Annette Fox, Kalliopi Katsika, Solveig Kroffke, Maria Mastropavlou, Agapi Mylonaki & Nadine Stahl:*  
Motion verbs in Greek and German: evidence from typically developing and SLI children
- 18.00 – 18.30 *Sharon Amon-Lotem & Joel Walter:*  
Substitution of prepositions as an indicator of SLI in bilingual children: the relative contribution of representation and processing

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**AG 4**

**The linguistic realization of evidentiality in European languages**

AG-Leitung: *Gabriele Diewald & Elena Smirnova*

Raum: H/016 (Ost)

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**Mittwoch, 27. Februar 2008**

- 14.00 – 14.30 *Gabriele Diewald & Elena Smirnova:*  
Welcome / Introduction
- 14.30 – 15.30 *Vladimir A. Plungian:*  
Types of verbal evidentiality marking: towards a general typology
- 15.30 – 16.00 *Katerina Stathi:*  
The rise of evidential markers in Modern Greek
- 16.00 – 16.30 KAFFEPAUSE
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- 16.30 – 17.00 *Nóra Kugler:*  
The modalized evidential system in Hungarian
- 17.00 – 17.30 *Asier Alcazar:*  
Grammatical encoding of lexical evidentiality in a Spanish-to-Basque parallel corpus

**Donnerstag, 28. Februar 2008**

- 9.00 – 9.30 *Björn Wiemer:*  
Hearsay and epistemic values cross-classified in an integrative approach to evidentiality marking in European languages
- 9.30 – 10.00 *Gerda Haßler:*  
Epistemic modality and evidentiality and their determination on a deictic basis
- 10.00 – 10.30 *Adriënne Heijnen & Alexandra Kratschmer:*  
Revelative evidentiality in European languages: linguistic coding and its anthropological background
- 10.30 – 11.00 *Bert Cornillie:*  
An interactional approach to evidential and epistemic adverbs in Spanish conversation
- 11.00 – 11.30 KAFFEPAUSE
- 11.30 – 12.00 *Dirk Noël:*  
The English evidential nominative and infinitive construction
- 12.00 – 12.30 *Mathias Schenner & Hatice Coskun:*  
Evidentials in complement clauses: evidence from Turkish
- 12.30 – 13.00 *Richard J. Whitt:*  
Evidentiality, polysemy, and perception verbs: a corpus-based analysis of English and German

**Freitag, 29. Februar 2008**

- 9.00 – 9.30 *Virginia Hill:*  
Adverb grammaticalization as source for evidential markers
- 9.30 – 10.00 *Francis Grossmann & Agnès Tutin:*  
Evidential markers in French scientific writing: the case of the lexicon of perception
- 10.00 – 10.30 *Mareile Knees, Manfred Consten & Monika Schwarz-Friesel:*  
Complex anaphors as evidential markers

- 10.30 – 11.00 KAFFEPAUSE  
11.00 – 12.00 *Gabriele Diewald & Elena Smirnova:*  
Closing discussion
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**AG 5**

**Tense across languages**

AG-Leitung: *Renate Musan, Monika Rathert & Rolf Thieroff*

Raum: U5/117

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**Mittwoch, 27. Februar 2008**

- 14.00 – 14.30 *Hamida Demirdache & Oana Lungu:*  
On the present and the past in French child language  
14.30 – 15.00 *Uwe Reyle & Antje Rossdeutscher:*  
Underspecification and resolution of the perfect in lexicon-based  
UDRT  
15.00 – 15.30 *Brenda Laca & Patricia Cabredo-Hofherr:*  
When "perfect" means "plural": the so-called present perfect in some  
American Ibero-Romance varieties  
15.30 – 16.00 *Michael Rödel:*  
Double perfect constructions in German  
16.00 – 16.30 KAFFEPAUSE  
16.30 – 17.00 *Judith Tonhauser:*  
The Paraguayan Guaraní future marker „-ta“  
17.00 – 17.30 *Lynn Wales:*  
French synthetic future  
17.30 – 18.00 *Graham Katz & Orin Percus:*  
Building up expectations  
18.00 – 18.30 *Julia Landgraf:*  
Tense in Scottish Gaelic

**Donnerstag, 28. Februar 2008**

- 9.00 – 9.30 *Anastasia Giannakidou:*  
The dependency of the subjunctive revisited: temporal semantics and  
polarity
-

- 9.30 – 10.00 *Maria Bittner:*  
Conditional prospects in a tenseless language
- 10.00 – 10.30 *Magdalena Schwager:*  
Imperatives and tense
- 10.30 – 11.00 *Eva-Maria Remberger:*  
Tense and volitionality
- 11.00 – 11.30 KAFFEPAUSE
- 11.30 – 12.00 *Jacques Jayez:*  
A solution to Mittwoch's problem
- 12.00 – 12.30 *Fabrizio Arosio:*  
Tense, aspect, and temporal homogeneity
- 12.30 – 13.00 *Markus Egg & Corien Bary:*  
Aspect and coercion in Ancient Greek

**Freitag, 29. Februar 2008**

- 9.00 – 9.30 *Mathias Jenny:*  
Tense in Burmese?
- 9.30 – 10.00 *Ron Artstein:*  
Temporal exceptives
- 10.00 – 10.30 *Yoshiki Mori:*  
Impact of causal implicature on the subordinate clause tense
- 10.30 – 11.00 KAFFEPAUSE
- 11.00 – 11.30 *Toshiyuki Ogihara:*  
Double-access phenomena revisited
- 11.30 – 12.00 *Björn Rothstein:*  
Positional adverbs and the future use of the present perfect

Ersatzvorträge:

*Hector Manni:* Tense and evidentiality in Mocovi

*Judite Carecho:* Tense, 'aktionsart', and aspect in Portuguese and German

*Cheng-Fu Chen:* The use and temporal interpretation of the Rukai future tense

*Katharina Haude:* Tense marking on dependent nominals in Movima

*Ilana Mezhevich:* A unified view of tense and mood: the case of Russian conditionals

**AG 6**

**Rechtsverschiebung im Sprachvergleich**

AG-Leitung: *Gert Webelhuth & Manfred Sailer*

Raum: U5/118

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**Mittwoch, 27. Februar 2008**

- 14.00 – 14.30 *Gert Webelhuth:*  
Introduction
- 14.30 – 15.30 *Edward Göbbel:*  
Rightward movement of 'light' constituents
- 15.30 – 16.00 *Katharina Hartmann:*  
The prosodic structure of extraposition
- 16.00 – 16.30 KAFFEPAUSE
- 16.30 – 17.00 *Werner Frey & André Meinunger:*  
Extraposition as PF movement: further arguments in its favour and some refinements of its treatment
- 17.00 – 17.30 *Berthold Crysmann:*  
On the nonlocality of complement and adjunct extraposition
- 17.30 – 18.00 *Jan Strunk & Neal Snider:*  
Extraposition without subjacency
- 18.00 – 18.30 *Kayono Shiobara:*  
Post-cyclic linearization of structure with rightward dependency

**Donnerstag, 28. Februar 2008**

- 9.00 – 9.30 *Markus Bader, Tanja Schmid & Jana Häussler:*  
A new constraint on extraposition
- 9.30 – 10.00 *Karina Schneider-Wiejowski & Olga Pustyl'nikov:*  
On differences in prosodic behavior of syntactic constructions placed after the right sentence brackets in German and Russian
- 10.00 – 10.30 *Marlies Kluck & Mark de Vries:*  
Extraposition and right node raising
- 10.30 – 11.00 *Yasuyuki Fukutomi:*  
Right dislocation in Japanese: a preliminary study
- 11.00 – 11.30 KAFFEPAUSE
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- 11.30 – 12.00 *Eleni Gregoromichelaki:*  
A dynamic perspective on left-right asymmetries: CLLD and *Clitic Doubling* in Greek
- 12.00 – 12.30 *Balkız Öztürk:*  
Postverbal constituents in Uyghur and Khalkha
- 12.30 – 13.00 *Carlo Cecchetto, Carlo Geraci & Alessandro Zucchi:*  
Rightward *wh* movement in sign languages

**Freitag, 29. Februar 2008**

- 9.00 – 9.30 *Cristiano Chesi:*  
Rightward movement from a top-down perspective
- 9.30 – 10.00 *Jiro Inaba:*  
Against a uniform treatment of extraposition
- 10.00 – 10.30 *Heike Walker:*  
Extraposition of relative clauses: influences on acceptability judgments?
- 10.30 – 11.00 KAFFEPAUSE
- 11.00 – 12.00 *Manfred Sailer:*  
Final discussion

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**AG 7**

**Local modelling of non-local dependencies in syntax**  
AG-Leitung: *Artemis Alexiadou, Tibor Kiss & Gereon Müller*  
Raum: U5/222

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**Mittwoch, 27. Februar 2008**

- 14.00 – 14.30 *Artemis Alexiadou, Tibor Kiss & Gereon Müller:*  
The local modelling of non-local dependencies: An overview
- 14.30 – 15.00 *Klaus Abels & Kristine Bentzen:*  
Is there any evidence for punctuated paths?
- 15.00 – 15.30 *Gregory Kobele:*  
Deriving the A, A-bar distinction in the Minimalist Program
- 15.30 – 16.00 *Jong-Bok Kim:*  
Non-local dependencies in the three different types of Korean relative clauses: a construction-based approach
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- 16.00 – 16.30 KAFFEPAUSE
- 16.30 – 17.00 *Udo Klein:*  
Long-distance dependencies, locality and discontinuous constituents
- 17.00 – 17.30 *Andreas Haida:*  
The semantics of successive-cyclic *wh*-movement
- 17.30 – 18.00 *Chris Worth:*  
Towards a CVG account of gap agreement in Chamorro
- 18.00 – 18.30 *Masaya Yoshida & Angel J. Gallego:*  
Phases and ellipsis

**Donnerstag, 28. Februar 2008**

- 9.00 – 9.30 *Eric Potsdam & Maria Polinsky:*  
Real and apparent long-distance agreement in subject-to-subject raising constructions
- 9.30 – 10.00 *Marc Richards:*  
Probing the past: on reconciling LDA with PIC
- 10.00 – 10.30 *Miriam Butt:*  
Revisiting Long-Distance Agreement in Urdu/Hindi
- 10.30 – 11.00 *Omer Preminger:*  
Long Distance Agreement in Basque, locally speaking
- 11.00 – 11.30 KAFFEPAUSE
- 11.30 – 12.00 *Petr Biskup:*  
Agreement, C-Selection, movement, and set-merge
- 12.00 – 12.30 *Juan Cuartero & Fabian Heck:*  
Long distance agreement in relative clauses
- 12.30 – 13.00 *Chiyo Nishida:*  
Extended categorial grammar analysis of ‘restructuring’ and ‘clitic climbing’ in Romance

**Freitag, 29. Februar 2008**

- 9.00 – 9.30 *Daniel Hole:*  
Locality and complementarity in dative binding
- 9.30 – 10.00 *Dalina Kallulli:*  
Local modelling of allegedly local but really non-local phenomena: unifying lack of superiority and Principle C effects

- 10.00 – 10.30 *Florian Schäfer:*  
Local case and cyclic Agree
- 10.30 – 11.00 KAFFEPAUSE
- 11.00 – 11.30 *Hans-Martin Gärtner:*  
Function composition and the linear local modeling of extended neg-  
scope
- 11.30 – 12.00 *Tibor Kiss:*  
Locality: ontology or description?

Ersatzvorträge:

*Yo Sato:* A linearisation-based account of unbounded dependency

*Antje Lahne:* Local modelling of long-distance agreement

*Antonio Fábregas:* Non-local dependencies in word-internal syntax

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**AG 8**

**Topikalität**

AG-Leitung: *Cornelia Endriss, Stefan Hinterwimmer & Sophie Repp*

Raum: U2/025 (Ost)

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**Mittwoch, 27. Februar 2008**

- 14.00 – 14.30 *Cornelia Endriss, Stefan Hinterwimmer & Sophie Repp:*  
Topicality
- 14.30 – 15.00 *Svetlana Petrova:*  
Types of topic expressions and the structure of the left periphery in  
Old High German
- 15.00 – 15.30 *Werner Frey:*  
Italian Clitic Left Dislocation and German D-Pronoun Left  
Dislocation: a fresh look of comparison
- 15.30 – 16.00 *Peter Öhl:*  
Grammatical relations and discourse configurationality
- 16.00 – 16.30 KAFFEPAUSE
- 16.30 – 17.00 *Manfred Consten, Mareile Knees & Monika Schwarz-Friesel:*  
Complex anaphors as discourse topic markers
- 17.00 – 17.30 *Maria Averintseva-Klisch:*  
German right dislocation as a discourse topic marking construction

- 17.30 – 18.00 *Annemie Demol:*  
IL *versus* CELUI-CI: topic continuity *versus* topic shift?
- 18.00 – 18.30 *Paul Isambert:*  
Topicality and discourse structure: evidence from the French marker *autrement*

**Donnerstag, 28. Februar 2008**

- 9.00 – 9.30 *Roland Pfau:*  
On topics and conditionals in sign languages
- 9.30 – 10.00 *Remus Gergel:*  
On (non-)correlations of movement as re-merge and topicalization: evidence from topics in adjective doubling
- 10.00 – 10.30 *Reiko Vermeulen:*  
The syntax of topics in Japanese
- 10.30 – 11.00 *Masanori Deguchi:*  
Topicalization and contrastive readings: insights from Japanese *wa*
- 11.00 – 11.30 KAFFEPAUSE
- 11.30 – 12.00 *Katharina Hartmann & Andreas Haida:*  
On (de-)topicalization in Hausa
- 12.00 – 12.30 *Anne Schwarz:*  
On the (re)presentation of topics in some Gur languages (Niger-Congo)
- 12.30 – 13.00 *Malte Zimmermann & Daniel Hole:*  
Strategies of topic marking in Chadic (Afro-Asiatic)

**Freitag, 29. Februar 2008**

- 9.00 – 9.30 *Ingo Reich:*  
Topicalization and Asymmetric Coordination
- 9.30 – 10.00 *Karen Lahousse:*  
Implicit stage topics
- 10.00 – 10.30 *Elitzur Avraham Bar-Asher:*  
“What is it all about?” – reanalyzing a variety of theories about topicality
- 10.30 – 11.00 KAFFEPAUSE

- 11.00 – 11.30 *Britta Stolterfoht, Lyn Frazier & Charles Clifton, Jr.:*  
Sentence topics in processing English
- 11.30 – 12.00 *Elsi Kaiser:*  
Structural and information-structural effects on topicality

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**AG 9**

**Experimental pragmatics/semantics**

AG-Leitung: *Jörg Meibauer & Markus Steinbach*

Raum: U2/133 (Ost)

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**Mittwoch, 27. Februar 2008**

- 14.00 – 14.30 *David Restle:*  
Underdetermination and enrichment in control constructions
- 14.30 – 15.00 *Petra Burkhardt:*  
*The hepatitis called ...:* electrophysiological evidence for enriched composition
- 15.00 – 15.30 *Natalie Klein, Whitney Gegg-Harrison, Rachel S. Sussman, Greg N. Carlson & Michael K. Tanenhaus:*  
Referential domains and the real-time processing of “weak definite” noun phrases
- 15.30 – 16.00 *Daniele Panizza & Gennaro Chierchia:*  
Two experiments on the interpretation of numerals
- 16.00 – 16.30 KAFFEPAUSE
- 16.30 – 17.00 *Julia Holzgrefe, Heiner Drenhaus & Joanna Blaszczak:*  
Context-dependency or default processing: An ERP study on scalar implicatures
- 17.00 – 17.30 *Arjen Zondervan:*  
Effects of question under discussion and focus on scalar implicatures
- 17.30 – 18.00 *Daniel Grodner, Natalie Klein, Katie Carbary & Michael Tanenhaus:*  
Experimental evidence for rapid interpretation of pragmatic ‘some’
- 18.00 – 18.30 *Kristin Börjesson:*  
On the validity of empirical evidence supporting the *graded salience hypothesis*

**Donnerstag, 28. Februar 2008**

- 9.00 – 9.30 *Frauke Berger, Anja Müller, Michaela Schmitz, Barbara Höhle & Jürgen Weissenborn:*  
The acquisition of the additive focus particle *auch* ('also') in German
- 9.30 – 10.00 *Petra Schulz & Julia Ose:*  
Semantics and pragmatics in the acquisition of telicity
- 10.00 – 10.30 *Leah Paltiel-Gedalyovich:*  
Response uniformity distinguishes semantics from pragmatics: evidence from Hebrew coordination and implications for interpreting child language data
- 10.30 – 11.00 *Vincenzo Moscati:*  
Modality and negation. A subset configuration in the interpretation of multiple-operators sentences
- 11.00 – 11.30 KAFFEPAUSE
- 11.30 – 12.00 *Anja Müller, Petra Schulz & Barbara Höhle:*  
Pragmatic children: how children interpret sentences with and without *only*
- 12.00 – 12.30 *Katharina Rohlfing:*  
Meaning in objects?
- 12.30 – 13.00 *Robert Kurtz & Ronnie Wilbur:*  
The development of conversational competence in children with specific language impairment

**Freitag, 29. Februar 2008**

- 9.00 – 9.30 *Hans-Christian Schmitz:*  
Free creation of intensional contexts
- 9.30 – 10.00 *Eleni Kriempardis:*  
Are implicatures more than a type of communicated content?
- 10.00 – 10.30 *Nausicaa Pouscoulous:*  
Experimental evidence on the implicit/explicit distinction
- 10.30 – 11.00 KAFFEPAUSE
- 11.00 – 11.30 *Judith Degen:*  
Theoretical implications of experimental evidence on scalar implicature processing

11.30 – 12.00 *Frank Liedtke:*  
Trigger or enrichment: on the proper treatment of what is said

Ersatzvorträge:

*Helge Skirl:* Die Schnittstelle von Semantik und Pragmatik am Beispiel von Emergenz beim Verstehen innovativer Metaphern

*Edgar Onea:* Focus and negation. The problem of grammatical and contextual alternatives

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**AG 10**

**Strategien der Integration und Isolation nicht-nativer Einheiten und Strukturen**

AG-Leitung: *Carmen Scherer & Anke Holler*

Raum: H/201 (West)

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**Mittwoch, 27. Februar 2008**

14.00 – 14.30 *Carmen Scherer & Anke Holler:*  
Einführung

14.30 – 15.00 *Ulrich Busse:*  
Was ist eigentlich ein Anglizismus?

15.00 – 15.30 *Horst Haider Munske:*  
*O.K.* [o'ke:] und *K.O.* [ka'o:]: Zur lautlichen und graphischen Integration von Anglizismen im Deutschen

15.30 – 16.00 *Martin Neef:*  
Die Schreibung nicht-nativer Einheiten in einer Schriftsystemtheorie mit einem mehrschichtigen Wortschatzmodell

16.00 – 16.30 KAFFEPAUSE

16.30 – 17.00 *Evan Cohen:*  
Predicting adaptation patterns: multiple sources of Hebrew vowels in English loanwords

17.00 – 17.30 *Marcus Callies, Eva Ogiermann & Konrad Szcześniak:*  
A cross-linguistic comparison of variation in gender assignment to English loanwords in German and Polish

17.30 – 18.00 *Jeanine Ntahirageza:*  
Variability in multilingual grammars. Class reassignment of loan nouns

18.00 – 18.30 *Eric A. Anchimbe:*  
Accounting for Cameroon-based elements in English in Cameroon

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**Donnerstag, 28. Februar 2008**

- 9.00 – 9.30 *Maria Gabriela Schmidt:*  
Adaption und Koordination nicht-nativer Einheiten am Beispiel des Japanischen
- 9.30 – 10.00 *Heide Wegener:*  
Vom Nutzen fremder Wörter und fremder Strukturen für die entlehrende Sprache
- 10.00 – 10.30 *Rüdiger Harnisch:*  
Isolation und Integration von ‚suffixverdächtigen‘ Fremdwörtern im Deutschen – typologisch betrachtet
- 10.30 – 11.00 *Sabina Ulsamer & Lothar Lemnitzer:*  
Empirische Analyse von Neologismen im Hinblick auf Wortbildungsmuster mit nicht-nativen Wortbildungselementen
- 11.00 – 11.30 KAFFEPAUSE
- 11.30 – 12.00 *Luise Kempf:*  
(Wie) Unterscheiden sich Fremdwortbildung und native Wortbildung im Deutschen?
- 12.00 – 12.30 *Gisela Zifonun:*  
Von *Bush administration* zu *Kohl-Regierung*: Englische Einflüsse auf deutsche Nominalkonstruktionen?
- 12.30 – 13.00 *Agnes Kolmer:*  
Grammatische Entlehnung im Cimbrio von Luserna (Trentino)

**Freitag, 29. Februar 2008**

- 9.00 – 9.30 *Takashi Nakajima:*  
Loan words get-by with little help from *do*
- 9.30 – 10.00 *Elizabeth M. Neuerburg Addison:*  
An investigation into linguistic relativity and the significance of French. Linguistic influences on the use of the lexical term “warm” in Louisiana English
- 10.00 – 10.30 *Beatrice Alex & Alexander Onysko:*  
Detecting English loan-influences in German: contrasting the effectiveness of automatic detection with human performance
- 10.30 – 11.00 KAFFEPAUSE

- 11.00 – 11.30 *Sabine Ziegler:*  
Adaption und Integration lateinischer Wörter in deutschen Dialekten  
und Soziolekten
- 11.30 – 12.00 *Carmen Scherer & Anke Holler:*  
Zur Argumentstruktur entlehnter Verben

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**AG 11**

**Gestures: a comparison of signed and spoken languages**  
AG-Leitung: *Ulrike Wrobel, Cornelia Müller & Jens Heßmann*  
Raum: U5/217

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**Mittwoch, 27. Februar 2008**

- 14.00 – 14.30 *Konrad Ehlich:*  
Nonverbal – international? Oder von der vermeintlichen Universalität der Gestik und ihren universal-theoretischen Gründen
- 14.30 – 15.00 *Adam Kendon:*  
Some reflections on ‘gesture’ and ‘sign’
- 15.00 – 15.30 *Christian Rathmann:*  
Iconicity, lexicalization and grammaticization: implications for sign vs. gesture
- 15.30 – 16.00 *Jenny Pyers, Pamela Perniss & Karen Emmorey*  
Viewpoint in the visual-spatial modality
- 16.00 – 16.30 KAFFEPAUSE
- 16.30 – 17.00 *Pamela Perniss & Asli Özyürek:*  
A cross-linguistic comparison of co-speech gesture and sign: constraints on the visual-spatial modality in representations of motion events
- 17.00 – 17.30 *Franz Dotter, Marlene Hilzensauer, Elisabeth Bergmeister, Silke Bornholdt, Christian Hausch, Klaudia Krammer, Anita Pirker, Andrea Skant & Natalie Unterberger:*  
Comparison of the use of spatial gestures during speaking or signing
- 17.30 – 18.00 *David Quinto-Pozos & Fey Parrill:*  
Enactment as a communicative strategy: A comparison between English co-speech gesture and American Sign Language
- 18.00 – 18.30 *Renate Fischer & Simon Kollien:*  
Sound symbolism in GSL?



**Donnerstag, 28. Februar 2008**

- 9.00 – 9.30     *Sherman Wilcox:*  
Two routes from gesture to language
- 9.30 – 10.00   *Ronnie B. Wilbur & Evguenia Malaia:*  
From encyclopedic semantics to grammatical aspects: converging evidence from ASL and co-speech gestures
- 10.00 – 10.30   *Cornelia Müller:*  
Creating gestures and signs: gestural modes of representation and classifiers in sign-languages
- 10.30 – 11.00   *Dorothea Cogill-Koez:*  
Reanalysing gesture in terms of channel, representational principle, and structural level: a common ground beneath signed and spoken communication systems?
- 11.00 – 11.30   KAFFEPAUSE
- 11.30 – 12.00   *Gisela Fehrmann:*  
Shifters: the gestural dimension of symbolic reference in German Sign Language
- 12.00 – 12.30   *Jana Bressemer & Silva Ladewig:*  
Discovering structures in gestures on the basis of the four parameters of Sign Language
- 12.30 – 13.00   *Gaurav Mathur:*  
Does gesture have phonology? Insights from signed languages

**Freitag, 29. Februar 2008**

- 9.00 – 9.30     *Susanne Tag:*  
Simultaneity in co-speech gestures
- 9.30 – 10.00   *Paula Marentette & Elena Nicoladis:*  
Iconicity and simultaneity in the gesture-language link: a comparison of ASL signers and English speakers
- 10.00 – 10.30   *Myriam Vermeerbergen & Eline Demey:*  
Sign + Gesture = Speech + Gesture? Comparing aspects of simultaneity in Flemish Sign Language to instances of concurrent speech and gesture
- 10.30 – 11.00   KAFFEPAUSE
- 11.00 – 11.30   *Phylliss Wilcox:*  
Substantiation of metonymy in American Sign Language
-

11.30 – 12.00 *Irene Mittelberg:*  
Contiguity relationships within and across semiotic modes: a Jakobsonian perspective on metonymy in co-verbal gestures

Ersatzvorträge:

*Jennie Pyers, Pamela Perniss & Karen Emmorey:* Viewpoint in the visual-spatial modality

*Claudia S. Bianchini & Margeritha Castelli:* Emblems, signs and transparency: Relating gestures and signs in Italy

*Annika Herrmann:* Nichtmanuelle Gesten und grammatische NMFs bei der Sprecher-einstellung in Gebärdensprachen

*Angélique Bergeron Gardner:* Language, culture, and gesture in a Louisiana Creole community

*Caroline E. Nash:* Hand gestures as regulators in French conversation

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**AG 12**

**Methodische Aspekte der Intonationsforschung**

AG-Leitung: *Pia Bergmann & Frank Kügler*

Raum: U11/016

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**Mittwoch, 27. Februar 2008**

14.00 – 14.30 *Jörg Peters:*  
Rare pitch patterns – What frequency can tell us about intonational meaning

14.30 – 15.00 *Beat Siebenhaar:*  
Methodological aspects of separating systematic and individual prosodic features

15.00 – 15.30 *Bernd Möbius & Matthias Jilka:*  
Corpus-based analysis of prosodic and segmental features influencing F<sub>0</sub> peak alignment

15.30 – 16.00 *Trudel Meisenburg & Christoph Gabriel:*  
Exploring variation and change in Romance intonation: Occitan and French in Southern France, Spanish and Italian in Argentina

16.00 – 16.30 KAFFEPAUSE

16.30 – 17.00 *Klaus J. Kohler:*  
Analysing rhythm in different languages – A new research paradigm

- 17.00 – 17.30 *Rebecca Hughes & Beatrice Szczepek Reed:*  
Interpretation of prosodic cues in read-aloud vs spontaneous speech data
- 17.30 – 18.00 *Kai Alter:*  
Differences between single sentence and dialogue processing: Evidence from Evoked Potentials
- 18.00 – 18.30 Diskussion
- Ersatzvorträge:
- Adrian Leemann:* Intonation in contrast: spontaneous speech elicited by 4 different techniques
- Sandra Döring:* On prosodic aspects of parenthetical constructions in modern German
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**AG 13**

**Welche Rolle spielt die Phonologie beim Leseerwerb?**

AG-Leitung: *Martina Penke & Kathrin Schrader*

Raum: U11/016

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**Donnerstag, 28. Februar 2008**

- 9.00 – 9.30 *Martina Penke & Kathrin Schrader:*  
Begrüßung und Eröffnung des Workshops
- 9.30 – 10.00 *Anke Treutlein, Isabelle Zöllner, Jeanette Roos & Hermann Schöler:*  
Auswirkungen eines Trainings zur phonologischen Bewusstheit auf die Leseleistungen
- 10.00 – 11.00 *Silke Fricke, Annette Fox, Joy Stackhouse & Marcin Szczerbinski:*  
Factors influencing early reading acquisition in German-speaking children
- 11.00 – 11.30 KAFFEEPAUSE
- 11.30 – 12.30 *Christa Röber:*  
Die Ignoranz der orthographischen Muster deutscher Wörter beim Leseunterricht und ihre Folgen
- 12.30 – 13.00 *Guido Nottbusch:*  
Augenbewegungen beim Lesen von Wörtern mit vertauschten Buchstaben
-

**Freitag, 29. Februar 2008**

- 9.30 – 10.00 *Nathalie Bedoin & Christophe Dos Santos:*  
Sub-phonemic influence of voicing feature in a reading task
- 10.00 – 10.30 *Catherine Dickie, Ann Clark & Mitsuhiro Ota:*  
Phonology in dyslexia: the role of phonological representations in dyslexia
- 10.30 – 11.00 KAFFEPAUSE
- 11.00 – 11.30 *Kathrin Schrader:*  
Die Rolle der Phonologie für die visuelle Worterkennung im Verlauf des Leseerwerbs
- 11.30 – 12.00 Abschlussdiskussion

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**Studentische AG**

Koordination: *Thomas Hanke, Tyko Dirksmeyer, Oliver P. Kühn & Falko Berthold*  
Raum: U5/218

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**Mittwoch, 27. Februar 2008**

- 14.00 – 14.30 WARMING-UP
- 14.30 – 15.00 *Thomas Hanke:*  
*Einander, each other* and co. in their own rights
- 15.00 – 15.30 *Florian Haas:*  
How symmetric are ‘symmetric verbs’?
- 15.30 – 16.00 *Cornelia Loos:*  
Switching back and forth: Two theories of constraints on code switching revisited
- 16.00 – 16.30 KAFFEPAUSE
- 16.30 – 17.00 *Franziska Maria Hack:*  
Das Bündnerromanische und der Nullsubjektparameter
- 17.00 – 17.30 *Diana Schackow:*  
Satzverbindung im Puma
- 17.30 – 18.00 *Tobias Weber:*  
Conjunct/disjunct marking in crosslinguistic perspective
- 18.00 – 18.30 *Philipp von Samson-Himmelstjerna:*  
Different languages – one norm

**Donnerstag, 28. Februar 2008**

- 9.30 – 10.00 *Christina Unger:*  
Minimalistische Syntax aus komputationeller Sicht
- 10.00 – 10.30 *Malgorzata Mas:*  
Principles of code-switching in English and German with Polish substrates
- 10.30 – 11.00 *Sa'da Bader:*  
Phonological disorders of Arabic-speaking Jordanian children with speech and language impairments
- 11.00 – 11.30 KAFFEPAUSE
- 11.30 – 13.00 Discussion:  
Having graduated and still in linguistics = Nach dem Abschluss immer noch Linguistik
- 13.00 – 14.30 StutS-Förderverein:  
Jahresversammlung = business meeting

**Freitag, 29. Februar 2008**

- 9.30 – 10.00 *Hagen Pitsch:*  
Zur Suche nach einer Motivation für die Kasusvariation in russischen Kopulasätzen
- 10.00 – 10.30 *Corinna Handschuh:*  
Typical and less-typical instances of case-marking studied in a rare alignment system
- 10.30 – 11.00 KAFFEPAUSE
- 11.00 – 11.30 *Sabine Littig:*  
Grammatikalisierung von Adpositionen im Mandä
- 11.30 – 12.00 *Falko Berthold:*  
Melpa-Verbmorphologie: Erkenntnisse aus einer alten Missionarsgrammatik neu betrachtet

## Sektion Computerlinguistik

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### 20 Years Sektion Computerlinguistik

#### How much linguistics does computational linguistics need?

Leitung: *Miriam Butt & Bettina Schrader*

Raum: U5/222, Posteraustellung in U5, 2. Obergeschoss

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The Computational Linguistics Section of the DGfS was founded 20 years ago in 1988. The first conference under its auspices took place in Bielefeld, the first head ("speaker") of the Section was Manfred Pinkal.

The mission of the CL-Section, then as now, is to provide a bridge between computational and theoretical linguistics. That is, to continue to keep the dialog between the researchers in the different fields going in a productive manner.

To this end, the CL-Section has regularly organized workshops and/or postersessions at the annual meeting of the DGfS.

To commemorate the occasion of the 20th year of its existence, the Section-CL is organizing a special Workshop in addition to the usual postersession. We would like to invite all attendees of the DGfS to attend this special workshop as well.

#### Dienstag, 26. Februar 2008

- |               |  |
|---------------|--|
| 10.00 – 10.15 | Introduction and Welcome   |
| 10.15 – 11.15 | <i>Manfred Pinkal:</i><br>Was bedeutet Semantik für die Sprachtechnologie?   |
| 11.15 – 11.30 | KAFFEPAUSE   |
| 11.30 – 12.30 | <i>Michael Herweg:</i><br>Wie viel Linguistik die Computerlinguistik braucht – was sagen uns kommerzielle Anwendungen? |
| 12.30 – 14.00 | PAUSE und POSTERSESSION  |
| 14.00 – 15.00 | <i>Tibor Kiss:</i><br>Wieviel Computerlinguistik braucht die Linguistik?   |
| 15.00 – 15.30 | KAFFEPAUSE   |
| 15.30 – 16.30 | TBA<br>TBA   |
| 19.00         | WARMING UP, DGfS 2008  |

**Postersession  
der Sektion Computerlinguistik**

**Dienstag, 26. Februar 2008; Ort Posteraustellung: U5, 2. Obergeschoss  
(Posterausstellung auch: Donnerstag, 28. Februar 2008, 18.30-20.00 Uhr im  
Foyer der Aula)**

*Victoria Anyango Oketch* (Institut für Deutsche Sprache und Linguistik, Humboldt-  
Universität zu Berlin)  
Multilingualität und Lernerkorpora  
POSTER

*Tina Bögel* (Universität Konstanz)  
Automatische Erkennung von Beziehungen innerhalb englischer  
Nomen-Komposita mit Hilfe von WordNet  
DEMO

*Caroline Clemens* (Zentrum Mensch-Maschine-Systeme, Technische Universität  
Berlin)

*Thomas Hempel* (Siemens AG, Corporate Technology, User Interface Design,  
München; jetzt Siemens Audiologische Technik GmbH, Erlangen)  
Analyse von Logdateien automatischer Sprachdialogsysteme  
POSTER

*Irene Cramer* (Faculty of Cultural Sciences, University of Dortmund)

*Stefan Schacht* (Spoken Language Systems, Saarland University)  
Named Entity Recognition for German web documents  
POSTER

*Seanna Doolittle, Hagen Hirschmann & Anke Lüdeling* (Humboldt-Universität zu  
Berlin)

Annotation von kanonischen und nichtkanonischen Äußerungen in  
Korpora  
POSTER

*Kurt Eberle* (Lingenio GmbH & Institut für maschinelle Sprachverarbeitung,  
Universität Stuttgart)

Mehrdeutigkeitenbehandlung in *translate*

*Kurt Eberle, Manuel Kountz & Ulrich Heid* (Institut für maschinelle Sprachverarbeitung, Universität Stuttgart)

Unterspezifizierte Repräsentation und Desambiguierung sortalmambiger Nominalisierungen auf -ung

POSTER + DEMO

*Annette Hautli* (Universität Konstanz)

Hybridization of the XLE pipeline. Die Umwandlung von DCU F-Strukturen in PARC F-Strukturen

POSTER

*Sebastian Kürschner* (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Center for Language and Cognition)

Abstandsmaße zwischen Dialekten und Sprachen – Computerbasierte Methode und perzeptionelle Validierung

POSTER

*Thomas Mayer* (Universität Konstanz)

Semi-automatische Glossierung am Beispiel des Wolof

POSTER + DEMO

*Rainer Osswald* (FernUniversität in Hagen)

The Representation of verb meaning in large-scale lexical resources

POSTER

*Sabine Schulte im Walde, Christian Hyin & Helmut Schmid* (Institut für Maschinelle Sprachverarbeitung, Universität Stuttgart)

Representing underspecification by semantic verb classes. Incorporating selectional preferences

POSTER + DEMO

*Ineta Sejane, Roman Schneider, Helmut Frosch & Bruno Strecker* (IDS, Mannheim)

Ontologie zur deutschen Grammatik im Online-Informationssystem grammis

*Kathrin Spreyer, Jonas Kuhn, Bettina Schrader* (Institut für Linguistik, Universität Potsdam)

Experiments in multi-parallel annotation projection

POSTER

*Maik Walter, Karin Schmidt* (Freie Universität Berlin)

Der Gebrauch von Kausalmarkern bei fortgeschrittenen Lernern des Deutschen als Fremdsprache – eine Lernerkorpusanalyse in Falko

POSTER



## **Arbeitstreffen Linguistische Pragmatik 2008:**

### **Sprachliche Indexikalität**

**Dienstag, 26. Februar 2008**

**Räume: Plenum und Sektion 1: U5/024**

**Sektion 2: U5/117**

09.00 – 09.15 Begrüßung

09.15 – 10.00 *Helmut Pape:*

Hier, jetzt, ich! Wieso alltägliche Spracherfahrung das theoretische  
Verstehen der Bedeutung des Indexikalität in die Irre führt

10.00 – 10.15 KAFFEPAUSE

**Sektion 1: Raum U5/024**

#### **Sprechereinstellungen**

10.15 – 10.45 *Elisabeth Leiss:*

Modalverben, Deixis und “Theory of Mind”

10.45 – 11.15 *Elke Nowak:*

Zur Kategorisierung von Erfahrung

11.15 – 11.45 *Maurice Vliegen:*

Kommunikationsverben im Deutschen: Subjektivität und Redewiedergabe

11.45 – 12.15 PAUSE

#### **Diskurspragmatik und Grammatik**

12.15 – 12.45 *Elke Diedrichsen:*

Indexikalität als pragmatische Basis von Kasussystemen

12.45 – 13.15 *Emad Roshdy Siam:*

Reflexivierung im Deutschen und im Arabischen

13.15 – 14.30 PAUSE

### **Referenz und Anaphorik**

- 14.30 – 15.00 *Manfred Consten:*  
Woher kommt der Referent? Die Selektion von Referenzdomänen als Grundproblem der Indexikalität
- 15.00 – 15.30 *Maria Averintseva-Klisch:*  
Ist da das „Hier und Jetzt“? Überlegungen zum anaphorischen Gebrauch von *da*
- 15.30 – 16.00 *Detmer Wulf:*  
Kohärenz, Informationsstruktur und Indexikalität
- 16.00 – 16.30 KAFFEPAUSE

### **Bedeutungskonstitution**

- 16.30 – 17.00 *Helge Skirl:*  
Zur Semantik-Pragmatik-Schnittstelle am Beispiel von Emergenz beim Metaphernverstehen
- 17.00 – 17.30 *Frank Oberzaucher & Holger Finke:*  
„nee aber das sind ja schon (-) äh: paar sachen“ – Kommunikative Praktiken der Indexikalität im Dienste der Realisierung eines Arbeitsbündnisses in Hebammen-Erstgesprächen

### **Sektion 2: Raum U5/117**

#### **Zeichentheorie**

- 10.15 – 10.45 *Ulf Harendarski:*  
Signifikanz, Kraft und Deixis: gehört alles zur Indexikalität?
- 10.45 – 11.15 *Janette Friedrich:*  
Bühlers Idee vom Zeigfeld und seine Zeighilfen oder wie stellt Sprache eigentlich dar?
- 11.15 – 11.45 *Daniel H. Rellstab:*  
Peirce, Indexikalität und die Logik des Sprachvergleichs
- 11.45 – 12.15 PAUSE

### **Multimodalität**

- 12.15 – 12.45 *Gisela Fehrmann & Erika Linz :*  
Der deiktische Appell. Zur kommunikativen Funktion verbaler und nonverbaler Indices
- 12.45 – 13.15 *Anja Stukenbrock:*  
Formen verbaler und non-verbaler Indexikalität in der sprachlichen Interaktion
- 13.15 – 14.30 PAUSE

### **Adressierung**

- 14.30 – 15.00 *Jörg Jost:*  
Sprachliche Indexikalität in der Textsorte Lehrerkommentar: Re-Konstruktion von ‚Unterrichtswelt‘ und Organisation von Adressierungsverhältnissen
- 15.00 – 15.30 *Nina Ulrich:*  
L’Etat c’est ...? Deiktische Formen der verbalen Staatsdefinition in politischen Kreisen am Beispiel der argentinischen Wirtschaftskrise
- 15.30 – 16.00 *Philipp von Samson-Himmelstjerna:*  
Der soziale Index. Überlegungen zur sozialen Relevanz indexikalischer Ausdrücke
- 16.00 – 16.30 KAFFEPAUSE

### **Gesprächsorganisation**

- 16.30 – 17.00 *Wolfgang Imo:*  
„so un jetzt erzählsch nacher weiter“ – Das Adverb *jetzt* zwischen Zeit- und Gesprächsdeixis
- 17.00 – 17.30 *Marcus Müller:*  
HÄ?! Missverstehen als Indizierung hybrider Kontexte

### **Sektion 1 und 2: Raum U5/024**

- 17.30 – 18.00 Thesen zu Indexikalität und Sprache – Abschlussdiskussion
- 18.00 – 18.30 Zur Zukunft des ALP – Verabschiedung und Aufbruch

**Lehramtsinitiative**  
**Informationstag für Lehrerinnen und Lehrer:**  
**Linguistik und Sprachunterricht**  
**Umsetzung von Bildungsstandards und Umgang mit Mehrsprachigkeit**

**Dienstag, 26. Februar 2008**

**Raum: U5/122**

**(Die Räume für die Workshops bleiben offen und werden von den Veranstaltern ad hoc vergeben.)**

- 14.15 – 14.30 **Auftakt**  
Begrüßung – die DGfS-*Lehramtsinitiative* stellt sich vor
- 14.30 – 16.30 **Workshops**  
Orthographie  
Mehrsprachigkeit  
Grammatik  
Korpuslinguistik
- 16.30 – 17.00 KAFFEPAUSE
- 17.00 – 17.30 *Peter Eisenberg:*  
Was die Sprachwissenschaft für Lehrer(innen) und in der Lehrerbildung tun kann
- 17.30 – 18.00 Gemeinsame Abschlussdiskussion und Ausklang





## Abstracts Plenarvorträge

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*Joan Bresnan*

Stanford University

**On the Variable Foundations of Syntax**

Mi 10.00-12.30, Raum: Aula

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A number of well-studied and widely noticed regularities of English syntax, reported as “hard” constraints or rules, turn out on closer examination of actual language use to be soft probabilistic generalizations, allowing rare but completely grammatical exceptions in appropriate contexts. In the first part of this talk I will review several examples of these failed hard constraints and then evaluate the various theoretical stances that could be taken to account for them, ultimately adopting a cognitive variationist approach that can be made precise within a range of modern optimization-based frameworks.

In the second part of this talk I will deepen this variationist approach by reviewing a series of recent and ongoing corpus and experimental studies of the English dative alternation (Bresnan et al 2007; Bresnan 2006; Ford and Bresnan 2006, 2007), which provide evidence that (i) English speakers can make accurate probabilistic predictions of the syntactic choices of others, (ii) manipulations that raise or lower probabilities influence syntactic judgments, and (iii) differences in syntactic probability predict decision latencies during comprehension. Together, these findings strengthen the conclusion that the soft patterns of variation are not external properties of language use but constitute implicit knowledge of one's language.

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*Bernd Kortmann*

Universität Freiburg

**From the study of large-scale variation in English to language typology**

Mi 10.00-12.30, Raum: Aula

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This is a plenary in the overall spirit of the volume *Dialectology Meets Typology* (Kortmann 2004) reporting on ongoing research in collaboration with Benedikt Szmrecsanyi. More precisely, it will be demonstrated that large-scale comparison across the varieties of a single language can be a very useful testing ground for large-scale cross-linguistic comparison as is characteristic of language typology. The testing ground in this talk will be various metrics for measuring morpho-syntactic complexity. These metrics, inspired by Greenberg (1960), will be applied to a wide range of non-standard varieties of English around the world, with representatives from each of the following variety types: high- and low-contact L1 varieties, L2 varieties, and

English-based pidgins and creoles. The relevant complexity and simplicity notions are the following four:

(i) system complexity (more specifically, *ornamental rule complexity*); (ii) outsider complexity (more specifically, L2-acquisition simplicity); (iii) transparency (more specifically, token frequencies of regular grammatical allomorphs); and (iv) grammaticity (token frequencies of synthetic or analytic grammatical markers).

The results presented are taken to contribute to two recent and ongoing debates: the complexity debate (e.g. Dahl 2004, Miestamo et al. forthcoming, Gil et al. forthcoming), and the debate especially within the World Englishes community concerning different degrees of complexity or simplicity inherent in different types of varieties (notably McWhorter's claim (2001) that creoles have the simplest grammars, and Trudgill's view (forthcoming) that the grammars of high-contact varieties of English, including Standard English, are all characterized by simplification vis-à-vis low-contact varieties, e.g. traditional British dialects). Among other things, it will be shown that variety type is a good predictor of observable morpho-syntactic complexity and simplicity, and that our data from varieties of English clearly challenge the so-called equi-complexity axiom, i.e. the assumption that the grammars of all languages are equally complex.

Dahl, Ö. (2004). *The growth and maintenance of linguistic complexity*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Gil, D. / P. Trudgill / G. Sampson (eds.) (forthcoming). *Language Complexity as an Evolving Variable*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Greenberg, J. H. (1960). "A Quantitative Approach to the Morphological Typology of Language". *International Journal of American Linguistics* 26: 178-94.

Kortmann, B., ed. 2004. *Dialectology Meets Typology: Dialect Grammar from a Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Kortmann, B. & B. Szmrecsanyi (2004). "Global Synopsis: Morphological and Syntactic Variation in English". In: B. Kortmann / E. Schneider with K. Burridge / R. Mesthrie / C. Upton, eds. *A Handbook of Varieties of English*. Vol. 2: *Morphology, Syntax*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 1142-1202.

McWhorter, J. (2001). "The world's simplest grammars are creole grammars". *Linguistic Typology* 6: 125-66.

Szmrecsanyi, B. & B. Kortmann (forthcoming). "The morphosyntax of varieties of English worldwide: a quantitative perspective". Special Issue of *Lingua*.

Trudgill, P. (forthcoming). "Vernacular universals and the sociolinguistic typology of English dialects". In: M. Filppula/J. Klemola/H. Paulasto (eds.) *Vernacular Universals and Language Contacts: Evidence from Varieties of English and Beyond*. London/New York: Routledge.



*Wolfgang Klein*  
Max-Planck-Institut, Nijmegen

**Was ist eigentlich universal?**

Fr 13.30-15.30, Raum: Aula

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Für die alten Griechen, denen wir so viele unserer Denkweisen über die menschliche Sprache verdanken, waren die strukturellen Unterschiede zwischen den einzelnen Sprachen kaum mehr als Gekräusel an der Oberfläche: das eigentlich Interessante sind die universalen Eigenschaften. Was aber sind die? Man kann nicht sagen, dass beispielsweise das “generative program” zu einem klaren Bild von der “Universalgrammatik” geführt hat, obwohl ebendies das erklärte Ziel des Programms war. Noch gibt es in anderen linguistischen Schulen und Traditionen auch nur annähernd Einigkeit über die sprachlichen Universalien. In meinem Vortrag werde ich einige Gründe dafür diskutieren und einige Vorschläge in eine etwas andere Richtung machen.

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*Sarah Grey Thomason*

University of Michigan

**Does Language Contact Simplify Grammars?**

Fr 13.30-15.30, Raum: Aula

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In recent years the old notion that extensive language contact tends to lead to overall simplification of linguistic structure has attracted a new set of adherents, among them Peter Trudgill and John McWhorter. English is frequently cited as an example of a language that has undergone dramatic simplification as a result of language contact, both in the transition from Old English to Middle English and in the emergence of a variety of Englishes all over the world. In this paper I will argue that extensive language contact does not lead predictably to overall grammatical simplification, and that English does not present a historical picture of simplification, whether due to language contact or to internally-motivated change. My main examples will come from contact situations that primarily involve hunter-gatherer communities whose languages have not been standardized, although they often display considerable dialectal variation. I have too little information to assess Trudgill's claim that ‘low-contact languages’ tend to remain complex, but I will argue against his claim that ‘high-contact languages’ tend to become less complex.

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## Abstracts AG 1

### Sprachwandelvergleich

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*Bernd Heine*

Universität zu Köln

**Are there any generalizations on grammatical change in language contact?**

Mi 14.00-15.00, Raum: U5/122

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In a recent paper on "Social and Linguistic Factors as Predictors of Contact-Induced Change" Thomason (2007) reiterates the claim made earlier by Thomason (2001) and Thomason and Kaufman (1988) that there are no linguistic constraints on interference in language contact, in that any linguistic feature can be transferred to any language, and any change can occur as an indirect result of language contact, and she is satisfied to observe that all the specific constraints on contact-induced change that have been proposed have been counterexemplified.

The present paper takes issue with this stance, arguing that it is in need of reconsideration, in that there are in fact some constraints on contact-induced linguistic change. These constraints relate to grammatical replication as described in Heine and Kuteva (2003; 2005; 2006), thus lending further support to the generalizations on language contact proposed there.

Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva 2003. Contact-induced grammaticalization. *Studies in Language* 27: 529-72.

---- 2005. *Language contact and grammatical change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

---- 2006. *The changing languages of Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Thomason, Sarah Grey 2001. *Language contact: an introduction*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

---- 2007. Social and linguistic factors as predictors of contact-induced change. Paper presented at the symposium "Language Contact and the Dynamics of Language: Theory and Implications", Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig, 10-13 May, 2007.

Thomason, Sarah Grey & Terrence Kaufmann 1988. *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

*Muriel Norde*

University of Groningen

**Deflexion and related (?) morphosyntactic changes in the Scandinavian language family**

Mi 15.00-15.30, Raum: U5/122

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The Scandinavian languages boast a relatively long and well-documented history, and they are spoken in a vast area with impressive natural barriers such as the Atlantic and vast mountain ranges. Not surprisingly then, there is considerable variation between both the standard languages and their dialects where inflectional morphology is concerned. Icelandic is famous for its preservation of Old Norse morphology, whereas the continental languages (Danish, Swedish and Norwegian) witnessed the loss of entire inflectional categories, such as case on nouns and person marking on verbs. In my paper, I will approach the differences among the Scandinavian languages from both an external and an internal angle.

The question of why inflection was better preserved in Icelandic and, to a lesser extent, in Faroese and in Swedish and Norwegian dialects spoken in remote areas, is usually answered with reference to external factors such as (lack of) language contact and differing types of habitation. In the case of Scandinavian, it seems likely that processes of linguistic simplification, such as deflexion, are reinforced (if not prompted) by language contact (or possibly dialect contact), primarily with Middle Low German.

From a language-internal perspective, it is interesting to examine the correlation between loss of inflections and other morphosyntactic changes, such as fixation of word order, an increase in the use of prepositions and the rise of new (complex) prepositions, and the development of an enclitic s-genitive. However, a fine-grained study of both standard and non-standard varieties of Scandinavian yields a rather complex picture. Loss of word order variation can also be observed in more conservative varieties. The usage of prepositions does not imply (immediate) loss of case morphology, since they themselves (including the newly developed ones) govern case. The s-genitive, finally, is on the one hand not found in all varieties which lost their inflectional case system, and on the other hand it is attested (if marginally) in varieties that maintained (parts of) the old case system. This strongly suggests that the correspondences between the above-mentioned phenomena are gradient rather than absolute.

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*Hans-Olav Enger*

University of Stavanger

**Case reduction in Norwegian (and Swedish)**

Mi 15.30-16.00, Raum: U5/122

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Old Norse nouns inflected for four different cases (nominative, accusative, dative and genitive). Most modern Norwegian (and Swedish) dialects have no case inflection. The obvious question becomes: Which form persists when four becomes one – which Old Norse case form serves as the formal basis for the modern form? From Mayerthaler's (1981) version of Natural Morphology, one would expect the nominative; the 'unmarked' case. In many West Norwegian dialects, this prediction is borne out: The nominative has been generalised.

Many East Norwegian dialects have generalised non-nominative forms, however. Many Swedish dialects display a "split" that is correlated with the animacy hierarchy: Nouns denoting animates have a form that goes back on the nominative, while nouns that do not have a form going back on the accusative.

The difference between "nominative preference" and "non-nominative preference" correlates with that between 'non-level stress' and 'level stress' (e.g. Christiansen 1976). It is not obvious why there should be such a correlation.

Mayerthaler argues that, in cases where the original coding pattern is 'counter-iconic' (i.e., a semantic 'more' corresponds to a formal 'less'), there is a markedness reversal, which will influence the diachronic development. Norwegian provides a 1 testing-ground for this claim. The reason is that some Old Norse nouns display counter-iconic marking; the nominative is characterised by a suffix, the accusative has none. Other Old Norse nouns do not display such 'counter-iconic marking'. The evidence indicates that these two groups do not develop differently.

Mayerthaler's use of 'markedness reversal' and his claims about the nominative have been criticised before, for Romance (Carstairs-McCarthy 1992), but there are reasons to go over this ground again. There is a value in a broader empirical perspective. Furthermore, there is a debate over the concept of 'markedness' (Haspelmath 2006, Gaeta 2006), and the evidence may be of interest here.

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*Ruth Kempson*

King's College London

**Grammars as parsers & syntactic change: clitic clusters as calcified scrambling**

Mi 16.30-17.00, Raum: U5/122

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This paper argues that a driving force in syntactic change is interaction of mechanisms underpinning processing and persistent pressure to minimise cognitive costs resulting in lexical heterogeneity: we provide a formal account of how the idiosyncratic Romance clitic patterns (with Medieval Spanish (MedSp) as primary focus) are

calcified reflexes of earlier processing strategies underpinning Latin scrambling, each clitic (cluster) reflecting an available Latin strategy.

The account depends on Dynamic Syntax (DS Cann et al. 2005): syntax is defined as incremental growth of semantic representations reflecting processing time-linearity. Concepts of structural underspecification and tree growth replace movement/permutation. Parsing and production are tightly coordinated, and use the same mechanisms. Free pre-verbal NP ordering involves building up partial tree-structures containing argument nodes via several processing strategies: (i) nodes can be introduced into the structure as only weakly related to its dominating node without a specific relation yet being fixed (long-distance dependency), case serving as a filter on the resulting semantic representation; (ii) nodes may be constructed as fixed immediately after construction within some local domain via constructive use of case (short scrambling); (iii) nodes may be constructed from clitic pairs as a pair of argument nodes induced in a single stored sequence of actions (multiple long-distance dependency). Though all alternatives are available in the Latin case system, in MedSp, the pairing of clitic (cluster) and treegrowth strategy was becoming lexically encoded as follows. Syncretic clitics, 1st/2nd/dative forms, select (i); non-syncretic clitics e.g. accusative forms generally select (ii); idiosyncratic clusters (iii). Languages may differ as to whether/which clitic clusters get independently lexicalised; and homonymy remains an alternative (e.g. ethical dative). The underlying tree-building strategy (and parsing perspective) thus matches the set of possible effects, despite considerable cross-language heterogeneity.

Cann, R. Kempson, R. Marten, L. 2005. *The Dynamics of Language: A Textbook*. Oxford: Elsevier.

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*Georg A. Kaiser*

Universität Konstanz / SFB “Variation und Entwicklung im Lexikon”

**Language change in comparison: the (special) case of Raeto-Romance**

Mi 17.00-17.30, Raum: U5/122

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The aim of this paper is to investigate morphosyntactic properties of Swiss Romansh, Dolomitic Ladin and Friulian, traditionally subsumed under the term ‘Raeto-Romance’, which distinguish them from other Romance languages, in particular from their neighboring Gallo-Romance dialects. In Swiss Romansh and Dolomitic Ladin one finds among others the following properties:

- a strong verb-second order in declarative sentences (Swiss Romansh and Dolomitic Ladin)
- a (almost) obligatorial use of (non-clitic) subject pronouns (Swiss Romansh)
- the lack of object clitic pronouns (Swiss Romansh)
- postverbal sentential negation (Swiss Romansh)

The fact that these varieties have been in contact with German for several centuries suggests that the emergence of these properties is due to language contact.

The paper will challenge this assumption. By comparing Raeto-Romance with other Romance languages it will be shown that Romance languages also seem to have passed through developmental stages like those observed in Raeto-Romance:

- the emergence of verb-second order in declarative sentences in Old French and other early Romance languages
- the loss of the null subject property in (most) Gallo-Romance languages
- the increasing loss of object clitic pronouns in modern Brazilian Portuguese
- the emergence of postverbal sentential negation in French and Brazilian Portuguese

Given these similarities it will be asked whether the typical properties of (some) Raeto-Romance varieties are indeed the result of contact with German. It will be rather shown that it is more adequate to assume that the influence of German was at most that of a trigger, favouring the emergence of properties we find in the development of other Romance languages, quite independently of their exposure to German.

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*Elisabeth Stark & Sanda Şora*

Freie Universität Berlin & Universität Zürich / Universität München

**Why is there differential object marking in Romance?**

Mi 17.30-18.00, Raum: U5/122

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It is a well-known fact that some Romance languages have to mark their direct objects (*DO*) according to some semantic-pragmatic features, e.g. animacy, referentiality, of the object referent and/or the degree of transitivity of the whole construction (“differential object marking”, *DOM*, cf. Bossong 1998, Aissen 2003, Naess 2004). As reasons for marking certain objects, a need for disambiguation from subjects due to shared semantic properties (cf. Aissen 2003) or a need to mark affectedness as the prototypical feature of objects in contrast to subjects (cf. Naess 2004) are discussed in the literature. There are essentially two formal strategies used for *DOM*, which may also be combined: prepositional marking of the normally non-marked accusative object and/or clitic doubling:

- a. Rom: Ce-ai făcut cu **bomboanele**? **Le**-am mâncat PE **toate**.  
Span: Qué has hecho con **los caramelos**? **Los** he comido **(\*A) todos**.  
‘What did you do with the sweets? I have eaten them all.’
- b. Rom: Ce-ai făcut cu **musafirii**? **I**-am dat afară PE **toți**.  
Span: Qué has hecho con **los huéspedes**? **Los** he echado a la calle **\*(A) todos**.  
‘What did you do with the guests? I have thrown them all out.’

These examples show important differences between DOM in Spanish and Romanian: While the latter seems to be triggered to a bigger extent by referential qualities of the respective referent (definiteness, specificity etc.), the former seems to be more sensitive to animacy.

Based on a corpus of original historiographic Romanian texts from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, our talk will retrace the historical development of Romanian DOM in comparison to existing findings about Spanish DOM (cf. Laca 2006). In order to understand the diachronic and synchronic differences between those two Romance languages, we will try to corroborate an alternative, i.e. a “correlative hypothesis” based on the feature [ $\pm$  individualized]: We argue that DOM in Romance is a classification, or better: *individualization device* existing precisely in those Romance languages which lost the Latin gender system as a means of individuation (cf. Bossong 1998, 207ff.) to different degrees: While Spanish lost the nominal neuter as a means to indicate inanimacy, Romanian still possesses some trace of it inside its complex declensional system, but does not show any device to mark third-order entities, i.e. less referential objects (as does the Spanish pronominal neuter). Thus, we are going to show that things in Romance could and in fact have “developed in an [entirely] different way”, but not at all randomly.

Aissen, Judith (2003): „Differential object marking: iconicity vs. economy“, in: *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 21, 435-483.

Bossong, Georg (1998): “Le marquage différentiel de l’objet dans les langues d’Europe”, in: Jack Feuillet (ed.): *Actance et Valence dans les Langues d’Europe*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 193-258.

Laca, Brenda (2006): “El objeto directo. La marcación preposicional”, in: Concepción Company Company (ed.): *Sintaxis histórica de la lengua española. Primera parte: La frase verbal*, vol.1, México: FCE, UNAM, 423-475.

Næss, Åshild (2004): “What markedness marks: The markedness problem with direct objects”, in: *Lingua* 114, 1186-1212.

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Miriam Butt, Tafseer Ahmed & Tikaram Poudel

Universität Konstanz

**Development of case in South Asian languages**

Mi 18.00-18.30, Raum: U5/122

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This talk looks at the broader question of "Why case?". That is, why case-rich free word order SOV languages like Old English and Latin would mutate into case-poor, fairly fixed word order SVO languages while other case-rich free word order SOV languages like Sanskrit mutate into different versions of case-rich free word order SOV languages (e.g., Hindi/Urdu, Punjabi, Nepali). In particular, we look at the synchronic use and diachronic development of case markers denoting ergative, genitive, instrumental and ablative uses, as well dative and accusative uses in a range of



South Asian languages which are historically closely related, but which show marked differences in their cases systems (Urdu/Hindi, Sindhi, Punjabi, Bengali, Nepali).

It turns out that Urdu/Hindi continues to encode a system of semantic case contrasts that already existed in Sanskrit. Nepali, on the other hand, perhaps due to language contact with Tibeto-Burman, has added a use whereby the ergative case also encodes individual level predication (a la Kratzer 1995). A detailed study of all of the languages makes clear that case is used primarily to express semantic contrasts. Our current hypothesis is therefore that the precise semantic import of a case marker emerges out of a language particular system of contrasts and may therefore differ from language to language. This means that the same original source may give rise to two different case markers in the language (i.e., an "n-" form that might have furnished the ergative in Urdu/Hindi, but also in parallel dative/accusative in Punjabi).

In sum, the talk presents synchronic patterns and diachronic developments and seeks to shed light on how case patterns develop and/or shift by taking into account a primarily semantic perspective in which case contrasts are seen as being embedded in a larger system of contrasts at the morphosyntax/semantics interface.

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*Rosemarie Lühr*

Universität Jena

**Vergleich von syntaktischem Wandel in indogermanischen Sprachen**

Do 9.00-9.30, Raum: U5/122

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Eine Möglichkeit, syntaktischen Wandel in mehreren Sprachen zu vergleichen, bietet der onomasiologische Ansatz, nach dem vom Inhalt ausgehend nach den jeweiligen Ausdrucksformen gefragt wird. Während aber der Inhalt konstant bleibt, können sich die Ausdrucksformen von Sprache zu Sprache und von Zeitstufe zu Zeitstufe ändern. Der Untersuchungsgegenstand, der unter dieser Fragestellung verglichen werden soll, ist der Komplementsatz. Denn von den diese Satzart determinierenden syntaktischen Mitteln ist insbesondere der Modus semantisch bedingt: Der Modus gibt die Art der semantischen Abhängigkeit zwischen Matrixsatz und seinem Argument wider. Nun zeigt sich in der Geschichte des Latein, dass der Modus Konjunktiv in den Komplementsätzen vom Altlatein zum klassischen Latein zunimmt, während vom Althochdeutschen zum Neuhochdeutschen die umgekehrte Entwicklung zu beobachten ist. Es ist daher nach den Gründen für diesen semantisch konditionierten syntaktischen Wandel zu fragen. Dabei werden die Bedeutungen und der Grad der Faktivität der Matrixverben berücksichtigt (Desiderative, Direktive, Permissive, Interdiktive, Faktiv-Emotive, Deklarative bzw. Faktive, Kontrafaktive, Implikative, Negativ-Implikative usw.), ferner die Zeitenfolge, Negations-Effekte, Kontrollphänomene, die Durchlässigkeit der Satzgrenzen, Raising-Konstruktionen wie auch die Frage nach den Grundbedeutungen der Modi und auch nach einem möglichen Bedeutungswandel dieser grammatischen Kategorie gestellt wird. Forschungsansätze hierfür sind die

assertiv/nicht-assertiv-Unterscheidung oder die Betrachtung, wie die Anpassung an die Welt gerichtet ist.

Farkas (1992) bezieht dagegen die Mögliche-Welt-Semantik mit ein und zeigt, dass die intensionale Verankerung ein wichtiger Faktor bei der Beschreibung des Modusgebrauchs ist. Weiterführend ist auch Schrodt's (1983) Unterscheidung eines nicht-semantemgebundenen und eines semantemgebundenen Modusgebrauchs, da dadurch mögliche Veränderungen vorausgesagt werden können.

Farkas, D.F. (1992): "On the Semantics of Subjunctive Complements". In: Hirschbühler, P. (ed.): *Romance Languages and Modern Linguistic Theory*. Amsterdam, 69-105.

Schrodt, R. (1983): *System und Norm in der Diachronie des deutschen Konjunktivs: Der Modus in althochdeutschen und mittelhochdeutschen Inhaltssätzen (Otfrid von Weissenburg – Konrad von Würzburg)*. Tübingen (Linguistische Arbeiten 131).

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*Damaris Nübling*

Universität Mainz

**Der Umlaut - und was aus ihm in den germanischen Sprachen wurde**

Do 9.30-10.00, Raum: U5/122

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Übergreifende diachrone Darstellungen zu bereits im Germanischen angelegten Phänomenen sind selten. Hier soll der Versuch unternommen werden, den i-Umlaut von seinem gemeinsamen Anfang zu den heutigen neugermanischen Sprachen hin zu beleuchten, und dies unter folgenden Fragestellungen:

1. Inwiefern sind schon in der phonetisch-phonologischen Umlautphase einzelsprachliche Unterschiede erkennbar (z.B. was die Dauer der Umlautphase betrifft sowie die Phonologisierung der Umlautprodukte)?
2. Wie weit hat sich der Umlaut durch weitere Ebenen der Sprache "gearbeitet", d.h. wo hat er zu Morphologisierung, Grammatikalisierung, Pragmatisierung geführt?
3. In welchen Domänen (Wortbildung, Flexion) zum Ausdruck welcher Kategorien wurde er fruchtbar gemacht?
4. Wo haben sog. Arbitrarisierungen stattgefunden, d.h. die Entkoppelung der 1:1-Relation von Basis- und Umlautvokal?
5. Wie lassen sich solche Widersprüche erklären wie der, dass die oberdeutschen Dialekte einerseits ein traditionell umlautfeindliches Gebiet darstellen, dort jedoch andererseits die stärksten Funktionalisierungen stattgefunden haben?

Der Vortrag wird besonderes Gewicht legen auf das Deutsche und Alemannische, das Isländische, evt. das Schwedische, das Niederländische, das Luxemburgische und das Englische unter Einschluss der jeweiligen Vorstufen.

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*Martin Joachim Kümmel*

Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg i. Br.

**Interaktion zwischen phonologischem und morphologischem Systemwandel**

Do 10.00-10.30, Raum: U5/122

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Vergleicht man konsonantischen Lautwandel verschiedener Sprachen, sind Systemwandelmuster zu erkennen, die auch für die Grammatik Konsequenzen haben können. Besonders wichtig kann die Neigung zu positionsabhängigen Veränderungen (Lenition und Stärkung) werden: Wir können Systemwandeltypen danach unterscheiden, ob sie Wortgrenzen verdeutlichen oder nicht (vgl. Kümmel 2007: 190ff.).

Unterscheiden sich diese Lautwandeltypen bei nahe verwandten Sprachen, können wir ihre Wechselwirkung mit morphologischen Veränderungen vergleichen. Als Beispiel eignen sich die mitteliranischen Sprachen: Das West-Mitteliranische zeigt ziemlich viele positionsbedingte Veränderungen (inkl. Endsilbenreduktion) sowie einen frühen Umbau der Morphosyntax. Dagegen fehlen im Ost-Mitteliranischen positionsabhängige Konsonantenwandel, die Akzentuierung war freier, und die Morphologie viel besser bewahrt. Mehr oder weniger ähnliche Unterschiede kann man feststellen zwischen Französisch : Italienisch, Dänisch ; Schwedisch oder Hebräisch : Arabisch. Daher könnte man vermuten, dass phonologische und morphologische Veränderungen darin "konspirieren", entweder lexikalische Elemente zu stärken oder grammatische zu bewahren. Diese unterschiedlichen Wandeltypen ähneln auf diachroner Ebene der (problematischen) Unterscheidung zwischen "Wortsprachen" und "Silbensprachen" (vgl. Auer 2001). Gibt es "lexematische" und "morphematische" Tendenzen, die phonologische wie morphologische Veränderungen beeinflussen? Kann man den Ursprung der korrelierten Veränderungen in einem der beiden Bereiche finden? Welche Faktoren könnten für die Differenzen verwandter Sprachen verantwortlich sein?

Allerdings gibt es keine einfache Eins-zu-eins-Korrelation. So folgte gerade das Altkhotanische, die östlichste und morphologisch konservativste mitteliranische Sprache, dem "westlichen" Muster positionsbedingten Wandels und kontrastierte starke und schwache Positionen deutlich (vgl. Kümmel 2007: 191, 289-294) - mit der Folge eines drastischen Umbaus des morphologischen Systems im Spätkhotanischen?

Auer, Peter (2001): Silben- und akzentzählende Sprachen. In: *Language typology and language universals: an international handbook*, ed. M. Haspelmath et al., Berlin/New York, 2. Band, 1391-1399.

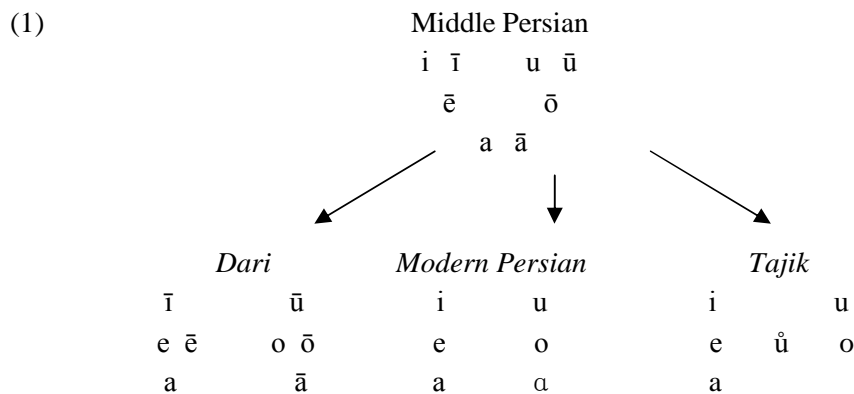
Kümmel, Martin Joachim (2007): *Konsonantenwandel*. Bausteine zu einer Typologie des Lautwandels und ihre Konsequenzen

*Elham Rohany Rahbar*  
University of Toronto

**A historical study of the Persian vowel system**

Do 10.30-11.00, Raum: U5/122

The goal of this paper is to account for the development of the Middle Persian vowel system to its current main dialects: Dari, Modern Persian, and Tajik within the framework of the contrastive hierarchy (Dresher 2003). The Middle Persian vowel system is believed to be quantitative. Dari, the closest dialect to Middle Persian, is the only dialect which preserves quantity. Modern Persian and Tajik are qualitative. The vowel inventories of Middle Persian and these three dialects are presented in (1).



Following the view that contrastive specification of features is the result of ordering features into a contrastive hierarchy (Dresher 2003), I propose that the feature hierarchy of Middle Persian is: [low], [long] > [peripheral], [high] (following Rice 1995, [peripheral] combines [back] and [round]), which also accounts for Dari. I show that this hierarchy changed to [low], [peripheral] > [high] to account for Modern Persian. Tajik is believed to have been under the influence of Turkic although the nature of this influence is not explained in the literature. I suggest that Tajik interpreted Persian three-height vowel system to Turkic two-height vowel system. To account for this two-height system, I propose the order [low] > [peripheral], [coronal] for Tajik, thus maintaining the original contrast Tajik fits into a Turkic system, but they organize the system in a different way.

Dresher, Elan. 2003. The Contrastive Hierarchy in Phonology. In Daniel Hall, ed., *Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics* 20.

Rice, Keren. 1995. On vowel place features. *Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics* 14.

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*Eric Fuß & Melani Wratil*

Universität Frankfurt & Universität Düsseldorf

**Der Nullsubjektzyklus: Verlust und Etablierung von Nullargumenten**

Do 11.30-12.00, Raum: U5/122

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In unserem Vortrag behandeln wir mithilfe komparativer Betrachtungen historische Entwicklungsprozesse, die zur Entstehung und zum Verlust von Argumentnullpronomen führen können. Wir zeigen, dass zum einen die Reanalyse pronominaler Klitika als verbale Kongruenzmarker ((1)) und zum anderen die Nullrepräsentation stark diskursorientierter Pronomen ((2)) für die Etablierung von subjektivistischen Nullpronomen ausschlaggebend sein kann. Dabei verdeutlichen wir, dass diese Prozesse in der Regel nicht alle Formen des Paradigmas in gleicher Weise betreffen. Oft enthalten Paradigmen schwacher Pronomen neben overten atonischen Pronomina verschiedene Nullelemente, wobei letztere hinsichtlich ihres pronominalen Status und ihrer Bindungseigenschaften nicht unbedingt immer identisch definiert sind. Wie wir erläutern werden, sind Paradigmen von schwachen Subjektpronomen, in denen nur Pronominalelemente der 3. Person phonologisch unrealisiert bleiben, strikt ausgeschlossen.

- (1) *Darllenasant*                    **pro** / *hwy* / \**y*            *dynion* *y*            *llyfr*. (Wallisisch)  
 les-PRÄT-PRON.3PL/3PL                    sie            die            Männer DET            Buch  
 ‚Sie lasen das Buch.‘
- (2) **pro** *pa*            *ti*                    *dir*            *tua*            *fer*            *sa?*                    (Mauritius Kreol)  
                   NEG            PRÄT                    sag            dir            tun            das  
 ‚Sagte ich dir nicht, dass du das tun sollst?‘

Die Etablierung obligatorisch overt realisierter Pronomina wird durch die Erosion verbaler Flexionsmorphologie ((3)), durch die phonologische Reduktion bestehender Pronominalformen ((4)) oder durch Veränderungen, die die syntaktische Umsetzung von pragmatischen Zuständen betreffen, motiviert.

- (3)a. *Si firent*            **pro** *grant*            *joi*            *la* *nuit* (deClariXII) (Altfranzösisch)  
 so machten (sie) große Freude die Nacht
- b. *Il*s *faisaient ça*. (Standardfranzösisch)  
 sie machten das
- (4) *Mä* / \***pro**                    *nousi-n*                    *junaan* (Finnische Umgangssprache (*minä*→*mä*))  
 ich                                    steig-PRÄT-1SG            Zug-ILL  
 ‚Ich stieg in den Zug.‘

Wir gehen in unserer Analyse der unterschiedlichen Stadien des Nullsubjektzyklus davon aus, dass im Gegensatz zu gängigen pro-drop-Theorien (Rizzi 1986; Rohrbacher 1999) keine speziellen positiven Lizenzierungsbedingungen für das Auftreten leerer Argumente formuliert werden müssen. Entscheidend ist lediglich, dass die Identität des Nullarguments rekonstruiert werden kann. Darüber hinaus nehmen wir

an, dass die Nullrealisierung von schwachen pronominalen Elementen genau dann blockiert sein kann, wenn das Lexikon stärker spezifizierte Formen enthält, die mit einer phonologischen Matrix verknüpft sind.

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*Susann Fischer*

Universität Stuttgart

**A comparative approach of non-nominative subjects: Romance vs. Germanic**

Do 12.00-12.30, Raum: U5/122

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The existence and behavioural properties of non-nominative-subjects have been seen to depend lexical case phenomena and on how nominative case is assigned. The loss of non-nominative-subjects was said to be dependent on the loss of case-morphology and/or on the loss of the possibility to assign lexical case.

In fact, English lost case-morphology on full nouns and as a result the ability to assign lexical case to verbal arguments. Thus, it seemed to be a straightforward explanation that as a final consequence it also lost the availability of non-nominative-subjects (Allen 1995). However, if we look at Modern Icelandic we see that Icelandic still shows different case-morphology on full NPs and still assigns lexical case to different verbs. Nevertheless, Modern Icelandic is losing a lot of its non-nominative-subject constructions (Jónsson & Eythorsson to appear).

Looking at the Old Romance languages, we see that they used an impressive amount of non-nominative-subject constructions. In Modern Catalan (Rigau 2000) and Spanish (Masullo 1993) they are still used, but their syntactic status has changed. In French, the verbs that were used with non-nominative-subjects got either lost or now appear with nominative subjects. However, from the first records of the Romance languages onwards case marking on full NPs had already declined, and lexical case was no longer assigned.

Taking these facts together: Languages that show non-nominative-subjects without case-morphology and languages that lose them although the case-system is intact, allows the assumption that the appearance of non-nominative subjects does not depend on the ability to mark case morphologically on full NPs, and neither on the availability of assigning lexical case. This paper will argue that non-nominative-subjects tell us something about the quantity of functional categories in a language.

*Anne Breitbarth, Christopher Lucas & David Willis*

University of Cambridge

**Incipient Jespersen's Cycle: the (non-)grammaticalisation of  
new negative markers**

Do 12.30-13.00, Raum: U5/122

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In Jespersen's Cycle, a new sentential negator is grammaticalised, typically from an indefinite (pro)noun or a nominal minimiser, via a stage in which this element is used as an adverbial reinforcer of the original negation. The current paper compares incipient grammaticalisations of such potential new sentential negators in four language groups (Celtic, Germanic, Slavonic and Afroasiatic) and aims at establishing criteria that need to be met for such grammaticalisations to go all the way to expressing sentential negation.

Most (if not all) languages feature elements which, as arguments of a negated verb, emphasise the polarity of negation. This is usually a stable situation, but under certain conditions these elements can become grammaticalised as negative polarity adverbs and from there as new markers of sentential negation. Often, the use of minimisers or indefinites as emphasisers of negation starts out in a restricted context, for instance, as an optional argument of some specific class of verb. These contexts can come to serve as 'bridging contexts' that open the way for these elements to grammaticalise as reinforcers of negation. In Germanic and Celtic for example, such a bridging context is formed by verbs of the 'profit, succeed, avail' class, which allow for an optional (pseudo)argument expressing the (lack of) extent of the profit/success. Similar contexts in Classical Arabic, however, resulted in the grammaticalisation of a new negation marker in only some of the modern dialects, while in the Slavonic languages these contexts did not lead to the grammaticalisation of a new negative marker at all. On the basis of four case studies, we establish a typology of factors which can inhibit or encourage the incipient grammaticalisation of a new negative marker.

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*Frans Plank*

Universität Konstanz

**The duration of historical-linguistic events**

Fr 9.00-9.30, Raum: U5/122

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At present, there are no good answers to the following questions which are fundamentally relevant for our understanding of linguistic diversity and unity. For just about any X – linguistic forms and constructions, form classes and construction classes, categories, rules and constraints:

- (i) How long does it take for X to come into existence?
- (ii) How long does X remain in existence?
- (iii) How long does it take for X to go out of existence?

As to (i) and (iii), it has been suggested that the coming into and the going out of existence takes three generations: innovation-variation-acceptance/rejection. One problem here is to individuate changes: What is one X that is coming into or goes out of existence? An empirical question here is whether the rate of changes, gains as well as losses, is indeed uniformly three generations; here, the nature of speech communities is a differentiating factor: an innovation would be expected to spread faster through small and homogeneous populations than through large and heterogeneous ones. Also, in the case of grammaticalisations of categories the coming into existence probably takes longer than the going out of existence.

As to (ii), life expectations of grammatical forms, categories and whole clusters of traits - especially ones implicated in typological correlations - have been put on the diachronic-typological-areal agenda: some X's have been argued to be pertinacious and others evanescent when languages are left to themselves (that is, to be acquired over long or over short cycles of L1 acquisition); some X's have been argued to be easy to adopt and others hard to adopt when languages are in contact (and partly or fully acquired as L2's). The results are impressive as far as they go, with many distributions of traits over languages harmonising with what is known on genetic and archaeological grounds about the (very early) movement and contact histories of the populations speaking the languages. Still, it is an open linguistic question which traits are pertinacious or evanescent, easy or hard to borrow, and especially why - with little fruitful interaction so far between population typology and acquisition research.

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*Mark L. Loudon*

University of Wisconsin–Madison

**Structural convergence in Pennsylvania German**

Fr 9.30-10.00, Raum: U5/122

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Pennsylvania Dutch (PD, also known as Pennsylvania German) is a German-derived language actively spoken by between 200,000 and 300,000 people in North America. Since the genesis of the language in the second half of the eighteenth century, there have been two major groups of PD speakers, distinguished according to socio-religious affiliation: the historical majority, mainly members of Lutheran and Reformed churches (nonsectarians, “Kirchenleute”); and the members of small but very visible Anabaptist sects (sectarians, “Sektenleute”), the most well known of whom are the Old Order Amish.

This sociolinguistic dichotomy between sectarian and nonsectarian PD-speakers is reflected in interesting patterns of structural difference between the varieties of the language the members of these groups speak, though it should be pointed that all PD

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varieties are entirely mutually intelligible with one another. The most substantial structural differences are syntactic and emerged with the generation of Anabaptist sectarian speakers born around 1930. More specifically, Anabaptist varieties of PD display patterns of limited convergence toward English in the areas of case, tense/aspect, and nonfinite complementation.

In this presentation I will present the basic facts of syntactic convergence in modern PD, linking them to a more general trend toward semantic convergence between PD and English under circumstances of intensified bilingualism in sectarian life. Underlying this intensified sectarian bilingualism are major changes affecting American society generally that accelerated dramatically in the past century. These same changes simultaneously brought on the rapid loss of PD among nonsectarians, as well as other non-English languages spoken in the United States. One of the few other American minority languages aside from sectarian PD to resist this trend is the Yiddish spoken by ultra-orthodox Hasidic groups. Intriguingly, preliminary investigation reveals similar patterns of convergence in Hasidic Yiddish toward English.

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*Alexandra Lenz*

Universität Marburg

**GIVE and GET verbs in West Germanic languages**

Fr 10.00-10.30, Raum: U5/122

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The West Germanic languages share the peculiarity that (at least some of) their transfer verbs show a special affinity towards grammaticalization. Against the background of this hypothesis, the presentation will focus on the basic GIVE and GET verbs in the West Germanic languages. The selection of these concrete physical transfer verbs is motivated by, e.g., their high frequency, their formal and semantic complexity, their high variability in intra- and crossvarietal comparisons, and (from a historical or better, panchronic perspective [Kuteva 2001: 9]) their affinity to grammaticalization. The main focus and starting point of the presentation will be the German language area and its regional varieties. In a first step, the multifunctionality of *geben* ‘to give’ and *kriegen* ‘to get’ will be explicated by sketching the different but comparable grammaticalization paths of these verbs and their variants. Initial findings (cf. Lenz 2007) have shown the need to examine the nonstandard varieties of German (dialects and regiolects) and German enclaves in order to grasp the full semantic and formal complexity and productivity of these German verbs. There we find “anomalies” that the Standard language cannot reveal, as in the following examples from the Moselle-Franconian dialect area:

- *geben* + AdjP:                      *N is aal **gen*** ‘He has become old’
  - *geben* + Part. II:                     *Hään **üs geschloon gen*** ‘He has been hit’
  - *kriegen* + Part. II:                    *... un dann **kresch ma verhauen***  
    ‘... and then we were beaten’
-

In a second step, the different grammaticalization paths followed by *geben* and *kriegen* are compared with GIVE and GET verbs in other West Germanic languages (especially, Luxembourgish, English and Dutch). The central hypothesis motivating this cross-linguistic discussion is that the grammaticalization paths of GIVE and GET verbs have sometimes developed in entirely different ways in the different languages but have also sometimes evolved in very similar directions. A synopsis of these differences and similarities can offer us a fundamental insight into the variability of semantic and grammatical change in and across related languages.

Kuteva, Tania (2001): *Auxiliation. An Enquiry into the Nature of Grammaticalization*. Oxford: University Press.

Lenz, Alexandra N. (2007): Zur Grammatikalisierung von *geben* im Deutschen und Lëtzebuergesch. In: *Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik* 35: 52–82.

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*Dmitry Ganenkov*

Institute of Linguistics, Moscow

**Towards a diachronic typology of lability: evidence from East Caucasian**

Fr 11.00-11.30, Raum: U5/122

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Introducing an Agent participant into or deleting it from the argument structure of a verb normally requires overt morphological or morphosyntactic marking (causative, anticausative). Exceptions from this rule are called labile verbs (S=O ambitransitive verbs). P-labile verbs are defined as verbs which can occur both in an intransitive and a transitive clause with no formal change in verb, so that the subject in the intransitive pattern corresponds to the object in the transitive pattern, cf. *He bent towards me* and *Bend your arms!*

Although lability is not well studied in its synchronic aspects so far, there exist studies investigating labile verbs in individual East Caucasian languages. Diachronic aspects of lability are studied even worse. In fact, only few studies dealing with diachronic evolution of labile verbs are available, most of which are based on data from well studied Indo-European languages with a long written history. Only recently there appeared studies on other languages such as Vedic Sanskrit and Greek.

The goal of this paper is to reveal diachronic sources of labile verbs, investigate paths of historical changes of such verbs, and thus contribute to the cross-linguistic diachronic study of lability. Data for this study comes from two branches of the East Caucasian family: East Lezgian languages and Andic languages. Although these groups of languages differ in both number and semantic classes of labile verbs, it seems that they have much in common in what concerns diachronic evolution of labile verbs. In my paper I will discuss patterns of historical changes in syntactic type (from strictly transitive or strictly intransitive to labile, or vice versa) found in both groups and show that semantically close verbs often demonstrate similar patterns of changes.

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*Kazuha Watanabe*

California State University, Fullerton

**Perfect to perfective: gradual or cyclic change**

Fr 11.30-12.00, Raum: U5/122

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I compare the development of perfect to perfective in various languages and argue that while the perfect in European languages gradually developed into perfective and the original past tense forms eventually became archaic forms, the same change occurred cyclically in Japanese.

The comparative studies of German and English perfect have found that the former often plays roles of English past in addition to perfect. German Perfekt allows the co-occurrence with adverbials with a clear past time reference, unlike English counterpart. The perfect in Dutch and Peninsular Spanish also have a similar characteristic as German Perfekt.

In the 8<sup>th</sup> century, Japanese had two perfective markers, *-tsu* and *-nu*. The former selects active verbs, while the latter marker selects unaccusative verbs and non-agentive transitive verbs. While these markers signified perfective aspect in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, it is apparent that they used to be perfect markers.

Simultaneously, the past tense marker *-ki* was used, along with *-tsu* and *-nu*. It appears that *-ki* originate from two verbs, *-ku* 'come' and *-su* 'do'. That is, *-ku* was originally two separate markers involved in the auxiliary selection, although the markers were merged into a single marker by the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

By the 13<sup>th</sup> century, *-tsu* and *-nu* were in the process of being replaced by *-ta*, which developed from a perfect marker *-tari*, although *-tsu* and *-nu* were still in use as archaic forms. In Modern Japanese, while *-ta* is used as a perfective marker, a perfect marker *-te iru* appears with adverbials with a clear past tense reference, where only the past tense marker *-ta* was used previously.

To conclude, although the direction of change from perfect to perfective is identical, the shift from perfect to perfective/past in European language is gradual, whereas the same change in Japanese has been rapid and cyclical.

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*Agnes Jäger*

Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität Frankfurt (Main)

***Anything is nothing is something***

**Comparing polarity type changes of indefinites**

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With the features [ $\pm$  negative] and [ $\pm$  affective] (a cover term for all NPI licensing contexts, Klima 1964) one can distinguish 'normal' (or PPI) indefinites such as English *something* etc. from NPI indefinites *anything* etc., and n-indefinites *nothing* etc. Indefinites may diachronically shift in polarity type, which may in turn lead to a change in type of the entire indefinite system.

Changes towards 'more negative' can be observed in a number of languages such as Greek, Hebrew, German and various Romance languages. These changes also explain why some n-indefinites (still) occur in certain non-negative contexts. However, there is no unidirectionality (vs. Hoeksema 1998), but the development can also go in the opposite direction, i. e. towards 'more positive': Examples of this type of change can be found in Dutch, varieties of American English, Slavic and Celtic languages.

Both directions of change even occur within one language as will be illustrated with different indefinite paradigms in the history of German. Additional comparison between the development in the standard language and local varieties brings out further instances of change into opposite directions. One of the factors influencing the direction of change is the surrounding indefinite system.

As will be argued, polarity type changes involve either enrichment of a lexeme with a plus-specified polarity feature, or the complete loss of a polarity feature. In addition, an Elsewhere Condition blocking underspecified indefinites from occurring in specific polarity contexts may diachronically gain or lose importance.

Hoeksema, Jack (1998): On the (non)loss of polarity sensitivity. Dutch *ooit*. In: Richard M. Hogg/Linda van Bergen (eds.): Historical linguistics 1995. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 101-114.

Klima, Edward (1964): Negation in English. In: Jerry A. Fodor/Jerrold J. Katz (eds.): The Structure of Language. Readings in the Philosophy of Language. Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice-Hall, 246-323.

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*Peter Siemund & Alexander Haselow*

Universität Hamburg

**From synthetic to analytic – not quite!**

**Contact-induced exceptions to a general trend in the history of English**

Fr 12.00-12.30, Raum: U5/122

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Common wisdom has it that English – in tandem with various other Indo-European languages – has changed and probably is still changing from a more synthetic to a more analytic language type. Evidence for this general trend is usually drawn from inflectional morphology where English indeed has lost extensively over the past 1500 or so years while building up analytic structures apparently in an effort to compensate the concomitant functional losses.

Even though there can be little doubt about the reality of this general trend, it is usually forgotten that it mainly captures the developments in the area of inflectional morphology. Surprisingly enough, current derivational morphology of English is extremely robust and with 200 to 300 different affixes certainly does not suggest a classification in terms of analytic. The question remains why English moved towards a more analytic language in inflectional morphology, but not in derivational morphology.

In our contribution we will be arguing that phrasing the question in such general terms is misleading and that more attention needs to be placed on the individual stages in the development of English as well as the external factors involved. Based on a new quantitative survey of Old and Middle English derivational morphology it will be shown that Old and Middle English did show conspicuous trends towards analyticity in this domain. Contact with French stopped this process and refilled the inventory of derivational morphemes leading to the current state of English where about 80 percent of derivational affixes are historically French or Latin. Hence, the real puzzle to solve is why language contact could renew derivational morphology, but failed to do so in the area of inflection – producing a language half analytic/half synthetic morphologically speaking.

We think that two resources need to be drawn on for answering this difficult question. On the one hand we will contrast English with other languages that show conspicuous trends towards analyticity (Dutch, Afrikaans, Scandinavian); on the other hand we will consider insights gained in language contact studies, thus trying to explain and motivate how typologically distinct morphological subsystems can exist side by side.

Siemund, Peter (2004) Analytische und synthetische Tendenzen in der Entwicklung des Englischen. Uwe Hinrichs (ed.) Die europäischen Sprachen auf dem Wege zum analytischen Sprachtyp. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 169-196.

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*Antje Dammel & Sebastian Kürschner*

Universität Mainz & Universität Groningen

**Prinzipien des Flexionsklassenwandels in den germanischen Sprachen**

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Flexionsklassen stellen als disfunktionale Einheiten, die in Sprachen unnötigen Lernaufwand durch unmotivierte Allomorphie bewirken, auf den ersten Blick ein Rätsel für die Sprachwissenschaft dar. In unserer Untersuchung nehmen wir uns dieses Rätsels an, indem wir den Flexionsklassenwandel in verschiedenen germanischen Sprachen aus diachron-kontrastiver Perspektive beleuchten. Sowohl nominaler als auch verbaler Wandel wird dabei einbezogen. Zwei Kontrastebenen bilden die Grundlage der Untersuchung: 1.) Parallelen und Divergenzen im Wandel einiger germanischer Einzelsprachen und 2.) Spezifika nominalen vs. verbalen Wandels.

ad 1.) Ein Untersuchungsziel ist die Herausstellung paralleler und divergierender Wandelprinzipien in germanischen Einzelsprachen. Synchron entspricht dem vielseitigen Wandel eine große typologische Breite der Flexionsklassensysteme. Durch den Einbezug der kontrastiven Ebene soll es ermöglicht werden, parallele Entwicklungslinien von einzelsprachlich individuellen zu trennen und so generelle Faktoren zu identifizieren, die Stabilität und Produktivität von Flexionsklassen ausmachen.

ad 2.) Vor dem Hintergrund dieser Sprachkontraste sollen gemeinsame und divergierende Prinzipien des Wandels bezüglich der Wortarten herausgestellt werden. Dazu beziehen wir verschiedene Wandelparameter ein, nämlich

- die formale Exponenz, z. B. im Abbau des Nullplurals oder im Einbezug von Stammalternationen in die morphologische Signalisierung;
- die Hierarchie grammatischer Kategorien, z. B. in der sich herausbildenden Dominanz von Numerus (Substantiv) vs. Tempus (Verb);
- Konditionierungsprinzipien, z. B. im Wechsel von funktionalen (Genus, Semantik) zu formalen Kriterien (Auslaut, Prosodie) zur Bestimmung des auftretenden Allomorphs, sowie in der Herausbildung stärker transparenter (Substantive) vs. zu größeren Teilen idiosynkratischer (Verb) Konditionierungsmuster;
- Verbindungen zwischen diesen Parametern und ihrer Entwicklung.

Die Kombination beider Kontrastebenen, der sprachlichen sowie der wortartenspezifischen, erbringt wertvolle Evidenz für Sprachwandelprinzipien sowie die funktionale Einordnung von Flexionsklassen.

**Abstracts AG 2****Foundations of language comparison: human universals as constraints on language diversity**

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*Dietmar Zaefferer*

Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

**Definitional and empirical features of human and language**Mi 14.05-14.30, Raum: U5/024

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Language comparison presupposes comparability, and this in turn presupposes the common denominator of definitional universals. Definitions of the notion of language tend to be controversial. Definitions of the notion of human even more so. Nonetheless it is shown that it pays to look at the range of variation in both and at the corresponding options for drawing the line between empirical and a priori statements about humans and languages. The literature on these issues is briefly outlined and it is argued (a) that language is best conceptualized in terms of its function, and not in terms of the means used for fulfilling it, and (b) that the core function of language consists in affording its users general purpose unbounded sharing of mental activities. Based on this assumption it is possible to narrow down in the space of human universals the range of possible subspaces occupied by the specifically linguistic universals. Since the former concern both the human body with its brain and mind, and the cultures and societies it lives in, all these factors must be suspected to contribute constraints on language diversity (and uniformity), and there is no *a priori* reason for excluding any one of them. Given the extremely small intra-species variance of the genetic endowment of humans and seemingly great diversity of their cultures it is tempting to underestimate the role of non-biological forces. But considering the fact that part of human biology is also the faculty of cultural transmission, the possibility that the domain specific part of the basis for language acquisition is rather narrowly confined cannot be ruled out from the outset. Since the biological disposition for language undeniably requires cultural triggering in order to be activated, it is hard to dismiss the idea that partial triggering may result in partial activation of this disposition.

There is an increasing amount of converging evidence that our species is unique in its double determination by the transmission of both genes and cultural patterns. It is submitted that this specific mixture (*idiosyncrasy* in the literal sense) should be taken both as an important starting point and as a promising research objective for contemporary linguistics.

Christoph Antweiler  
FB IV – Ethnologie,  
Universität Trier, Germany  
**The many determinants of human universals**  
Mi 14.30-15.00, Raum: U5/024

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Human societies are remarkably diverse but this diversity is not limitless. Human cultural and linguistic variation is patterned and the spectrum of variation is not as wide as the “ethnographic hyperspace” we could think of. There are phenomena regularly found in all human cultures. Among the better known examples out of hundreds of universals are ethnocentrism, incest avoidance and social reciprocity.

Universals are ubiquitous on the level of cultures, not individuals. Universals can be demonstrated empirically by cross-cultural comparison and historical diachronic comparison. This could be supplemented by cross-species comparisons. The argument is that universals are related to human nature but are neither isomorphic with (a) human nature, (b) species traits, (c) psychic unity nor with (d) anthropological constants as conceived in philosophy.

As regards causes, universals are partially based (1) directly in human biology or reflect our evolved nature indirectly. Thus, specific aspects of human nature can be carefully inferred from specific universals. Beyond that there are additional factors all too often overlooked. Some universals are due to (2) global cultural transfer resp. diffusion, (3) systemic effects of patterned social relations, or (4) emergent interaction effects in “ultrasocial” systems. Others are related (5) to the simple fact of living in a material world. Thus, lists of traits found ubiquitously throughout human cultures cannot, pace e.g. Steven Pinker, simply be equated with human genes or human nature. In sum the paper tries to show that a precise concept and empirical knowledge about human universals is needed for an understanding of language universals.

Beyond anthropological questions and linguistic issues, cultural universals are currently relevant within a world characterized by a globalized obsession with culture as difference.

- Antweiler, Christoph 2007: *Was ist den Menschen gemeinsam? Über Kultur und Kulturen*. Darmstadt: WBG Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft
- Brown, Donald Edward 2000: Human Universals and Their Implications. In: Neil Roughley (ed.): *Being Humans. Anthropological Universality and Particularity in Transdisciplinary Perspectives*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter: 156-174
- Buller, David J. 2006: *Adapting Minds. Evolutionary Psychology and the Persistent Quest For Human Nature*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press (A Bradford Book)
- Holenstein, Elmar 1979: *Zur Begrifflichkeit der Universalienforschung in Linguistik und Anthropologie* (Akup. Arbeiten des Kölner Universalien-Projekts, 35)
- Holenstein, Elmar 1995: Human Equality and Intra- as well as Intercultural Diversity. *The Monist. An International Quarterly Journal of General Philosophical Inquiry* 78(1): 65-75



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*Peter J. Richerson*

University of California Davis

**Patterns of human conflict and cooperation: language and linguistic diversity**

Mi 15.00-15.30, Raum: U5/024

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For the last few tens of thousands of years--perhaps longer--humans have lived in tribal scale cooperative units. Language is both made possible by tribal cooperation and a potent means of organizing this cooperation. The janus face of intratribal cooperation is intertribal conflict. Usually intertribal conflict is between neighbors with different languages or different dialects. In the last 5,000 years the growth of complex societies has bound up tribal scale formations into large social systems composed of a diverse array of constituent organizations. Language still reflects patterns of conflict and cooperation as dialects, jargons, and ethnic divisions of labor reflect patterns cooperation, competition, and conflict within complex societies.

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*Ljiljana Progovac*

Wayne State University, Detroit, MI

**The core universal and language evolution**

Mi 15.30-16.00, Raum: U5/024

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“The creation of a new neural pathway in no way entails the extinction of the previous one – .... [there is] persistence of the older link.” (Bickerton 1998, 353)

Modern syntactic theory, including Chomsky’s (1995) Minimalism and its predecessors (e.g. Stowell 1981, 1983, Burzio 1981, Kitagawa 1986, Koopman & Sportiche 1991, Hale & Keyser 2002), analyzes almost every clause/sentence, crosslinguistically, as underlyingly a small clause (1a), which gets transformed into a full/finite clause/sentence (a TP or Tense Phrase), upon subsequent Merge of Tense (b) and Move of the subject into TP (c):

- (1) a. [<sub>SC</sub> *Peter retire*] → b. [<sub>TP</sub> *will* [*Peter retire*]] → c. [<sub>TP</sub> *Peter* [<sub>T'</sub> *will* [~~*Peter*~~ *retire*]]]]

Relative to TPs (c), which have (at least) two layers of clausal structure and even two subject positions (both of which can be filled, as will be shown), small clauses (a) can be seen as ‘half-clauses:’ they involve only one layer of clausal structure and one subject position. While languages and analyses vary with respect to what type, or how many, functional projections project on top of the small clause, most would agree that the small clause core is a universal property. Why is this so? Why should every sentence, in every language, be built upon the foundation of the small clause? One can certainly envision a more economical, more direct, derivation, which does not first

create a small clause, only to later distort it/transform it into a TP, through a process which moreover requires Move, as pointed out in e.g. Parker (2006).

Small clauses comparable to (1a) are also found crosslinguistically in some marginal but productive root constructions, which defy the principles of modern syntax, and which are thus typically not analyzed in syntax (but see Akmajian 1984 and Progovac 2006, 2007).

- (2) *Peter retire?! Him retire?! Me worry?! Me first! Family first! Problem solved.*

The existence of such quirky clauses and the universal unfolding of sentence structure from the underlying small clause, begin to make sense if both are seen as by-products of evolutionary tinkering. My proposal is that small clauses with a single layer of clausal structure, comparable in form (but not always in meaning) to (2), characterized a proto-syntactic stage in the evolution of language, with TP representing a later innovation (see e.g. Jackendoff 1999, 2002, Pinker & Bloom 1990, Deutscher 2005, Progovac 2007, for gradual evolution of syntax). Examples from other languages will show that the small clause construct is already able to express, on its own, the basic clausal properties, including predication, assertion, topic-comment, some agreement, and some temporal/aspectual properties.

In this scenario, TP would not have arisen from scratch, designed in an optimal way (e.g. Chomsky 2005), but rather it would have been superimposed upon what was already there: the small clause, leading to quirks and complexities that syntax is (in)famous for. Even today, the building of the sentence (1) seems to be retracing/incorporating those evolutionary steps (Progovac 2007). Arguably, child language acquisition likewise proceeds from a small clause stage to a TP stage (e.g. Radford 1988, 1990, Lebeaux 1989, Ouhalla 1991, Platzak 1990), providing some corroborating evidence (see Rolfe 1996) (see also agrammatism). In addition, evolutionary explanations invoking layering and recency dominance can be found elsewhere, e.g. in symbolic reference (Deacon 1997); in the superimposition of timed speech over ancient prosody (Deacon 1997; also Pulvermüller 2002, Piattelli-Palmarini & Uriagereka 2004); in brain stratification accounts (in Vygotsky's and Piaget's work, as well as in the triune brain proposals, e.g. Isaacson 1982, MacLean 1949). The common theme in all is the inclusion of attainments of earlier stages in the structures of later stages.

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<sup>^</sup>Psychologisches Institut der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

**The influence of syntactic structures on the time course of microplanning:  
a crosslinguistic experiment**

Mi 16.30-17.00, Raum: U5/024

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“One major difficulty with the Whorfian Hypothesis is that is not immediately clear what sort of evidence would tend to disprove it conclusively” (Houston, 1972: 196). Scientific endeavours to find a remedy for this nuisance follow mainly two lines of reasoning. One is the cross-linguistic comparison of colour perception (Brown & Lenneberg, 1954, Winawer et al. 2007) and of other categories (Özcaliskan & Slobin, 2003). The second and more recent paradigm is the so called “thinking for speaking-approach” (Slobin 1996, Stutterheim & Nüse, 2003). They argue that, for instance, perspective taking in discourse planning be biased by language specific means for temporal or spatial references. According to this line of theorizing, one might further assume that lower and more automated procedures of utterance production might also be linguistically biased.

Our contribution focuses on the time course of operations at the interface between two levels of processing, the semantic and the syntactic one. We will present results from a cross linguistic experiment in utterance production. Speakers of Chinese, German and Polish were prompted to produce Yes/No-questions, a type of speech act that is syntactically coded differently in the three languages. Using a two choice Go-NoGo Paradigm with LRP measures, we tested the chronological correspondence of conceptualization and the syntactic coding processes. The results are at variance with the assumption of linguistic relativity at this level of language processing.

Brown, Roger, and Eric Lenneberg. "A Study in Language and Cognition." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 49 (1954): 454-62.

Houston, Susan H. *A Survey of Psycholinguistics*. Edited by C.H. Van Schooneveld. Vol. 98, *Janua Linguarum, Series Minor*. The Hague: Mouton, 1972.

Özcaliskan, Seyda, and Dan I. Slobin. "Codability Effects on the Expression of Manner of Motion in Turkish and English." In *Studies in Turkish Linguistics*, edited by A.S. Öszoy, D. Akar, M. Nakipoglu-Demiralp, E. Erguvanli-Taylan and Ayhan A. Aksu-Koc, 259-70. Istanbul: Bogazici University Press, 2003.

Slobin, Dan I. "From 'Thought and Language' to 'Thinking for Speaking'." In *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity*, edited by John Gumperz, J. and Stephan C. Levinson, 70-96. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

von Stutterheim, Christiane, and Ralf Nüse. "Processes of Conceptualization in Language Production: Language-Specific Perspectives and Event Construal." *Linguistics* 41, no. 5 (2003): 851-81.

Winawer, Jonathan, Nathan Wiffhoft, Michael C. Frank, Lisa Wu, Alex Wade, R., and Lera Boroditsky. "Russian Blues Reveal Effects of Language on Color Discrimination." *PNAS* 104, no. 19 (2007): 7780-85.

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Adriana Hanulíková<sup>1</sup>, James M. McQueen<sup>2</sup> & Holger Mitterer<sup>2</sup>

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**The differing role of consonants and vowels in word recognition**

Mi 17.00-17.30, Raum: U5/024

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Competition among lexical candidates is a central process in spoken word recognition and is modulated by language-specific properties such as metrical structure and phonotactics. Previous research, however, added the language-universal Possible-Word Constraint (PWC) (Norris et al., 1997) to these properties. According to this account, lexical parses including non-syllabic sequences such as single consonants are disfavoured in the competition. Single consonants, because they do not constitute syllables, are treated as non-viable residues. This applies in a universal manner: Differing phonological constraints on words across languages are not relevant, as confirmed in studies on English, Sesotho, Japanese, and Dutch.

Using the word-spotting paradigm (Cutler & Norris, 1988), we tested the predictions of the PWC in Slovak and German. In Slovak, unlike German, single consonants such as /g/ and /f/ (allophones of k 'to' and v 'in') are words, but cannot be syllable peaks. We examined whether Slovak and German listeners follow the universal principle and thus have difficulty recognizing words in consonant contexts.

German listeners were faster at spotting words when preceded by syllables (e.g., Rose in suckrose) as compared to consonants (krose). Slovak listeners, however, detected words faster in an ungrammatical prepositional context (e.g., ruka 'hand' in gruka) than in syllabic and non-prepositional contexts (dugruka, truka). Two lexical-decision experiments revealed that the word-spotting effects could not be attributed to different acoustic realizations of the targets over conditions. A further Slovak experiment controlling for stress variations revealed faster responses in the syllable context than in the non-prepositional context, but the prepositional condition remained the fastest one.

These results suggest that the simple form of the PWC cannot be maintained. Single consonants are viable residues, but only if they are meaningful units in a given language. While the PWC should not be abandoned, it needs to be modified to incorporate language-specific patterns.

Norris, D., McQueen, J. M., Cutler, A., & Butterfield, S. (1997). The possible-word constraint in the segmentation of continuous speech. *Cognitive Psychology*, 34, 191-243.

Cutler, A., & Norris, D. (1988). The role of strong syllables in segmentation for lexical access. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Perception and Performance*, 14, 113-121.

*Michael T. Ullman*

Brain and Language Lab, Georgetown University, Washington DC

**Variability and redundancy in the neurocognition of language**

Mi 17.30-18.30, Raum: U5/024

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In the study of language there is often a focus on revealing “the” mechanism for a given function, or on discovering how such a mechanism develops, how it evolved, or where it is located in the brain. For example, controversies are usually centered on asking whether language, or some aspect of language such as syntax or the lexicon, are computed or represented or learned in this *or* that way. That is, the debate is usually framed in terms of mutually exclusive competing hypotheses.

However, many problems are solved in *more than one* way. If we want to write, we can use a pencil or a pen or a computer. If we want to warm up we can put on more clothes, make a fire, or eat a bowl of hot soup. Crucially, such variability and redundancy in underlying mechanisms are also widespread in biological systems. Biological solutions for thermal regulation include fur, fat, size (larger animals lose heat more slowly), evaporation (a panting dog, a sweating athlete), various metabolic processes, and even anti-freeze molecules.

Although variability and redundancy can be costly (it takes more energy to make both fur and fat), it also confers important advantages. Different mechanisms are likely to have different and complementary characteristics. Thus the ability to depend on more than one system can lead to a variety of functional advantages, due to the complementary advantages of each system.

Using various methods that can reveal underlying computational and biological mechanisms, research has begun to demonstrate the presence of redundant mechanisms in the neurocognition of language, as well as variability across individuals and populations with respect to their relative dependence on each mechanism.

Here we will focus on one aspect of language in which such redundancy has been observed. A crucial issue in the study of language is how rule-governed complex forms such as *walked* or *the cat* are learned, represented and computed. Although many explanatory accounts have been proposed, a basic theoretical debate contrasts two apparently mutually exclusive perspectives: On one side are those who argue that such complex forms are put together from their memorized parts (*walk*, *-ed*, *the*, *cat*) by a rule-governed grammatical system (or set of systems) that is distinct from the mental lexicon. On the other side are those who argue that complex forms are essentially no different from lexicalized forms like *walk* and *cat*, and that all forms are learned and processed by the same neurocognitive or computational mechanisms.

What do the data say? On the one hand, the data suggest that there are indeed (at least) two distinct systems, a lexical system for memorizing pieces of information, and another system (or set of systems) that underlies rule-governed composition. However, the existence of the latter system does *not* require that it necessarily underlie all rule-governed forms in all cases. Rather, accumulating evidence suggests that

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while complex forms *can* be and in fact often are computed by this system, they can *also* or *instead* be stored and processed in the mental lexicon, consistent with at least some aspects of single-mechanism claims.

Moreover, the data suggest that the *relative reliance* on each system varies across individuals, at least partly with the degree of (dis)functionality of aspects of one or the other system. For example, women, who have an advantage (possibly estrogen-modulated) at remembering verbal material, are more likely than men to retrieve complex forms, and correspondingly less likely to compose forms in the grammatical system. Other factors that modulate the relative reliance of complex forms on each system appear to include handedness, age of acquisition and bilingualism, genetic factors, and various disorders, including Specific Language Impairment. Theoretical, empirical, educational and clinical implications will be discussed.

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*Daniel L. Everett*

Illinois State University

**Can culture license finite grammars?**

Do 9.00-10.00, Raum: U5/024

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For many years it has been thought that the essence of a grammatical theory was an account of the 'discrete infinity' of human language. But what if languages, some or all, are finite? What if a language had both a finite set of sentences and a maximum sentence size? Are such languages possible? What would this mean? And if there are such languages, is there a plausible cultural explanation for this finitude? How much grammar does a human language need? In this talk I suggest that some languages are finite and that there are plausible cultural reasons for this. If this is correct, then some formal theories of grammar have long been concerned about explaining the wrong things.

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*Hedde Zeijlstra*

University of Amsterdam

**Parameters are epiphenomena of grammatical architecture**

Do 10.00-10.30, Raum: U5/024

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Following current minimalist reasoning the study of natural language is guided by the Strongest Minimalist Thesis. Under such a view language is a perfect solution to the task of relating sound and meaning (Lasnik 2002; Chomsky 2005). However, if language is an optimal solution to conditions imposed by interface conditions, why does natural language exhibit the wide range of variation that is attested?

In my paper I argue that the source of cross-linguistic variation is not constituted by a number of innate parameters, part of the genetic endowment (factor I), but that it

follows from the fact that different mental components impose different economy conditions on the Faculty of Language (FL) (factor III).

Following minimalist assumptions on grammatical architecture, it is the Conceptual-Intentional system(s), the Sensor-Motor system(s) and the Lexicon, an instance of memory, that impose conditions on FL. Since these mental systems are autonomous, their requirements on FL, i.e. the conditions they impose at the respective interfaces, do not necessarily have to be compatible. In fact, full compatibility would be a completely unexpected option. A much more natural assumption is that several of the conditions that the different mental systems impose on FL are in conflict. Now one must distinguish two kinds of conditions: hard conditions, which may not be violated (e.g. Full Interpretability) and weaker conditions, such as economy principles (like the Merge over Move constraint). This means that each grammar has to obey all hard conditions, but if two economy conditions are in conflict it may choose which economy condition is going to be satisfied most.

The existence of conflicting interface conditions, a fact that immediately follows from the modularity of grammar, already predicts the existence of grammatical variation, i.e. it creates a parametric space. This means that parameters are pre-given by the grammatical architecture and therefore do not have to be postulated as innate linguistic primitives.

Chomsky, N. (2005). "Three factors in language design." *Linguistic Inquiry* 36: 1-22.

Lasnik, H. (2002). "The Minimalist Program in syntax." *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 6: 432-437.

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*Wolfram Hinzen & Boban Arsenijević*

Durham University & University of Amsterdam

**Recursion as an epiphenomenon**

Do 10.30-11.00, Raum: U5/024

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An epiphenomenon is a phenomenon that (i) is for real, but (ii) follows from another, more primitive phenomenon. We argue this is true for recursion. The linguistic phenomenon we describe as recursion really is the result of categorization, and more specifically the phases of a derivation. As you complete one phase, you cannot but begin the next, giving rise to an infinite progression of the form (P (P (P...(P)))...), where every P is a phase head. There are basic informational layers of the clause, which provide additional structuring, and there is an apparent universal constraint which determines the proper linear sequence of heads within a phase (Cinque 1999). Wherever these further constraints, resulting in a partial ordering of heads, come from, they have nothing to do with recursion.

Recursion, then, is an overt effect that follows from phasing, and phasing amounts to categorization of a particular type. This type we associate with the notion of referentiality. We capture referentiality as the maximalization of a given description.

Any cognitive act of describing the world has to eventually result in an act of reference, when the description becomes sufficient to determine a referent. A phase is the completion of an act of reference.

Note in support that recursion in language is *restricted* in various ways. Not everything embeds in everything. In particular, embedding of a clause into a clause does not allow for unlimited recursion (\*[[If John comes on time [if Mary wakes him up [if her alarm clock rings]]], he will get an award.]). Other patterns of embedding allow for unlimited recursion ([<sub>DP</sub>the possibility [<sub>CP</sub>that John believes [<sub>DP</sub>the claim [<sub>CP</sub>that Mary regrets [<sub>DP</sub>the fact [<sub>CP</sub>that she was late]]]]], [<sub>CP</sub>John has [<sub>VP</sub>denied [<sub>CP</sub>that Mary has ever [<sub>VP</sub>said [<sub>CP</sub>that he has been drinking]]]]]). However, embedding of an element in another element of the same category is here necessarily mediated by an interleaving element of a different category. This signals that the algorithm behind the generation of these structures may not really be recursive. Note that the ‘mediating’ category is usually rich enough to present a barrier (a phase boundary). This seems to point in an unexpected direction: recursion, though present at the descriptive level and cognitively real, is actually *banned* at the generative level.

If language is not recursive, and in addition we capture phases as the completion of an act of reference, we predict that reference (and truth, a species of reference) does not embed. And indeed it doesn’t. Any complex noun phrase only has one overall referent; and any complex sentence only has one truth-value: it is evaluated for purposes of discourse integration only at the root.

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*Andrew Nevins*

Harvard University

**Invariant properties of human grammatical systems**

Do 11.30-12.00, Raum: U5/024

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Languages seem to accomplish design tradeoffs in different ways: for example, some populate their lexicon by large segmental inventories and short words, while others use small segmental inventories and rich syllable structures/long words, or perhaps recruit suprasegmental tone; similarly, some languages use case-marking to mark grammatical relations while others use positional order to mark grammatical relations; both of these tradeoffs strike a balance between amount of stored material and amount of combinatorial constraints. Despite this design flexibility in the division of labor between data structures and types of operations on them, within each grammatical system, we find invariant properties, such as asymmetric treatment of binary phonological oppositions (markedness), constraints on morpheme combination that reflect semantic compositionality, and effects of predicate interpretation on aspectual and tense marking. To a large extent, the argument that recurrent crosslinguistic patterns merely reflect historical pathways and sampling error can be waylaid by artificial grammar experiments, in which any effects of historical residue are completely



controlled by the experimenter. As Karl Verner remarked, "linguistics cannot totally rule out accident, but accidents en masse it cannot and must not countenance", and we hope that this talk may launch fruitful discussion at the workshop about whether attempts to explain invariant grammatical properties purely in terms of culture, working memory, or admixtures thereof yield countenanceable accidents.

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*Jeffrey Lidz*

University of Maryland

**The representational basis for statistical inference in language learning**

Do 12.00-12.30, Raum: U5/024

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Various "poverty of the stimulus" arguments in linguistics aim to reveal the representational bias in the learner that makes language acquisition possible. At the same time, recent work in statistical learning highlights the human ability to detect statistical regularities in speech. While these perspectives are often placed in opposition to each other, I argue that statistical learning and abstract representations each require the other. Arguments for the necessity of particular representational content are silent about how experience is mapped onto the innate representational format; arguments about the learner's sensitivity to statistical properties of speech presuppose a representational vocabulary. This paper provides several case studies illustrating how statistical learning works in concert with an innate representational vocabulary to drive language acquisition.

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*Asifa Majid*

Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics

**Constraints on event semantics across languages**

Fr 9.00-9.30, Raum: U5/024

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Are semantic categories determined primarily by universal principles (such as perceptual and cognitive predispositions), or are they relatively free to vary (depending on cultural, environmental and historical circumstances)? Despite the long history of this question, there is still little consensus on what the answer might be. Previously established semantic universals are regularly challenged (e.g., Roberson, Davies, and Davidoff 2000 versus Kay and Regier 2003 on color; Majid, Enfield, and van Staden 2006 versus Wierzbicka 2007 on the body), and the outcome has still to be determined.

Much of the previous debate has centered on relatively concrete domains, perhaps due to the implicit assumption that these are more likely to yield substantial universals (cf. Gentner, 1982). In this paper, I will draw on findings from two large-scale cross-linguistic projects based at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, that

demonstrate that there are non-trivial constraints in how relatively abstract entities – events – are semantically categorised across languages.

The projects examine how events of “cutting and breaking” (Majid and Bowerman 2007) and “reciprocals” (Evans, Gaby, Levinson, and Majid in prep) are expressed in words (verbs) and constructions. In both projects, the starting point is an etic grid of event types – a set of videoclips – which vary along a number of parameters. The clips are used to elicit speaker descriptions from a range of geographically, genetically and typologically diverse languages. The descriptions are then analyzed using multivariate statistics. These techniques extract recurrent categorisation strategies found across languages, as well as identifying unusual patterns. They also quantify how much structure is shared – if any.

The results suggest considerable uniformity in semantic categorisation across languages. For instance, for cutting and breaking events all languages recognize a dimension having to do with how predictable the location of separation in an entity will be. Categorization of reciprocal events shows more variation, with some quite different solutions to the problem of how to encode such events, but nevertheless recurrent semantic spaces emerge.

- Evans, N., Gaby, A., Levinson, S. C. and Majid, A. (in prep). *Reciprocals and Semantic Typology*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Series Typological Studies in Language.
- Gentner, D. (1982). Why nouns are learned before verbs: Linguistic relativity versus natural partitioning. In S. A. Kuczaj (Ed.), *Language development: Vol. 2. Language, thought and culture* (pp. 301-334). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Kay, P., & Regier, T. (2003). Resolving the question of color naming universals. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 100, 9085-9089.
- Roberson, D., Davies I., & Davidoff, J. (2000) Colour categories are not universal: Replications and new evidence from a Stone-age culture. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 129, 369-398.
- Majid, A., & Bowerman, M. (2007). “Cutting and breaking” events: A cross-linguistic perspective. Special issue of *Cognitive Linguistics*, 18(2).
- Majid, A., Enfield, N. J., & van Staden, M. (Eds.). (2006). Parts of the body: Cross-linguistic categorization [Special issue]. *Language Sciences*, 28, 137-359
- Wierzbicka, A. (2007). Bodies and their parts: An NSM approach to semantic typology. *Language Sciences*, 29, 14-65.

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*Friedemann Pulvermüller*

MRC Cognition and Brain Sciences, Cambridge

**Discreteness, rules, pushdown storage and the brain**

Fr 9.30-10.00, Raum: U5/024

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The question of innateness and learnability will be addressed in the light of linguistic (and cognitive) phenomena and their possible neuronal basis in the human brain. Linguists have argued that discrete representations – of words, morphemes and grammatical features, are essential to the nature of language. Network approaches

have argued instead that discrete representations do not develop in neural architectures. We will trace this proposition to specific types of neural networks and define network properties that do produce discrete representations<sup>1,2</sup>. In a similar manner, rules are denied by neural most approaches. Looking at neurophysiological evidence, which actually suggests discrete phenomena best described in terms of rules, we will argue for a possible brain basis of rules<sup>3</sup>. Linking this to theory of neuronal ensembles and action-perception networks, a rule equivalent will be demonstrated in networks that mimic important features of relevant brain parts<sup>4,5</sup>. The features of neuronal hardware necessary for such discrete and rule-like representations will be defined, aiming at a statement about the neurobiological prerequisites of human language, especially syntax and the lexicon. Grammatical serial order mechanisms will be exemplified using centre-embedded sentences and pushdown storage, along with a neuronal architecture capable of processing strings of this type<sup>6,7</sup>.

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*David Poeppel*

Dept Linguistics & Dept Biology

Neuroscience and Cognitive Science Program

Univ Maryland College Park

**Linguistics and the future of the neurosciences**

Fr 10.00-10.30, Raum: U5/024

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Given the mismatch between the representational primitives of linguistics and neuroscience, how are these domains of inquiry supposed to be connected in an explanatory way? Jointly with my colleague David Embick I argue that a theoretically motivated, computationally explicit, and biologically plausible model of the neural basis of language requires linking hypotheses between the cognitive and biological ‘alphabets’

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1 Wennekers, T. et al. (2006) Language models based on Hebbian cell assemblies. *J Physiol Paris* 100, 16-30.

2 Garagnani, M. et al. (2007) A neuronal model of the language cortex. *Neurocomputing* 70, 1914-1919.

3 Pulvermüller, F. and Assadollahi, R. (2007) Grammar or serial order?: Discrete combinatorial brain mechanisms reflected by the syntactic Mismatch Negativity. *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience* 19 (6), 971-980.

4 Pulvermüller, F. (2003) Sequence detectors as a basis of grammar in the brain. *Theory in Biosciences* 122, 87-103.

5 Knoblauch, A. and Pulvermüller, F. (2005) Sequence detector networks and associative learning of grammatical categories. In *Biomimetic neural learning for intelligent robots* (Wermter, S. et al., eds.), pp. 31-53, Springer.

6 Pulvermüller, F. (1993) On connecting syntax and the brain. In *Brain theory - spatio-temporal aspects of brain function* (Aertsen, A., ed.), pp. 131-145, Elsevier.

7 Pulvermüller, F. (2003) *The neuroscience of language*, Cambridge University Press.

that are most plausibly stated in computational terms of a certain granularity. Building on the (typically discredited) ‘neo-phrenological’ approach associated with much of contemporary neuroimaging, I suggest a ‘computational organology’ approach, resuscitating those parts of Gall’s work that connect in a useful way with contemporary neurobiology.

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*T. G. Bever*

University of Arizona

**The general and the individual in linguistic universals**

Fr 11.00-11.30, Raum: U5/024

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A primary goal of linguistic research is to isolate and categorize universals of attested languages. This paper will illustrate distinctions between three major classes of linguistic universals: (a) formal/computational/architectural processes; (b) behavioral mechanisms for language use and learning; (c) neurological mechanisms for instantiation of (a) and (b).

The main point is that the different kinds of universals intermingle in surprising ways. Specific examples will show how the formal requirements can shape some of the behavioral mechanisms, how the behavioral mechanisms call on specific sorts of neurological structures, how the availability of certain kinds of neurological structures may constrain choices amongst formal computational alternatives.

Case studies will include the Extended Projection Principle as resulting from constraints on language usability and learnability; derivational relations between levels resulting from intrinsic motivational factors; upward movement/tree-building processes resulting from basic properties of neural structures used in species recognition.

These considerations call into question the implicit goal of modern minimalist „Biolinguistics“, in which different linguistic features are to be distinctly attributed to formal vs. „interface“ structures. Rather, language exhibits simultaneous social, individual, behavioral and neurological constraints, mutually selecting out interactions which result in coherent, effable and learnable languages.

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*Joana Rosselló*

Universitat de Barcelona.

**Duality of patterning in the architecture of language: a reassessment**

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Language has “duality of patterning”, a property by which Hockett (1958: 577) meant that “the smallest meaning units” are “composed of arrangements of meaningless but differentiative features”. This explicit and intended meaning —see Hockett 1958: 574-578; 1977: 172), although perhaps obscured by some confusing terminology on his part, has recently been distorted by different renowned scholars (Hurford 2002:

319, Pinker 2003: 32, Anderson 2004: 30, Studdert-Kennedy 2005: 50, Pinker&Jackendoff 2005: 212, Burling 2005: 33-34, 139, 247, etc.) who are all claiming that duality of patterning (DP) means that language has phonology and syntax.

Once reinstated in its original sense, DP appears to deserve a place in the Faculty of Language in the Narrow sense (FLN) (Hauser, Chomsky & Fitch 2002 (HCF)), this portion of the faculty of language that, being uniquely human and unique to language, would essentially consist of syntactic recursion according to HCF. Moreover, although at the basis of both DP and recursion there is a combinatorial mechanism that relates mental representations of sound (or its equivalent in sign languages) and meaning, it could be that finally DP was in FLN and recursion wasn't. This would happen if recursion was demonstrated to be domain-general in humans and domain-specific (and unrelated to communication) in other animals, a possibility entertained at the very end of HCF. In this connection, it has to be noted that recursion, but not DP, seems to be present in music and arithmetic. Thus, whether recursion is included in FLN, and music and arithmetic are derivative from language or recursion is domain-general and music and arithmetic are, along with language, its manifestations, DP would be in either case in FLN whereas recursion would be included in it only if the first possibility is the correct one.

- Anderson, S.R. (2004). *Doctor Dolittle's Delusion. Animals and the Uniqueness of Human Language*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.
- Burling, Robins (2005). *The talking ape. How language evolved*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hauser, M.D., N. Chomsky & W. Tecumseh Fitch (2002). The faculty of language: What is it, who has it, and how did it evolve? *Science* 298, 1569-1579
- Hockett, C.F. (1958). *A Course in Modern Linguistics*. New York: MacMillan. (The references to the revised 1962 edition are made through the Spanish edition *Curso de lingüística moderna*. Buenos Aires, Eudeba, 1971).
- Hockett, C.F. (1977), *The View from Language. Selected Essays 1948-1974*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 163-186.
- Hurford, J.R. (2002b). The roles of expression and representation in language evolution. In Alison Wray (ed.), *The Transition to Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 311-334.
- Pinker, S. (2003). Language as an adaptation to the cognitive niche. In Morten H. Christiansen & Simon Kirby (eds.), *Language Evolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press., 6-37.
- Pinker, S. & R. Jackendoff (2005). The faculty of language: what's special about it? *Cognition* 95, 201-236.
- Studdert-Kennedy, M. (2005). How did language go discrete? In Maggie Tallerman (ed.), *Language Origins: Perspectives on Evolution*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 48-67.



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## Abstracts AG 3

### Specific language impairment across languages

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*Funda Acarlar*

Ankara University,

Faculty of Educational Sciences,

Special Education Department, Ankara, Turkey

**Language profiles in Turkish children with developmental language disorders: case studies**

Mi 14.00-14.30, Raum: U2/204 (West)

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The purpose of this study is to investigate and compare the language profiles of children with developmental language disorders. Conversational language samples were collected from 3 children with developmental language disorders. Language sample measures provides valuable information regarding children's performances in the areas of lexical diversity, morphosyntax and utterance formulation. Language samples were analyzed with Turkish SALT (Acarlar, F., Miller, J. F. & Johnston, J. R., 2006) and compared to the Turkish Reference Database. Language profiles for all three children will be presented and discussed.

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*Christina Kauschke*

Philipps-Universität Marburg

FB 09, Faculty of German Studies and History of the Arts

**Crosslinguistic characteristics of Specific Language Impairment – a comparison of German and Korean children with SLI**

Mi 14.30-15.00, Raum: U2/204 (West)

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Crosslinguistic studies of Specific Language Impairment (SLI) help to identify universal hallmarks of SLI as well as vulnerable areas, which may be influenced by structural characteristics of the native language. The present study focuses on naming and comprehension of nouns and verbs in German and Korean children with (and without) SLI. Given that the German and Korean languages differ with respect to the clarity of the noun-verb distinction and the saliency of nouns and verbs, crosslinguistic differences in the acquisition of word categories and differential patterns of verb vulnerability might be expected. Participants were 10 German and 10 Korean SLI-children, and two age-matched control groups. The method was a picture naming task (28 object and 28 action pictures as target stimuli) and a word comprehension task. Effects of language (German/Korean), group (SLI/controls), word class (noun/verb) and modality (comprehension/production) were investigated. The results indicate strong language-general profiles: in both languages, SLI children's lexical abilities

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are significantly below age-appropriate levels. Their problems are most evident in the naming condition, e.g., word production is more severely impaired than word comprehension. However, nouns and verbs were affected similarly; the findings do not support a selective verb deficit.

In addition, exploratory data of unimpaired bilingual children (German/Korean) are presented, who were tested with the noun-verb naming task. Their results are discussed in relation to those of the language-impaired and typically developing monolingual children.

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*Jelena Kuvač, Marijan Palmović & Melita Kovačević*

University of Zagreb

Laboratory for Psycholinguistic Research

**Language-specific and language-universal traits of SLI in Croatian**

Mi 15.00-15.30, Raum: U2/204 (West)

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An overview of SLI research in Croatian in the last 15 years reveals characteristic traits of language behavior in SLI children concerning morphology and lexicon. The research was oriented towards defining language-specific characteristics of SLI that depended on known typological traits of Croatian. As Croatian is a morphologically rich language, commission errors are much more frequent than omissions, especially in noun paradigms. Further on, as the number of different paradigms is big (8 verbal 3 nominal macro-classes with different number of classes within each) generalizations across different paradigms are characteristic for language acquisition both in children with typical language development and children with SLI. However, the pattern of generalizations is different with SLI children being less systematic and having more diverse generalizations.

This sort of behavioral research provides detailed picture of SLI in Croatian, but says nothing about possible background mechanisms that lie behind language acquisition in the typical and impaired population. Recently, neurocognitive research using event-related potentials has been used in the research of SLI. The initial ERP studies reveal that SLI children lack dissociations (in neuropsychological sense) of various aspects of grammar, dissociations that can be observed in adults and, to some extent, in children with TLD. This can be interpreted as a difference in the developmental course, which leads to greater specialization and modularization of language function in TLD children, but not in children with SLI.



*Fabrizio Pizzioli, Marie-Anne Schelstreat & Marinka Grobler*

Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgium

Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgium

& Svetovalni center za otroke, Ljubljana, Slovenia

**A richer morphology helps: a comparison of French and Slovenian children  
with normal language and specific language impairment**

Mi 15.30-16.00, Raum: U2/204 (West)

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**Background.**

Children with specific language impairment (SLI) present significant problems in establishing thematic relations in sentence comprehension, especially when they depend on the appreciation of the hierarchical structure signaled by syntax. We report a cross-linguistic investigation of French- and Slovenian-speaking children with SLI focusing on the role of word-order and grammatical morphology on thematic role assignment..

**Method.**

Forty French and Slovene monolingual children were tested. The two groups of ten French and ten Slovene children with SLI were selected and carefully matched for age and severity of language impairment (M=10y, range 8-12). For each group ten normally developing children (monolingual French and Slovene) were matched on receptive vocabulary (M=8y). An auditory sentence judgment task was used. In the crucial condition (number constraint) the subject noun phrase was plural and agreed with the verb while the direct object was singular. This condition was contrasted with a condition where both subject and object were singular. E.g.:

1. Correct: the mailman brought the letter.
2. Reversible thematic violation: the letter brought the mailman.
3. Number constraint violation: the letters brought(pl) the mailman.

**Results.**

There was a main effect of group, with Slovene children performing overall better than French children. Normal children were better in refusing the incorrect sentences when there was number agreement. Finally, French children with SLI failed to show the same advantage, while Slovenian children with SLI largely benefited from the number agreement.

**Conclusions.**

In the Slovenian language, morpho-syntax plays a fundamental role in thematic role assignment because of case marking. Interestingly, though number agreement is the same in French and Slovenian, only Slovenian children with SLI seem to benefit from it. These data suggest that children with SLI are indeed able to use grammatical information to assign thematic roles when grammatical information is crucial in the language they learn.

*Jan de Jong, Nazife Cavus, Antje Orgassa, Anne Baker & Fred Weerman*  
University of Amsterdam

**Symptoms of SLI in Turkish-Dutch bilingual children**

Mi 16.30-17.00, Raum: U2/204 (West)

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Studies of SLI in the context of successive bilingualism face a major challenge: information about the specifics of monolingual SLI in the first language (L1) is often lacking. The implication is that a comparison between bilingual children with and without language impairment in the immigrant country may constitute a first exploration of SLI symptoms in L1.

To demonstrate such an exploration, in this presentation we will show results of comparative research on Turkish grammatical morphology in bilingual children with and without SLI (both groups consists of 6;0-8;0-year olds). The data comprise:

- (1) responses on a number of elicitation tasks, dealing with:
  - a. subject-verb agreement
  - b. agreement in the genitive-possessive construction
  - c. accusative marking in two obligatory contexts, determined by word order and definiteness, respectively
- (2) responses on a grammatical judgment task addressing accusative marking
- (3) grammatical morpheme productions in a narrative sample, elicited by the Frog Story

The aim of the study is to establish whether these grammatical morphemes appear to be vulnerable in Turkish (the L1). The results show differences between the impaired children and their typically developing age peers. These differences pinpoint some domains that may also be weak in monolingual Turkish children with SLI.

The data from the L1 are indicative grammatical morphemes that may constitute obstacles in monolingual SLI in Turkish, but our subjects are bilingual. In order to further assess the children's impairment status, indices of SLI in L1 are complemented by indirect information about the children's impairment (based on parents' responses to a questionnaire) and by production data from their L2 (Dutch).

Finally, it will be shown that for some of the linguistic variables, Turkish in the Netherlands shows differences from the Turkish spoken in Turkey. Such language changes must be accounted for when examining L1 in bilinguals.

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*Ezel Babur & Solveig Chilla*

Collaborative Research Centre Multilingualism, University of Hamburg

**Language profiles of bilingual Turkish children with/without SLI**

Mi 17.00-17.30, Raum: U2/204 (West)

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Up to now, only few studies deal with the language proficiency of language disordered Turkish children in both monolingual and bilingual environments. However, comparatively less studies focus on the outcome of Specific Language Impairment (SLI) in Turkish speaking children (Topbaş 2006).

Two recent studies confirm the assumption that SLI affects Turkish morphology, as it has been reported for other languages (Leonard 1998). Babur et al. (2007) for instance show that Turkish-German successive bilingual children with SLI (bSLI) produce errors in the production of Turkish case morphemes whereas normally developing Turkish-German successive bilinguals (bND) at the same age do not. Equal findings have been reported for a Turkish child in a monolingual environment (Topbaş, 2007). The present paper deals with the questions related to the diagnosis of SLI in bilingual children. We investigate spontaneous speech data from successive bilingual children (2;5-6;5 years) with and without SLI and compare their language production to profiles from 140 monolingual Turkish children (mL1). The data provided in this Turkish SALT analysis tool (Turkish Psychological Association, 2007) generates a documentation of language profiles and allows a cross-group comparison. Both quantitative and qualitative aspects of language production will be analyzed.

We will show that successive-bilingual Turkish-German ND children show no difference in their L1 language production if they are compared to age matched mL1 children. We conclude that this finding may be due to the intensive L1 language use up to the age of three. Furthermore, our study provides evidence for SLI in bilingual children. As it can be interpreted from the language profiles of the bSLI children, a clear difference with respect to different characteristics in language use can be found between the bSLI on the one and the mL1 and the bND children on the other hand.

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*Monika Rothweiler<sup>1</sup>, Ianthi Tsimpli<sup>2</sup>, Despina Papadopoulou<sup>3</sup>, Annette Fox<sup>4</sup>, Kalliopi Katsika<sup>5</sup>, Solveig Kroffke<sup>6</sup>, Maria Mastropavlou<sup>7</sup>, Agapi Mylonaki<sup>8</sup> & Nadine Stahl<sup>9</sup>*

1,4,6&9 University of Hamburg; 2,3,5,7&8 Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

**Motion verbs in Greek and German: evidence from typically developing and SLI children**

Mi 17.30-18.00, Raum: U2/204 (West)

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Motion verbs in German and Greek encode directional and locative readings using Case and Aspect respectively. German motion verbs encode direction with an ACC-marked PP while location involves a DAT-marked PP (cf. 1). In Greek, motion verbs prototypically encode direction in the perfective aspect and location in the imperfective aspect.

tive (cf. 2). However, unlike German where the distinction between direction and location in terms of case gives rise to grammaticality effects, the Greek aspectual options reflect strong preferences. In both languages, the PP is a complement in directional events and an adjunct in locative ones (cf. Zubizarreta & Oh 2007).

- (1) Der Wurm kriecht in die / der Tasse.  
the worm crawls in the-ACC / the-DAT cup
- (2) To puli petakse / petuse sto kluvi.  
the bird flew-PERF.3s / flew-IMP.3s in(to)-the cage

The data from each language is collected through a production task using short video clips, which depict locative and directional motion events. In both languages, we tested adult native speakers as well as 5-6-year-old typically developing and SLI children.

Greek typically-developing and SLI children show more target production with locative as opposed to directional videos. The SLI group performs significantly worse than the control children in the videos describing both locative and directional events. Moreover, the SLI children rely more on lexical means to express locative and directional events than on grammatical means, such as the aspectual form of the verb.

On the other hand, all German groups show more target production with directional (ACC-marked PPs) than locative (DAT-marked PPs) videos. The difference between the two video types is more pronounced in the SLI group, in which DAT-marked PPs are almost non-existent. Moreover, the SLI children tend to omit PPs when describing locative events.

Our findings will be discussed in relation to crosslinguistic differences and current approaches to SLI.

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*Sharon Amon-Lotem & Joel Walter*

Department of English and the Gonda Brain Research Center, Bar-Ilan University

**Substitution of prepositions as an indicator of SLI in bilingual children:  
the relative contribution of representation and processing**

Mi 18.00-18.30, Raum: U2/204 (West)

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Prepositions are a locus for code interference in bilingual populations, but are not necessarily considered an indicator of Specific Language Impairment (SLI). This paper studies the use of two types of prepositions, adverbial prepositions (locative and temporal) and obligatory prepositions (dative and oblique) by SLI bilingual English-Hebrew preschool children. Subjects were 10 bilingual SLI children, referred by speech clinicians and placed in "Language Preschools", who scored lower than 1.5 SD below the norm in both languages on standardized tests. They are compared with 15 typically developing (TD) bilinguals from the same neighborhood, who attend

regular preschools and scored within the norm in both languages. Data were collected using an elicited imitation task. Subjects were asked to repeat 24 sentences, in each language, 10 containing prepositions which are used in adverbials (PP-adv), and 14 containing prepositions which are governed by the verb (PP-verb).

We argue that while code interference is not a unique feature of SLI, the unsystematic substitution errors are unique to SLI. Substitutions of prepositions governed by the verb by SLI children show that they know the theta-grid for each verb and therefore know that a preposition is needed (Botwinik-Rotem 2004), but do not know which preposition it is. Thus they pick up any preposition, with preference for *in* and *on*, the semantics of which is less restricted. Substitutions of adverbial prepositions by SLI children show again that they know that a preposition is needed from the semantics of the adverbial, rather than from the theta-grid. Since no mapping of theta-roles is involved, the semantics of the adverbial helps the child choose the correct preposition, and thus there are fewer errors. These substitution errors can be related to a general impairment in procedural memory (Ullman et al, 2005) rather than in declarative memory, and are therefore manifested in the same way in both languages, despite the typological differences between English and Hebrew.



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## Abstracts AG 4

### The linguistic realization of evidentiality in European languages

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Vladimir A. Plungian

Institute of Linguistics, Moscow

**Types of verbal evidentiality marking: towards a general typology**

Mi 14.30-15.30, Raum: H/016 (Ost)

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Recent typological studies provide several working classifications of evidential meanings which try to cover the world's languages as broadly as possible. The publications in the field which are referred to most frequently seem to be Aikhenvald (2004) and de Haan (2005); earlier influential papers include Givón (1982), Willett (1988), Lazard (1999) and Friedman (2000), among many others. Some points, however, remain at issue. The most important among them are: (i) the interaction of evidentiality and modality (widely discussed in a number of conflicting approaches), and (ii) possible semantic extensions of evidential markers, primarily, the so-called mirative values.

So far, the classification of evidential *values* is much more elaborated (and agreed upon) than the classification of evidential *systems*. The paper proposes an overview of possible evidential systems and argues that one of the most important division within them is that between "modalized" and "non-modalized" evidential systems (the term was first proposed in Plungian (2001)). The role and status of modal values differ according to the type of evidential system, and, most probably, there is no unified answer to the question about how modality and evidentiality are related (if at all). The same is true for the analysis of mirative values: their status depends on the type of the evidentiality system, and modalized systems tend to integrate mirativity in a more consistent way than non-modalized ones.

Aikhenvald, A. (2004), *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford U. Press.

de Haan, F. (2005), Encoding speaker perspective: evidentials. In: Z. Frajzyngier et al. (eds.), *Linguistic diversity and language theories*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 379-397.

Friedman, V. (2000), Confirmative / nonconfirmative in Balkan Slavic, Balkan Romance, and Albanian with additional observations on Turkish, Romani, Georgian and Lak. In: L. Johanson & B. Utas (eds.), *Evidentials: Turkic, Iranian and neighbouring languages*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 329-366.

Givón, T. (1982), Evidentiality and epistemic space. *Studies in language*, 6.1, 23-49.

Lazard, G. (1999), Mirativity, evidentiality, mediativity, or other? *Linguistic typology*, 3.1, 91-109.

Plungian, V. (2001), The place of evidentiality within the universal grammatical space. *Journal of pragmatics*, 33.3, 349-357.

Willett, Th. (1988), A cross-linguistic survey of the grammaticization of evidentiality. *Studies in language*, 12.1, 51-97.

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*Katerina Stathi*

Freie Universität Berlin

**The rise of evidential markers in Modern Greek**

Mi 15.30-16.00, Raum: H/016 (Ost)

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Like most European languages, Modern Greek does not have a grammatical system of evidentiality. Moreover, for a language spoken in the Balkans Modern Greek is unusual in that it lacks grammatical coding of evidentiality (cf. Joseph 2003).

Nevertheless, tendencies of grammaticalization of evidential markers in the verbal domain can be observed both in earlier stages of the language and in real-time. The case of the verb of speech *léi* '(one) says' which grammaticalizes to a reported speech marker meaning 'allegedly, reportedly' in the 3. person singular, is already mentioned in Aikhenvald (2004: 150-151, 272).

Additionally, there is synchronic evidence for the grammaticalization of the verbs *apiló* 'threaten', *ipósxome* 'promise' and *fénome* 'appear/seem' to evidential markers, as in languages like German and English.

Furthermore, the particle *tha*, which is used for the expression of tense (future) as well as epistemic modality, has also developed to a marker of inferred evidentiality in a construction with the imperfect.

In this paper we will discuss the grammaticalization tendencies that lead to the emergence of evidential markers in Modern Greek, focusing of verbal constructions. We will thereby address two issues. Firstly, we will discuss the processes that lead to the grammaticalization of particular verbs and constructions to evidential markers in the light of similar processes that are well-attested for other European languages. Secondly, we will discuss which interrelations between evidentiality and other categories (for example tense and mood) can be particularly observed in the case of Greek. Our findings are based on corpus-based analyses using both synchronic data (from the Hellenic National Corpus) as well as diachronic data.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (2004). *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Joseph, Brian (2003). 'Evidentials. Summation, questions, prospects', in Aikhenvald, A. Y. and Dixon, R. M. W. (eds.) *Studies in Evidentiality*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 307-327.

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*Nóra Kugler*

Loránd Eötvös University (ELTE), Budapest

**The modalized evidential system in Hungarian**

Mi 16.30-17.00, Raum H/016 (Ost)

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Epistemic modality and inferential evidentiality are widely recognized to be overlapping domains rather than separate categories (van der Auwera–Plungian 1998: 86, Plungian 2001: 354). This treatment receives substantial empirical support from the



analysis of Hungarian, in which both functions are expressed by the same markers (Kugler 2003, 2003–2005: 59). In my presentation, I interpret the results of my corpus-based study within the framework of functional linguistics.

The linguistic coding of epistemic modality and evidentiality can be regarded as the manifestation of natural epistemology (Chafe–Nichols 1986: vii). The inferential process and interpretation in general can be affected by relevance and (Givón's) implicit communicative contract (Givón 1982: 24). The marking of epistemic attitude and indirect evidence is generally highly relevant in verbal interaction, and has a strong metapragmatic function (Verscheuren 1999).

I interpret evidentiality in Hungarian as a 'modalized evidential system' (Plungian 2001: 354) with a bias for the distinction between reliable (direct) and unreliable (indirect or inferred) evidence.

Also significant in Hungarian is the quotative type of evidence, subtly related to epistemic modality. For example, the stance adverb *állítólag* 'allegedly' indicates that the speaker commits herself to some extent to the truth of the statement, but adds a degree of uncertainty by locating the source of evidence externally. Combining elements of perspectivization and subjectification (Sanders–Spooren 1997: 96), this adverb is also a clear example of how the systems of evidentiality and modality can be closely intertwined.

In Hungarian, there is no coherent morphological system of evidential affixes or clitics. Evidential functions appear to be less than straightforwardly grammaticalized, and are generally linked to lexical rather than grammatical devices. Although the mood suffixes *-nA* (quotative / inferential evidence) and *-hAt* (inferential evidence) seem to be associated with some of these functions, they compare poorly to what lexical items can express, cf. *állítólag* 'allegedly', *valóban, tényleg* 'indeed' (degree of commitment to the proposition), *eltehet le* 'presumably', *val sz n le* 'probably' (epistemic modality), and so on.

Chafe, Wallace–Nichols, Johanna (eds.) (1986). *Evidentiality: the linguistic coding of epistemology*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Givón, Talmy (1982). Evidentiality and epistemic space. *Studies in Language* 6, 23–49.

Kugler, Nóra (2003). *A módosítószók funkciói*. (The functions of stance adverbs) *Nyelvtudományi Értekezések* 152. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Kugler, Nóra (2003–2005). Marking of speaker's uncertainty (epistemic possibility) in Hungarian. In I. Szathmári (ed.) *Annales Univ. Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae. Sectio Linguistica Tomus XXVI*. Budapest, 45–64.

Plungian, Vladimir A. (2001). The place of evidentiality within the universal grammatical space. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33, 349–57.

Sanders, José–Spooren, Wilbert (1997). Perspective, subjectivity, and modality from a cognitive linguistic point of view. In Liebert, Wolf–Andreas–Redeker, Gisele–Waugh, Linda (eds.): *Discourse and perspective in cognitive linguistics*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 85–112.

Van der Auwera, Johan–Plungian, Vladimir A. (1998). Modality's semantic map. *Linguistic Typology* 2, 79–124.

Verschuereen, Jef (1999). *Understanding pragmatics*. London: Arnold.

*Asier Alcazar*

University of Missouri at Columbia

**Grammatical encoding of lexical evidentiality in a Spanish-to-Basque parallel corpus**

Mi 17.00-17.30, Raum: H/016 (Ost)

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Among Western European languages, Basque is unique in presenting a grammatical ‘hearsay’ evidential. Reported evidence is marked with the particle *omen* and everything else is purportedly unmarked. *Omen* appears before the tensed verb, a reserved space in Basque syntax. Following descriptive grammars, researchers have noted modal/aspectual particles that occur in the same space: *bide* ‘apparently’, *ote* ‘dubitative’, *ohi* ‘habitual’, *al* ‘yes-no question’. Rare though it might be, they are nouns too: *omen* ‘reputation’, *ohi* ‘custom’, *ote* ‘doubt’, *bide* ‘motive’. This paper studies translation practice in a Spanish-to-Basque parallel corpus (e.g., 1: *omen* translates an adverb and a qualifying sentence).

(1) ...**aún** está lejos **la que parece** la opción definitiva: el que sea posible escribir al dictado.

‘**what seems to be** the best solution is **yet** to come: the day one could write by dictating’

Azkeneko aukera **omen** den esanera idatzi ahal izatea, ordea, urruti **omen** dugu oraino

The corpus used in this study is *Consumer Eroski* (1998-2006), a collection of magazine articles. We searched for modal/aspectual particles in the translations, recovering the Spanish originals. This offers an opportunity to assess whether some particles relate to evidential meaning, and whether certain meanings are grammaticalized. Even though Basque also has lexical means to express ‘hearsay’ evidence, equivalent to those of Spanish, translators tend to resort to *omen*.

That *omen* simply cites indirect evidence is contrary to fact. For example, Jendraschek (2003: 51) warns that *omen* may also express doubt. Our corpus study reveals that *omen* is also used as a generic in a similar capacity. New research avenues (DeLancey 1997, Aikhenvald 2003) include elements expressing unusual/surprising information as evidentials. *Ote* fits this epistemic reading, and serves other roles as well. For instance, it appears in questions used as section headlines (2). These examples could be interpreted as genuine questions with the particle *al*, or without *ote*.

(2) a. ¿Es cierto?

‘Is it true?’

Egia ote da hori?

b. ¿Este tipo de operaciones son muy habituales?

‘Are these type of operations very frequent?’

Ohikoak ote dira honelako eragiketak?

Regarding *ohi*, we confirm its equivalence with habitual aspect, but of a normative type (3).

(3) *habitualmente* ‘habitually’, *habitúan a* ‘they often...’, *es habitual* ‘it is habitual’, *acostumbra* ‘it is customary’, *normalmente* ‘normally’, *en general* ‘in general’, *actualmente* ‘nowadays’, *se entiende que* ‘one understands’, *a menudo/veces* ‘often/sometimes’, *comunes* ‘common’...

Translators employ *ohi* to convey evidence when the original does not contain lexical means. There is a phenomenon of aspectual competition affecting habitual aspect that *ohi* is indifferent to (Alcázar 2003), suggesting habitual aspect may be inferred from evidential *ohi*.

The corpus evidence we present, coupled with new research trends, suggest a reassessment of Basque as a language with several grammatical means of encoding evidence and knowledge. Parallel corpora help gather inventories of lexical evidentiality in Spanish via Basque evidentials.

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*Björn Wiemer*

Johannes Gutenberg Universität Mainz

**Hearsay and epistemic values cross-classified in an integrative approach to evidentiality marking in European languages**

Do 9.00-9.30, Raum: H/016 (Ost)

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I will start from the assumption that markers of evidentiality can be ordered along a cline stretching from grammatical toward lexical means (cf. Squartini, to appear; Wiemer 2006: 18-20). Under typical grammatical means we may subsume inflections (e.g. Turk. *-m*) and functional extensions of TMA-paradigms (like the perfect on the Balkans, the Causasus and in Baltic, or the conditional in French and Italian), whereas as lexical markers we may consider particles (like Cz. *prý*, Russ. *mol*), adverbials (like Eng. *allegedly*), parentheticals (e.g. Fr. *paraît-il*, Russ. *kažetsja*), conjunctions (e.g., Russ. *budto*) and some prepositions (like Germ. *gemäß, zufolge*). Somewhere in-between we can locate auxiliaries (e.g., Germ. *sollen*, Ital. *dovere*), perception verbs both with raising (as in Eng. *This workshop is supposed to become a good one*) and without (e.g., Span. *parece que*) as well as petrified copular participles (in Baltic: Lith. *es*, Latv. *esôt*) and predicatives (like Pol. *sł chać*).

On the basis of this rough classification the aim of the talk will be to show the areal distribution of hearsay marking in European languages. Special attention is paid to an assessment of Slavic and Baltic languages in the context of larger linguistic areas. The following criteria will be relevant:

1. The proportion between (more) lexical and (more) grammatical means in the languages. In particular, I will ask whether the distribution of markers along the cline

in a language is guided by a complementarity principle (more grammatical means, less lexical one, and vice versa). Preliminary observations make us believe that this is not the case.

2. The proportion between epistemically neutral markers (e.g., Germ. *sollen*, Pol. *podobno*, Ital. conditional) and markers with conventionalized epistemic overtones (e.g., Russ. *jakoby*, Rum. *chipurile*).

3. Irrespective of the interaction with epistemic modality, the proportion between markers restricted to hearsay (e.g. Germ. *angeblich*, Lith. *girdi*) and markers with an indifferent meaning of indirect evidence (e.g., Bulg. ‘preizkazni formi’, Eng. *apparently*, Russ. *kažetsja*, Georgian *titkos*).

These three criteria belong to three independent dimensions, so that we may ask whether their combinations render a random pattern of areal distribution or rather some clustering can be observed. A preliminary answer to this question will be supplied. The cross-classification of evidential markers along these parameters raises methodological issues which will be discussed, too.

Squartini, M. (to appear): Lexical vs. grammatical evidentiality in French and Italian. *Linguistics*.

Wiemer, B. (2006): Particles, parentheticals, conjunctions and prepositions as evidentiality markers in contemporary Polish (A first exploratory study). *Studies in Polish Linguistics* 3, 5-67.

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*Gerda Haßler*

Universität Potsdam

**Epistemic modality and evidentiality and their determination on a deictic basis**

Do 9.30-10.00, Raum: H/016 (Ost)

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In the Romance languages, modal adverbials, specific sentence constructions and prosodic means are included along with the modal verbs in the inventory of the ways to express modality. Used in this sense, modality is the expression of the speaker's attitude as evaluation of a fact or circumstance in positive-negative terms (evaluative attitude) or as evaluation of the probability of a fact or circumstance (validative attitude). A further linguistic dimension is added with the coding of the source from which the speaker has gained the information contained in his utterance (from direct visual observation/perception, through linguistic media, conclusion etc.). Specifying (or consciously concealing) the source of information conveyed in an utterance represents a basic communicative strategy which has been studied in linguistics in recent years under the term evidentiality. The linguistic means corresponding to this category, such as adverbials, certain usages of the French *conditionnel* or the Spanish *imperfecto* are termed “evidentials”.

Deixis will be utilised in this paper to identify evidential means. The deictic character of evidentiality has already been pointed out in earlier works (e.g. Jakobson 1957,

Schlichter 1986, Frawley 1992, Volkmann 2005). Deixis is defined as a specific mechanism of referentialisation, which refers to the context of the utterance and establishes a relationship to ego-hic-nunc. Evidentiality can be understood as a deictic phenomenon in so far as its markers refer to extra-linguistic elements such as the source of knowledge and the participant in the communication process who has access thereto. If the categories of deictic classification of the epistemic field which were suggested by Frawley (1992) are applied (deictic centre: ego or alter, directionality: going away from X or going toward X), four sub-categories will result: (1) going away from ego (inference), (2) going toward ego (scale of visual perception, auditive, other senses), (3) going away from alter (quote, message, rumour), (4) going toward alter (one to all possible conversation partners). Thus, deixis implies a perspectivation from the standpoint of the text producer, which the recipient must reinterpret from his own discursive position. While epistemic modality adds the attitude of the text producer, evidentiality presumes the establishment of a relationship to the source of knowledge by the recipient and thus a judgment of the credibility.

This paper will begin from the premise that there is no clear correlation of linguistic means to (epistemic) modality and to evidentiality in the Romance languages. However, both categories refer to semantic and pragmatic necessities which are manifested in the significance of the corresponding means. This will be demonstrated using examples from French, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese corpora.

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*Adriënne Heijnen & Alexandra Kratschmer*

Aarhus University

**Revelative evidentiality in European languages: linguistic coding and its anthropological background**

Do 10.00-10.30, Raum: H/016 (Ost)

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This collaboration between an anthropologist (Heijnen) and a linguist (Kratschmer) seeks to establish a first inventory of linguistic markers used in European languages for revelative evidentiality and proposes a typology of these markers (lexical vs. grammatical markers; independent vs. combinatorial markers; diachronic and synchronic semantic aspects; relation to epistemic modality, cfr. Kratschmer 2005, 2006; discourse related conditions of usage).

The term “revelative evidentiality” goes back to R. Jakobson (1957, quoted following Aikhenvald 2004: 345) where it covers the meaning “see in a dream”. We want to use the term “revelative evidentiality” for all information created inside the mind of a subject without direct input from the outside world (as seen from a positivistic view which is not necessarily the one of the experiencing subject, as we will show): besides dreams this also refers to visions/revelations, hallucinations, inspiration/ideas. Our present contribution focuses though uniquely on the linguistic marking of information revealed in dreams. Looking at linguistic markers of this subclass of revelative

evidentiality in biblical (Aramaic, Ancient Greek, Latin), Romance (Italian, French, Spanish) and Germanic (Icelandic, Faroese, Dutch, German, Danish) languages, we will show to what extent the linguistic realization of revelative information source marking depends on cultural traditions of conceptualizing dream experiences and on their social function. We will especially focus on the Greek dream conception that has widely influenced European dream conception and linguistic marking of dream telling in general (cfr. Heijnen 2005) and which seems unique among the cultures of the world judging from the linguistic treatment of dream evidentiality as inventorized so far by Aikhenvald (2004: 344-347).

We want to emphasize that we use the concept of “evidentiality” – against Aikhenvald – for all linguistic manifestations of information source marking (lexical markers, grammatical markers vehiculating additional evidential nuances as well as genuine grammaticalized information source markers, amongst which only the latter are given the label “evidentiality” by Aikhenvald 2004: 3ff.).

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (2004). *Evidentiality*. Oxford University Press.

Heijnen, Adriëne (2005). *Dream Sharing in Iceland*. PhD thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, Århus.

Kratschmer, Alexandra (2005). “Raising- og Small Clause-konstruktioner med italiensk *sembrare/parere*: polyfoni og evidentialitet”. In: *Arbejdsrapporter 3, Sprogligt Polyfoninätværk*. RUC. 101-137.

Kratschmer, Alexandra (2006). “Che te ne sembra? Semantica e pragmatica delle costruzioni italiane con *sembrare/parere*”. In: *Atti del XVI Congresso dei Romanisti Scandivani, Copenhagen und Roskilde, 24-27 agosto 2005*, <http://www.ruc.dk/isok/skriftserier/XVI-SRK-Pub/MMH/>

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*Bert Cornillie*

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

**An interactional approach to evidential and epistemic adverbs in Spanish conversation**

Do 10.30-11.00, Raum: H/016 (Ost)

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In many accounts epistemic and evidential meanings are lumped together as commitment expressions with similar functions. It is said that they show up and, hence, can be interchanged, in the same context. This may be true, but it does not mean that they all have the same discourse function. A closer look at the conversational context indicates that Spanish epistemic and evidential adverbs, though sometimes indeed interchangeable, often serve specific interactional purposes in the process of turn-taking and sequential order. It is my assumption that the meaning of these (and other) expressions is formed through talk-in-interaction.

My analysis is based on a sample of *aparentemente* ‘apparently’, *evidentemente* ‘obviously’, *obviamente* ‘obviously’, *claro* ‘of course’, *supuestamente* ‘supposedly’, *a lo mejor* ‘perhaps’, *igual* ‘perhaps’, *quizá* ‘maybe’. The data come from the *Corpus de*

*conversaciones coloquiales* (100.000 words, Val.es.Co. Valencia) and the conversational section of the *Corpus oral del castellano* (269.500 words, UAM. Madrid).

Looking for alignment is an important element of the discourse organization in which the speaker and the interlocutor(s) are involved. I show that *claro* ‘of course’, *evidentemente* ‘obviously’, *obviamente* ‘obviously’, *a lo mejor* ‘perhaps’ and *igual* ‘perhaps’ tend to be used as “alignment seekers” more often than *aparentemente* ‘apparently’, *supuestamente* ‘supposedly’ and *quizá* ‘maybe’. The former adverbs play a more important role in the discourse organization than the latter ones: they can either appear at the beginning or at the end of a turn. This position allows for handing the turn over to the other participants to evaluate or validate. The other adverbs, by contrast, do not show up at the end of a turn.

From a semantic point of view, the evidential content of the first series of adverbs is little or at least quite vague, which allows for “doing some very routinized interactional work” (Kärkkäinen 2003:183). The other ones are less advanced in the process toward becoming interactional markers, i.e. they are more attached to their original meaning of *aparecer* ‘showing up’, *suponer* ‘suppose’ and *saber* ‘know’ (*quizá ~ quien sabe* ‘who knows’).

The analysis crosscuts the traditionally established epistemic and evidential functional categories. It separates the more frequent adverbs from the less frequent ones on the basis of recurrent interactional patterns. By doing so, this paper goes beyond the common focus on what a modal qualification does to the propositional content of an utterance.

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*Dirk Noël*

University of Hong Kong

**The English evidential nominative and infinitive construction**

Do 11.30-12.00, Raum: H/016 (Ost)

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The English nominative and infinitive pattern (or NCI, short for Latin ‘nominativus cum infinitivo’), which consists of a passive utterance, cognition or perception verb followed by a *to*-infinitive, can realize various form-meaning pairings (or ‘constructions’). The pattern can simply be an instantiation of the passive construction, as in (1), where the utterance verb of *are said to* refers to a specific statement made in a text. In (2), on the other hand, there is no explicit reference to a communicative exchange. Here the *is said to* pattern functions as an evidentiality marker, on a par with *reportedly*, used in the second sentence in the example.

- (1) Above Dr. Ravnskov’s findings are dismissed as being out of step with mainstream medicine. Yet here they *are said to* be true. Which is it?
- (2) Amy Winehouse Gets Rap Makeover From Jay-Z  
Rapper Shawn ‘Jay-Z’ Carter has reportedly given Amy Winehouse’s song Rehab a hip-hop makeover to help the British soul star break into the main-

stream American market. The Def Jam president *is said to* be a big fan of Winehouse's sultry vocals, and has remixed her single Rehab to make it appeal to a wider audience.

This NCI pattern was mentioned by Chafe (1986) in his comparison of evidentiality in English conversation and academic writing. Noël (2001) has argued that from a synchronic point of view the evidential NCI can be construed as a grammaticalization of the passive NCI. Historically, however, the situation in which there was only a passive NCI and no evidential one, which is implicit in the grammaticalization scenario, seems never to have existed, since it is very likely that the evidential NCI was borrowed from Latin. (3) contains an example of the Latin NCI construction it was probably modelled on.

- (3) Nullam caedem Otho maiore laetitia excepisse, nullum caput tam insatiabilibus oculis perlustrasse *dicitur*, ... (Tacitus, *Historiae Liber* 1, 44)  
'Otho is said to have extracted no greater joy from any other murder, and to have scrutinized no (severed) head which such insatiable eyes, ...'

The paper's conclusions about the genre-specificity of the (evidential) NCI and its entrenchment as a schematic construction will be based on a comparison of quantitative data from the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts and the British National Corpus.

Chafe, Wallace. 1986. Evidentiality in English conversation and academic writing. In Wallace Chafe and Johanna Nichols, eds., *Evidentiality: the linguistic coding of epistemology*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex. 261-272.

Noël, Dirk. 2001. The passive matrices of English infinitival complement clauses: Evidentials on the road to auxiliarihood? *Studies in Language* 25 (2): 255-296.

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*Mathias Schenner & Hatice Coskun*

ZAS Berlin & Universität Frankfurt am Main

**Evidentials in complement clauses: evidence from Turkish**

Do 12.00-12.30, Raum: H/016 (Ost)

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It has often been argued that evidentials do not contribute to the proposition expressed, but operate on the speech act level: For example, they cannot scope under negation and often fail truth-conditionality tests. However, Ifantidou (2001) demonstrated that evidential adverbials in English do contribute to truth-conditions, using embeddability in the antecedent of conditionals as a test (cf. (1a)). Similar facts hold for German reportative *sollen* ('shall') (cf. (1b)).

- (1) a. If the cook has *allegedly* poisoned the soup, the police should make an inquiry  
b. Wenn der Koch die Suppe vergiftet haben *soll*, sollte die Polizei in der Sache ermitteln



If evidentials in at least some languages can have truth-conditional effects, we expect them to be licensed in embedded contexts as well. Surprisingly little research has focused on evidentials in embedded clauses so far.

It has been claimed (cf. e.g. Aikhenvald 2003, 17), that evidentials cannot occur in embedded contexts. We will show that this does not hold in general. For example, the Turkish indirective marker *-mi* often occurs in complements of utterance predicates (e.g. *de-* ‘say’ in (2a)) or mental state predicates as well as in subject clauses (e.g. of the predicate *iyi* ‘good’ in (2b)).

- (2) a. Ali de-d-I                    ki            Maria dün                    iki            tiyatro bilet-I            satın al-mış  
 Ali say-PRET-3SG                    COMP Maria yesterday two            theater tickets-3SG buy-INDIR-3SG  
 ‘Ali said that Maria (allegedly) bought two theater tickets yesterday’
- b. İyi            ki            Maria dün                    iki            tiyatro bilet-I                    satın al- mış  
 good COMP            Maria yesterday two theater tickets-3SG                    buy-INDIR-3SG  
 ‘It is good that Maria (allegedly) bought two theater tickets yesterday’

However, the distribution of indirective marking is not completely free in embedded clauses. Two important factors that influence the acceptability of embedded evidentials in Turkish are the choice of the complementizer (*ki* vs. *diye*) and the type of the embedding predicate. For example, the mental state predicate *bil-* ‘know, think’ allows indirective marking in its complement only if it is headed by the complementizer *diye*, but not if the complementizer *ki* is used.

We will address the following questions in detail, using both corpus data and native speaker acceptability judgments: (a) Which factors influence the acceptability of embedded evidentials? For example, how can the contrast illustrated in (3) be explained? (b) What are the semantic effects of embedding evidentials? In particular, are embedded evidentials speaker-oriented or subject-oriented and are there truth-conditional effects? (c) What implications follow from the embeddability of evidentials for the general picture of evidentiality?

Aikhenvald, A. Y. (2003), ‘Evidentiality in typological perspective’, in A. Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon (eds.), *Studies in Evidentiality*, Benjamins, Amsterdam, 1–31.

Ifantidou, E. (2001), *Evidentials and Relevance*, Benjamins, Amsterdam.

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*Richard J. Whitt*

University of California at Berkeley

**Evidentiality, polysemy, and perception verbs: a corpus-based analysis of  
 English and German**

Do 12.30-13.00, Raum: H/016 (Ost)

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Both English and German perception verbs evince a broad array of evidential meaning, ranging from first-hand observation to hearsay to inference. Consider the following:

- (1) *Ich höre ihn singen.*  
*I hear him singing.*
- (2) *Ich höre, dass er verrückt ist.*  
*I hear (that) he's crazy.*
- (3) *Ich sehe sie laufen.*  
*I see her running.*
- (4) *Ich sehe, dass sie mich töten will.*  
*I see (that) she wants to kill me.*
- (5) *Ich rieche, dass es Knoblauch in der Suppe gibt.*  
*I smell (that) there's garlic in the soup.*
- (6) *Es riecht nach Skandal.*  
*It smells like a scandal.*

It has often been noted that perception verbs can give rise to evidential meaning (Anderson 1986; Chafe 1986; Willett 1988; Sweetser 1990; Palmer 2001; Aikhenvald 2004). However, an in-depth analysis of evidential meaning among perception verbs has not been carried out, nor has the polysemy that exists among perception verbs (see, for example, Sweetser 1990 or Harm 2000) been linked to the wide-range of evidential meaning that evidential verbs can signify.

My study is a corpus-based analysis of evidential meaning signified by English and German perception verbs from the Early Modern period to the present. I have two goals in mind: I wish to examine the wide range of evidential meaning one finds among perception verbs and link this to the polysemy that exists among non-evidential uses of perception verbs; in addition, I will examine the various types of syntactic environments in which evidential perception appear (e.g. PERCEP VERB + ACCUSATIVE + INFINITIVE, PERCEP VERB + THAT-CLAUSE, etc.), and see if and how this ties in with the broad range of evidential meanings attested by perception verbs. My study also touches on more foundational issues related to evidentiality, i.e. the role of subjectification, personal deixis, and the connection with epistemic modality.

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (2004). *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Anderson, Lloyd B. (1986). "Evidentials, Paths of Change, and Mental Maps: Typologically Regular Asymmetries." *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*. Eds. Wallace Chafe and Johanna Nichols. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 273-312.
- Chafe, Wallace (1986). "Evidentiality in English Conversation and Academic Writing." Chafe/ Nichols (eds.), 261-272.
- Harm, Volker (2000). *Regularitäten des semantischen Wandels bei Wahrnehmungsverben des Deutschen*. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Sweetser, Eve E. (1990). *From Etymology to Pragmatics: Metaphorical and Cultural Aspects of Semantic Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Willett, Thomas (1988). "A Cross-Linguistic Survey of the Grammaticalization of Evidentiality." *Studies in Language* 12-1, 51-97.

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*Virginia Hill*

University of New Brunswick (SJ)

**Adverb grammaticalization as source for evidential markers**

Fr 9.00-9.30, Raum: H/016 (Ost)

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On the basis of data from Romanian, this paper argues that adverbs receive an evidential reading only under grammaticalization. The grammaticalization entails a re-analysis of the adverb in the domain of *speech acts* which are syntactically computed to determine the set-up for the utterance.

The empirical data concern adverbs such as *sigur* ‘surely’, *ire te* ‘naturally’, which take propositional scope in two configurations: as preverbal (1a) or as preceding a ‘that’ indicative clause (1b).

(1) a. *Sigur vine la ora cinci.*

Surely comes at hour five// “Of course s/he comes at five o’clock.”

b. *Sigur că vine la ora cinci.*

Surely that comes at hour five// “Of course s/he comes at five o’clock.”

Traditional accounts on (1) (e.g., *Grammatica Academiei* 1967) consider (1a) as a monoclausal structure, and (1b) as a biclausal structure, where the matrix contains a non-lexical copula ‘be’+ adverb predication. Empirically, the account on (1b) fails: the predicative association with ‘be’ works for adjectives but not for adverbs. *Sigur* happens to have identical forms as adjective and as adverb; however, other adverbs of the same class, which differ from their adjectival forms, rule out the ‘be’ predication. This paper demonstrates that (1b) is also a monoclausal structure, and that the sentential adverb has the properties of a speech act marker as long as it has an evidential reading. Syntactically, the speech act status implies the properties of a non-projecting item that behaves as a functional (versus substantive) category.

The arguments towards the functional status of the evidential adverb in (1) come from syntactic tests showing that:

- *sigur* embeds (versus adjoins to) the ‘that’ clause in (1b) in the absence of a ‘be’;
- *sigur* cannot take modifiers in (1b), although it displays them elsewhere;
- *sigur* may take modifiers in (1a) (e.g., ‘more surely’) but it loses the evidential reading, although it maintains the propositional scope;
- *sigur* in (1b) cannot be replaced with an adverbial PP (e.g., ‘in way sure’), although it freely alternates with such PPs elsewhere;
- *sigur* in (1a) may alternate with an adverbial PP, but it loses its evidential reading.
- any adverb that allows for an evidential reading displays the same properties.

These results indicate that as long as *sigur* has a phrasal status (i.e., a substantive category projecting to AdvP) it cannot have an evidential reading. For the evidential reading to occur, *sigur* must be non-phrasal and it must be merged in a functional

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head that occurs outside the highest level of the core syntactic structure (i.e., above the complementizer ‘that’). Therefore, only grammaticalization leads to evidentiality. In conclusion, evidential *sigur* in (1a, b) is the marker of a functional head that “oversees” the syntax, whereas the forms of *sigur* with non-evidential reading are substantive categories inserted in the regular core syntactic structure. The spell-out of ‘that’ in (1) is optional. Cinque (1999) argues that the “overseers” of core syntax are speech act heads which introduce pragmatic features into computation at the interface between discourse and syntax. In this framework, the properties of evidential *sigur* listed above qualify it as a speech act head.

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*Francis Grossmann & Agnès Tutin*

Université Stendhal, Grenoble III

**Evidential markers in French scientific writing: the case of the lexicon of perception**

Fr 9.30-10.00, Raum: H/016 (Ost)

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The notion of evidentiality covers all marks signaling what testifies to the validity of the information stated by a speaker or writer. In scientific genres, in which the academic sources of knowledge have to be marked, perception lexicon can be used to express empirical evidence. Several markers (see Dendale 1994) are used in everyday language to express perception evidence (*apparemment, visiblement*), or inferences (*certainement, sûrement*). Some markers can express hearsay (*il paraît que*), but Nølke (1994) has shown that a more precise distributional and semantic analysis will be required to differentiate the uses of *il paraît que, il semble que* (as well as, in our case, *apparemment, visiblement*) which are, like *certainement* or *sûrement*, frequent inference markers.

Our goal is to apply this program to scientific genres, and to examine more complex syntactical and lexical systems expressing the differences between appearance and fact, or assumption and empirical evidence, for instance in concessive structures or sentences with adverbials such as *en fait*, which mark an opposition between appearances and reality (Blumenthal 1996; Grossmann & Wirth, 2007).

Our study will be based on a corpus of French scientific writings in linguistics and economics including theses, reports and scientific articles (about 1.3 million words). Lexico-syntactic patterns of evidentiality will be analysed with the help of the corpus processing tool Nooj built by Silberztein (2004). Evidentiality patterns will be annotated in texts in an interactive way and analyzed in a second step. Beside frequency and distribution of these markers among disciplines and genres, we will observe and compare the linguistic uses and the rhetorical functions of these markers. In this paper, we will also focus on two questions that specifically relate to evidentiality: (a) What are the main functions of these perception markers in the genre under study, namely the scientific writing? Can we distinguish an attenuation function

(since appearance is not reality) and an empirical function (since facts are matter of observation)? If yes, how are these two main functions made manifest (frequency? meaning and use of markers? existence of specific markers?) (b) What is the best theoretical frame for an analysis of these markers? Is the polyphonic approach in the line of ScaPoLine (Nølke) the most appropriate tool for such a study? We will also consider an additional question: (c) Is there a specific use of this sub-category of markers according to the discipline and/or the subgenre (paper or thesis).

- Blumenthal, P. (1996). "Le connecteur en fait." In Muller, C. (ed.) *Dépendance et intégration syntaxique. Subordination, coordination, connexion*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 257-269.
- Dendale, P. & Tasmowski, L. (eds) (1994). Les sources du savoir et leurs marques linguistiques, *Langue Française*, 102.
- Grossmann, F. & Wirth, F. (2007). "Marking Evidentiality in Scientific Papers: The Case of Expectation Markers". In K. Fløttum (Ed.), *Language and Discipline Perspectives on Academic Discourse*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle, UK, 202-218.
- Nølke, H. (1994). La dilution linguistique des responsabilités. Essai de description polyphonique des marqueurs évidentiels *il semble que* et *il paraît que*, *Langue Française*, 102, 84-94.
- Silberztein, M. (2004). "NooJ : an oriented object approach". In Royauté, J. & Silberztein, M. (eds) *INTEX pour la Linguistique et le Traitement Automatique des Langues. Proceedings of the 4th and 5th INTEX workshop*, Bordeaux, mai 2001 et Marseille, mai 2002, Besançon: Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté.

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Mareile Knees, Manfred Consten & Monika Schwarz-Friesel

Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena

**Complex anaphors as evidential markers**

Fr 10.00-10.30, Raum: H/016 (Ost)

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During the so-called complexation process, complex anaphors condense propositionally structured text segments and establish their referents (events, processes, states) as unified discourse objects (sometimes evaluating them, see (1b,c), cf. Consten/ Knees/ Schwarz-Friesel 2007).

- (1) **Ratzinger has been elected Pope.** (a) *This* was just reported on tv. (b) *This catastrophe* was a bad setback for ecumenism. (c) *This godsend* will strengthen the bonds between papacy and theology.

We investigate complex anaphors as evidential markers in a German newspaper corpus. The anaphoric complexation can be neutral with respect to evidential marking (as in (1a), (4)), confirm it (as in (2)) or change it (as in (3)).

- (2) *Die Sozialdemokraten führen eine Geisterschlacht um die moderne Wirtschaftspolitik. „Die Sozis verstehen nichts vom Geld.“ Dieses (Vor-)Urteil jedenfalls steht schon mal fest.* (TigerKorpus 18199-18201)
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In (2), the antecedent is represented by direct speech so that the truth value of the proposition remains unspecified on the text-world level. Due to its lexical properties, the anaphor confirms the unspecified truth value. The antecedent in (3) is a proposition (indirect speech) which is marked as untrue by the lexical meaning of the complex anaphor.

- (3) *Der japanische Minister für Koordination, Takami Eto, ist zurückgetreten. Vor vier Wochen hatte er bei einem Hintergrundgespräch mit Journalisten gesagt, **Japan habe Korea während der Kolonialzeit (von 1910 bis 1945) „einiges Gute“ getan.** Die südkoreanische Zeitung Dong-A zitierte ihn mit der Bemerkung, **es habe in Korea kein Erziehungssystem gegeben, bevor die Japaner gekommen seien. Korea habe Japan zu verdanken, daß es heute so erfolgreich sei.** [...] Ein Sprecher des südkoreanischen Außenministeriums erklärte: „Wir sind geschockt und verärgert über dieses verzerrte Geschichtsbild eines japanischen Politikers.“ (TigerKorpus 22295-22303)*

In cases like (4), one needs to differentiate between the intentions of quoted actants and the illocution intended by the author. In such cases, the epistemic status of the referent of the complex anaphor has to be derived from the cotext.

- (4) ***Die Beweislage sei gar nicht so dünn,** meint Wolfgang Langmack vom LKA. Der Anwalt eines 17jährigen Jungen, der als bisher einziger Verdächtiger von LKA-Beamten vernommen wurde, sieht das anders: „Die haben so gut wie nichts in der Hand.“ (TigerKorpus 203-205)*

To sum up: Complex anaphors are means of evidentiality, namely by marking the epistemic status of its referent. In some cases, this marking is overridden by the cotext in the course of the complexation process.

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## Abstracts AG 5

### Tense across languages

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*Hamida Demirdache & Oana Lungu*

Université de Nantes/ LLING EA 3827

#### **On the present and the past in French child language**

Mi 14.00-14.30, Raum: U5/117

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We report the findings of an experimental study designed to test the construal of past and present tense morphemes in French child language (Truth-value judgment tasks carried out with 3 groups of children aged from 3;08 to 6). We discuss some surprising non-adult construals of the present and the ‘imparfait’ in both independent contexts and subordinate contexts (relative and complement clauses). We argue that on these non-adult construals: (i) the ‘imparfait’ (as opposed to the ‘passé composé’ (present perfect)) does not carry any meaning of *anteriority with respect to the local evaluation time* (UT-T or the matrix situation-time in subordinate contexts), and (ii) the present is non-indexical, non-deictic, does not convey any meaning of *simultaneity relative to UT-T*.

We conclude that French child language provides strong evidence for referential theories of tenses according to which the past and present tense morphemes are temporal variables saturating the time argument position of the predicate to which they are affixed. On this view, past and present tenses are temporal analogues of pronouns that may be ‘bound’ by other time denoting elements in the sentence or the discourse (e.g. Enç 1986, Abush 1994, Heim 1994, Kratzer 1998 or Kusomoto 1999). Non-adult patterns of construal arise when the present & the ‘imparfait’ act as bound variables or ‘zero’ tenses in the sense of Kratzer (1998): they are time variables with no temporal features at all, that is, with no presuppositions on the values to be assigned to these time variables (the temporal analogue of pronouns without *phi*-features –that is, bound or zero pronouns). The binder of these time variables can be the matrix SIT-T in a subordinate context, an overt time-denoting phrase (adverb) or some salient time in the discourse in independent contexts.

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*Uwe Reyle & Antje Rossdeutscher*

Universität Stuttgart

#### **Underspecification and resolution of the perfect in lexicon-based UDRT**

Mi 14.30-15.00, Raum: U5/117

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We present a UDRT-based ((Reyle:1993), (Reyle/Rossdeutscher/Kamp:2005)) analysis of the German perfect that follows earlier accounts of the German tense and aspect system ((Klein:1994), (Klein:2000), (Stechow:1999), and (Musan:2002)) in assuming

that all perfect tenses have the structure TENSE(PERF(VP)), where PERF is an aspect operator. We show how certain scope relations between PERF and temporal adverbs (locating adverbs as well as quantificational adverbs) can be eliminated during meaning construction such that the correct set of meanings is predicted. In particular we account for the fact that (i) a sentence like (*Paulchen ist letztes Jahr oft abgereist*) does not have all the 6 interpretations that correspond to the different scope relations between PERF, (*oft*) and (*gestern*), and (ii) the set of its possible readings differs from those of the sentences (*Paulchen war letztes Jahr oft abgereist*), (*Paulchen ist letztes Jahr oft verreist*), and (*Paulchen war letztes Jahr oft verreist*).

The interpretation process is based on an architecture that calculates meanings in two steps. First a single preliminary representation (subsuming all possible readings of a sentence) is constructed that leaves scope relations as well as certain aspects of temporal reference underspecified. This underspecification may then be (partially) resolved during the next interpretation step, which essentially consists of a process of consistent enrichment of the underspecified representations built up so far according to certain semantic principles. These principles are derived on the one hand from the lexical entries (in particular, verbs that imply target states allow for a broader range of specifications than verbs that don't). On the other hand they apply to the ways in which underspecification may be resolved (e.g., present or past perfect sentences do not allow for a location of their underlying events and at the same time but by different means of their result states), or are defined wrt. the form and content of the resulting (less underspecified) representations.

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*Brenda Laca & Patricia Cabredo-Hofherr*

Université de Paris VIII

**When "perfect" means "plural": the so-called present perfect in some American Ibero-Romance varieties**

Mi 15.00-15.30, Raum: U5/117

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One of the most puzzling facts in the study of “compound tenses” is that those whose auxiliary is in the Present Indicative usually show a different, more restricted distribution than non-present or non-indicative forms. In this contribution, we examine the behavior of the *ter* ‘have’ + PP construction in a particularly restrictive Northeastern variety of Brazilian Portuguese, which requires a plurality of distinct events/intervals when appearing in the present indicative. By contrast, *haber* “have” + PP in similarly restrictive varieties of American Spanish has the distribution of well-behaved Universal perfects. The fact that the “Present Perfect” in the former case not only specifies the relative location of the interval of evaluation, but also the internal structure of this interval, poses a major problem of compositionality for approaches that distinguish between “lower aspect” as affecting temporal structure and a time-rationally conceived “higher aspect”. Such problems are similar in nature to those



arising in the analysis of habituais –if habituality is indeed closely associated with imperfectivity.

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*Michael Rödel*

Universität Bamberg

**Double perfect constructions in German**

Mi 15.30-16.00, Raum: U5/117

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Every perfect form in German can be expanded to a double perfect form with the participles *gehabt* / *gewesen* respectively (*Ich habe den Film schon gesehen gehabt*). The auxiliary determines which of the double perfect participles must be used. This expansion of the perfect form is also possible in reference to the pluperfect, future II (*Ich werde den Film gesehen gehabt haben*) and the subjunctive equivalents of the perfect forms (*Ich wünschte, ich hätte den Film schon gesehen gehabt*).

Whereas the double perfect is frequently regarded as a mere substitute of the pluperfect in the South of Germany, where preterite decay is common, the expansions with *gehabt* and *gewesen* are attributed a special function in the subjunctive: while 'ordinary' tense forms lose part of their temporal information when put into the subjunctive form, the double perfect may be used to express a clear reference to the past.

When describing the usage of the double perfect in German, the function of its equivalents in the subjunctive must be paid special attention. For a general interpretation of the phenomenon it is central to know whether the expansion of the structure has the same effects both in the indicative and subjunctive mood. At the same time it is of high importance to find out to which extent the discoveries concerning the architecture of the construction and its historical genesis may be helpful in reference to the problem of preterite decay.

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*Judith Tonhauser*

Ohio State University

**The Paraguayan Guarani future marker „-ta“**

Mi 16.30-17.00, Raum: U5/117

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This talk examines the meaning of the Paraguayan Guarani future marker "-ta" in the context of the Guarani temporal system, and compares "-ta" to future markers in other languages. Four central properties of Guarani "-ta" are the following. (i) Guarani "-ta" is realized with future time reference only (e.g. in the contexts of prediction, intention and expectation), and cannot realize an epistemic modal meaning with present time reference (unlike English "will" in "Don't worry, he'll be with his friends"). (ii) Guarani does not have past or future tenses, and "-ta" can be translated (depending on the context) with English "will" or "would", similarly to St'at'imcets "kelh". (iii)

Unlike St'at'imcets "kelh", Guarani"- ta" always has universal force. (iv) In embedded clauses, unmarked verbs (which are compatible only with past or present time reference main clauses) are compatible with future time reference if "-ta" occurs in the main clause. After identifying the relevant properties of "-ta" , I propose an analysis of "-ta" as a modal with a future time reference meaning component.

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*Lynn Wales*

University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia

**French synthetic future**

Mi 17.00-17.30, Raum: U5/117

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Two related claims have been influential in Romance Linguistics literature:

1. Synthetic future tenses in spoken Western Romance are now rivalled as temporal functors by the periphrastic GO futures (Fleischman (1982), Harris (1988), Posner (1996)). Bybee et al (1994) place this proposal within a more general theory about the provenance of future tenses.

2. Synthetic futures in spoken Romance now express modal rather than temporal meaning. (Fleischman and Harris). Fleischman (supported by Bybee (1985)) sees this proposal as part of a cycle of diachronic change, wherein initially analytic verb forms expressing modal or aspectual values become future tense forms, coincidentally, becoming morphologically synthetic. The synthetic forms then develop new modal meanings consistent with their future tense status. These eventually supplant the temporal meanings, which are taken up by new analytic forms.

Data challenging both claims have been presented for French, for example by Wales (1982, 2003), Jeanjean (1988) and Gobert & Maisier (1995). Positive evidence shows the future tense continuing to express temporal meaning. Negatively, evidence of modal uses for this tense is lacking.

The temporal values of the French synthetic future are briefly illustrated from speech and newspaper data. To offset the lack of evidence on modal usage in natural data, evidence is then presented from two elicitation studies, conducted twenty years apart, of French speakers' acceptance of this form for temporal and modal meanings, and of preferences between the future tense and other verb paradigms for both meanings.

The following claims find sustained support:

- a.) Languages can deploy more than one future-referring tense form, making possible different types of future-reference.
- b.) Most modal meanings ascribed to the French synthetic future are now seldom, if ever, used in contemporary speech.
- c.) The current inability of the synthetic future to refer to time of utterance accounts for b.).

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*Graham Katz & Orin Percus*  
Stanford University & Université de Nantes

**Building up expectations**  
Mi 17.30-18.00, Raum: U5/117

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This paper starts from an argument that certain tensed embedded clauses denote relations between times, and explores the consequences of this view for the LF architecture of embedded clauses.

As shown in (1), verbs like *predict*, *anticipate*, *foresee* and *expect* select for future tense when they take finite clausal complements (cf. Presque 2000). On an analysis on which the embedding verb selects for a property of time intervals, and the embedded clause denotes a property of time intervals (cf. Ogihara 1995, Abusch 1997), this is a mystery. But it follows straightforwardly if the embedding verb selects for a relation and the embedded clause denotes a relation (cf. Stechow 1995, Katz 2001). We thus argue that this is what is happening ((2)), and that tense takes properties of time intervals (like  $\lambda t_i. \lambda w_s$ . it rains at  $t$  in  $w$ ) and returns relations between time intervals.

- (1) John foresees that it will rain / \*is raining / \*rained.  
 (2) a.  $[[\text{foresee}]] (\mathbf{R}_{\langle i, \langle i, st \rangle \rangle})(x_e) = \lambda t_i. \lambda w_s$ . every doxastic alternative  $\langle w', t' \rangle$  that  $x$  entertains in  $w$  throughout  $t$  is such that for some time  $t'$  after  $t$ ,  $\mathbf{R}(t')(t')(w') = 1$ .  
 b.  $[[ [\text{TP FUT/PRES/PST} [\text{VP it rain} ] ] ] ] = \lambda t_i. \lambda u_j. \lambda w_s$ .  $t$  precedes / surrounds / follows  $u$  and it rains at  $u$  in  $w$ .

We examine two issues within this approach. First, some verbs that select for relations, like *expect*, combine with infinitivals. We argue that infinitivals are uniformly “born” as properties and we argue for a way in which they come to be coerced into a relational meaning. Secondly, verbs like *believe* do not select for the tense of their finite complements. We argue that these select for properties, and that creating the property involves a syntactic operation of existential closure. Finally we explore cross-linguistic issues that these selection facts raise.

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*Julia Landgraf*  
Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, Sleat & University of Edinburgh

**Tense in Scottish Gaelic**  
Mi 18.00-18.30, Raum: U5/117

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Different from most other languages, Scottish Gaelic lacks a simple present tense altogether. Instead, we find a present progressive which, in fact, can only be employed in a proper progressive sense (*Tha Murchadh a' leughadh an leabhair*.

'Murchadh is reading the book'), and a future tense, which interestingly is also being used with a present tense reference.

Thus, whereas we are frequently confronted with examples such as *Murchadh goes to Inverness tomorrow* conveying a future meaning through the present tense in e.g. English, French and German, the opposite is encountered in Gaelic: On the one hand we have *Bidh Murchadh a' dol a dh'Inbhir Nis a-màireach* ('Murchadh will be going to Inverness tomorrow') where a future progressive is actually expressed by a future progressive construction; but on the other hand the same sentence *Bidh Murchadh a' dol a dh'Inbhir Nis* will be found meaning 'Murchadh goes to Inverness', implying that he goes there on a regular basis, thus with a present tense reference. There is no other way to express a simple present in ScG, but through future constructions (simple future and future progressive, but not through the equivalent of the *going to*-future: *Tha mi a' dol a dhèanamh X*. 'I am going to do X').

Apart from this distribution of tense expressions, it is also striking that in most cases the verb itself is not morphologically marked for tense, but rather according to the distinction of dependent, independent or relative forms. It is those forms plus the syntactic context of the verb that actually tell us about the tense it conveys. The independent/dependent-distinction appears to be more prominent in ScG than the formal distinction of tenses, and it is partially this type of hierarchy which has triggered a verbal system that includes multifunctional tense expressions

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*Anastasia Giannakidou*

University of Chicago

**The dependency of the subjunctive revisited: temporal semantics and polarity**

Do 9.00-9.30, Raum: U5/117

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In this paper, I examine the syntax-semantics of subjunctive clauses in (Modern) Greek. These clauses are headed by the particle *na* and contain a dependent verbal form with no formal mood features: the perfective nonpast (PNP). I propose that the semantics of *na* is temporal: it introduces the variable *now* (*n*) into the syntax. This is necessary because the apparent present tense in the PNP cannot introduce *n*. The PNP, instead, contains a dependent time variable. This variable cannot be interpreted as a free variable – hence it cannot be identified with the utterance time of the context.

This analysis relies on two premises. One is the (quite influential) idea that pronouns and tenses are analogous creatures (Partee 1973, 1984, Heim 1994, Kratzer 1998, and others). The other premise is that at least some polarity items are expressions that contain variables that cannot be interpreted deictically (Giannakidou 1998, 2001). In the present work I suggest to enlarge the domain of phenomena that can receive a unified treatment across individuals, worlds, and tenses, and treat the subjunctive mood as a non-deictic time, thus an instance of a polarity dependency of the temporal

kind. It is my hope that the analysis proposed here for the PNP can be used to analyze verbal subjunctives in Romance languages, and perhaps also infinitival forms in English, but investigation of this question will have to be left for the future.

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*Maria Bittner*

Rutgers University

**Conditional prospects in a tenseless language**

Do 9.30-10.00, Raum: U5/117

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The Eskimo language Kalaallisut does not grammatically mark tense, but mood. It has five matrix moods (indicative, negative, interrogative, optative, imperative) and five dependent moods (factual, non-factual, hypothetical, habitual, elaborating). Nevertheless, temporal reference is as precise as in English, due to lexical typing of verbs for aspectual class (state, event, process, or habit), which determines aspect-based temporal location and update in discourse (Bittner 2005, 2007).

Future reference combines *realis mood* (indicative or factual) with a derivational suffix for a future-oriented attitude state (*prospective stative*). The speaker refers to a mental state which holds at the current *topic time* (Klein 1994) and whose experiencer expects, desires, dreads, considers likely, unlikely, etc, some future prospect. Whether or not the prospect comes to pass, the current mental state is presented as a fact (Bittner 2005).

This paper presents new evidence that prospective statives also occur in conditionals. The antecedent clause is in the hypothetical mood, while the consequent clause is usually headed by a prospective stative verb in a *realis mood*. That is, the speaker presents as a fact a mental state whose experiencer has a certain attitude toward a conditional prospect, expected to be realized if the antecedent hypothesis comes to pass. Depending on the topic time, this attitude state may hold now or in the topical past.

Stone (1997) classifies English modals as REAL (e.g. *is, must*), VIVID (*will, can*), or REMOTE (*would, should*), based on the relation between the speech reality and the topical modality (cf. tense). In Kalaallisut, a REAL conditional has just *realis mood* in the consequent. In a VIVID conditional, there is also a prospective stative. A REMOTE conditional ('counterfactual') is still in a *realis mood*, but the real attitude state of the prospective stative is marked by the suffix *-galuar*, for unrealized expectation or desire.

*Magdalena Schwager*

Universität Frankfurt

**Imperatives and tense**

Do 10.00-10.30, Raum: U5/117

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Inherent future orientation is sometimes considered the distinguishing semantic contribution of imperatives. In contrast to such a simplified picture, I argue that imperatives are best treated as necessity operators that - like modal verbs - introduce both a time of possibility/necessity and a time of instantiation. This allows for a natural account of temporal modifiers and temporal quantification in imperatives, as well as a compositional analysis of the (closely related) perfect and past forms found in German and Dutch.

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*Eva-Maria Remberger*

University of Cambridge & Universität Konstanz

**Tense and volitionality**

Do 10.30-11.00, Raum: U5/117

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Tense and modal interpretation clearly are interdependent phenomena. In this talk, I will explore the prototypical volitional (modal) verb WANT and its interplay with tense. As it is a well-known fact, this verb is future-oriented. Therefore, the propositions expressed by the infinitival clause in (1)-(3) can only refer to events situated in some time to come, i.e. the embedded clauses contain somehow irrealis expressions:

- (1) Engl.: Anna wants to go to Paris.
- (2) Germ.: Anna will nach Paris fahren.
- (3) Ital.: Anna vuole andare a Parigi.

Yet, it is possible, under certain conditions, to use a compound tense, which encodes the fact that the event situation lies before a given reference time, in the infinitival clause, cf. the following examples:

- (4) Germ.: Anna wollte (eigentlich) nach Paris gefahren sein.
- (5) Ital.: Anna vorrebbe/avrebbe voluto essere andata a Parigi (almeno una volta).

Hence, if the verb WANT is used in an irrealis form (such as the conditional in (4) or (5)), in the infinitival clause a compound tense can appear. A non-irrealis form in the matrix clause gives result to a heavily marked sentence, at least in Italian:

- (6) Ital.: ?Anna vuole essere andata a Parigi.

Yet, in German, the sentence shifts to an epistemic (or evidential) meaning:

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- (7) Germ.: Anna will nach Paris gefahren sein.  
'G. maintains to have gone to Paris [but probably that's not true].'

The main aim of this talk is to analyse the interplay between tense and modality at work in these and other crosslinguistic examples, on the semantic, as well as on the (morpho-) syntactic level. I take volitionality to be fundamentally deontic in nature, but with a special "subject-linking" property, and I assume the verb WANT to be decomposable in smaller (functional) units.

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*Jacques Jayez*

ENS-LSH, Lyon

**A solution to Mittwoch's problem**

Do 11.30-12.00, Raum: U5/117

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Mittwoch (1988) noted that sentences like (1) are either strange or, at least, difficult to interpret:

- (1) ??It was raining for two hours [ex. 84 of Mittwoch]  
 ??The level of the lake was rising 10 feet when I arrived [ex. 91]  
 #John was drinking three cups of tea [ex. 93]

These observations raised a problem for Dowty's (1979) analysis. They remain problematic for more recent modal/intensional analyses (Asher, Bonomi, Landman), as noted by Jayez (1999) and Zucchi (1999). I'll discuss Zucchi's (1999) proposal and argue that the relatively standard idea of 'measuring out' provides a sound basis for understanding the contrasts pointed out by Mittwoch. Intuitively, 'measuring out' denotes the correspondance between a dynamic eventuality and an entity, and has been used in different frameworks (e.g. Jackendoff 1996, Krifka 1992, 1998, Tenny 1994, Verkuyl 1989, 1993, 1999). The crucial aspect in Mittwoch's configurations is the absence of an independent entity that one could associate with the phases of the eventuality. I'll show how this feature interacts with the semantics of the progressive (and more generally with imperfective operators).

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*Fabrizio Arosio*

Università di Milano – Bicocca

**Tense, aspect, and temporal homogeneity**

Do 12.00-12.30, Raum: U5/117

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I will argue that if we look at the durative adverbial distribution and the aspectual contrasts across the different morphological tense forms in Romance languages, we discover that the homogeneity character of the tense complement plays a fundamental

role in tense selection. Italian durative per-adverbials (for) and da-adverbials (since) are found in complementary distribution within atelic predicates, as shown below

per-adverbial	da-adverbial
(1a) ??È buio per due ore Is-PRES dark for two hours	(1b) È buio da due ore Is-PRES dark since two hours [Presente]
(2a) ??Era buio per due ore Was-IMP dark for two hours	(2b) Era buio da due ore Was-IMP dark since two hours [Imperfetto]
(3a) Fu buio per due ore Was-PRE dark for two hours	(3b) ??Fu buio da due ore Was-PRE dark since two hours [Passato Remoto]

As shown above, in the (a)-examples, per-adverbials combine felicitously with the Passato Remoto but not with the Presente and the Imperfetto; in the (b)-examples, da-adverbials combine with the Presente and the Imperfetto but not with the Passato Remoto. This distribution is the first thing I want to account for. I will assume that durative adverbials measure the length of the reference time introduced by tenses (Dowty 1979): per-adverbials combine with temporal predicates to give temporally non-homogeneous predicates, da adverbials combine with temporal predicates to give temporally homogeneous predicates. I will argue that the contrasts above depend on the properties of tenses in Romance languages. I will claim that: (i) the Imperfetto and the Presente select for temporally homogeneous predicates, therefore they can combine with da-adverbials but not with for-adverbials, (ii) the Passato Remoto selects for temporally non homogeneous predicates, therefore it can combine with for-adverbials but not with da-adverbials. I will moreover extend my proposal to account for tense selection and aspectual meaning in event sentences .

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*Markus Egg & Corien Bary*

Rijksuniversiteit Groningen & Radboud University Nijmegen

**Aspect and coercion in Ancient Greek**

Do 12.30-13.00, Raum: U5/117

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The interpretations of aoristic and imperfective aspect in Ancient Greek cannot be put down to unambiguous aspectual operators but suggest an analysis in terms of coercion in the spirit of Swart (1998). But since this analysis cannot explain the Ancient Greek data, we combine Klein's (1994) theory of tense and aspect with Egg's (2005) aspectual coercion approach.

According to Klein, (grammatical) aspect relates the runtime of an eventuality and the current time of reference (topic time). We show that these relations can trigger



aspectual selection restrictions (and subsequent aspectual coercions) just like e.g. aspectually relevant temporal adverbials and are furthermore susceptible to the Duration Principle of Egg (2005): properties of eventualities must be compatible w.r.t. the duration they specify for an eventuality, otherwise coercion is called for. The interpretations of aorist and imperfective can be derived in this way, and also cases problematic for de Swart's (1998) analysis.

de Swart, H. (1998). Aspect shift and coercion. *NLLT* 16, 347-385.

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*Mathias Jenny*

Universität Zürich

**Tense in Burmese?**

Fr 9.00-9.30, Raum: U5/117

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Indigenous Burmese grammars make a distinction between NON-FUTURE (past/present) and FUTURE sentence particles (predicate markers, clause operators). While this view was adopted by early writers on the language, most recent linguistic descriptions of Burmese refer to the distinction as one of REALIS vs. IRREALIS, i.e. modal rather than temporal. Comrie (1985:50ff) analyses data given in Okell (1969) and concludes that the distinction is one of modality rather than tense. Twenty years later Yanson (2005:221f) reaches the same conclusion, based on similar data, while Gärtner (2005:106f) seems to favour an analysis as tense, but admits that the FUTURE marker also includes hypothetical events, i.e. also has modal value.

In the present study the arguments for the modality vs. the tense analyses are scrutinised and checked against fresh evidence from actual spoken Burmese, and are put in a broader cross-linguistic context. It will be argued that a closer look at the actual use of the respective operators suggests that Burmese in fact does have a tense system with NON-FUTURE *te* vs. FUTURE *me*, i.e. a “retrospective” system in Ultan’s typology (Ultan 1978:88). The atemporal (modal) uses of the FUTURE marker can be explained either as extensions of the predictive component inherent in the semantics of future tenses or as idiosyncratic uses of the FUTURE marker in combination with other morphemes, such as the grammaticalised verb *yá* ‘get’ to achieve a deontic or epistemic modal reading ‘must’ (s. Jenny 2007), and the assumptive particle *li* in tense-neutral assumptive expressions. A number of reasons support the analysis of the Burmese clause operators as temporal, including the obligatoriness of the FUTURE marker in future contexts, but not in most modal expressions, as well as the use of the NON-FUTURE marker in past and present counterfactual contexts, where we would expect a NON-FUTURE tense, but not a REALIS marker. This suggests that we are dealing with a tense system with some modal extensions of the FUTURE tense rather than with a modal system with temporal implicatures or uses.

*Ron Artstein*

USC Institute for Creative Technologies

**Temporal exceptives**

Fr 9.30-10.00, Raum: U5/117

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Certain uses of the preposition *until* and its counterparts in other languages trigger converse entailments, whereby a sentence of the form "A until B" entails the negation of A at or around B. I propose that the preposition *until* functions as an exception marker, so the meaning of (1) is analyzed along the lines of the paraphrase in (2).

- (1) The princess didn't wake up until 9.  
(2) The princess didn't wake up except at 9.

The semantics is formulated in terms of temporal generalized quantifiers (Pratt and Francez 2001): temporal adjuncts denote generalized quantifiers which operate on the temporal context of the modified clause, and temporal prepositions modify temporal variables inside these adjuncts. This framework allows the incorporation of the converse entailments directly into lexical representation of *until*.

The analysis does not tie converse entailment to negative polarity (unlike Karttunen 1974), and is thus applicable to languages like Hebrew, where *until* may give rise to converse entailments even when the main clause is not negated. It is consistent with the use of explicit lexical exceptives for the meaning of *until* in Greek (Giannakidou 2002). The analysis also explains why *until* only applies to predicates whose temporal interpretation has universal force.

Giannakidou, Anastasia (2002). *UNTIL*, aspect, and negation: A novel argument for two *untils*. *SALT* 12, 84--103.

Karttunen, Lauri (1974). *Until*. *CLS* 10, 294--297.

Pratt, Ian and Nissim Francez (2001). Temporal prepositions and temporal generalized quantifiers. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 24(2): 187--222.

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*Yoshiki Mori*

University of Tsukuba, Japan

**Impact of causal implicature on the subordinate clause tense**

Fr 10.00-10.30, Raum: U5/117

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For German, it has been recently argued that causal implicature can be detected not only for past positioning *nachdem* ('after')-clauses but also for future positioning *bevor* ('before')-clauses (cf. Blühdorn 2006, Tenbrink 2007).

- (1) a. Nachdem es mir schlechter ging, wollte ich Schluss machen.  
 b. Bevor er das Auto in den Graben lenkte, hatte er ausgiebig mit seinen Freunden gezecht.

We argue that *nachdem* ('after')-clauses and *bevor* ('before')-clauses are nevertheless complementary in the sense that the former is used for the direct (proximal) causality whereas the latter is used for the indirect (distal) causality.

By contrast, the causality reading cannot be observed in Japanese either for the future positioning "mae-ni" ('before') or the past positioning "ato-ni" ('after') with the ordinary distribution of tenses for these clauses in Japanese (present tense for the subordinate and past tense for the main clause in (2a) and past for both clauses in (2b)). Interesting in this connection is the fact that some asymmetry comes out when the past perfect is selected for the sentences expressing temporal precedence (the main clause in (3a) and the subordinate in (3b)):

- (2) a. #shoutotsu suru mae-ni shikotama non-da. (:= 1b with "before")  
 b. #shikotama non-da ato-ni jiko-o okoshi-ta. (:= 1b with "after")  
 (3) a. shoutotsu suru mae-ni shikotama non-de i-ta. (:= 2a with past perfect in matrix s.)  
 b. \*shikotama non-de i-ta ato-ni jiko-o okoshi-ta. (:= 2b with p.p. in after-clause)

In this talk, we will propose that based on Kaufman/Condoravdi type of temporal semantics (Condoravdi 2002, Kaufman 2005), the past perfect (in Japanese) makes it possible to widen a metaphysical accessible relation at least in one of its readings. We think we need another distinction in the realm of Certainty.

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*Toshiyuki Ogihara*

University of Washington

**Double-access phenomena revisited**

Fr 11.00-11.30, Raum: U5/117

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Ogihara (1995) and Abusch (1997) contend that the semantics of so-called double-access sentences, a present tense verb is in a verb complement clause when the matrix verb is in the simple past tense, is accounted for by assuming a de re attitude report about an interval or state. Although their proposals make the same fundamental point, they differ as to how to account for the peculiar interpretation dubbed double-access reading. I contend that the constraint upon the denotation of tenses called Upper Limit Constraint is eliminable because this only applies to a sequence-of-tense language such as English and it does not account for all relevant examples involving tense morphemes anyway. A better account of the double access phenomena should be

sensitive to the presence or absence of sequence-of-tense (SOT) phenomena. Another important requirement for a proposal about double-access sentences is that it also accounts for the semantics of future-under-past sentences and (some occurrences of) past-under-past sentences such as the following: *John said that Mary will defend her dissertation next month; John said that Mary defended her dissertation last month.* In my earlier work (Ogihara 1995, 1996), these sentences were all accounted for as instances of double-access sentences (i.e. de re attitudes) and were justified on the basis of Temporal Directionality Isomorphism. In this presentation, the idea is formalized in such a way that it is applicable to both SOT languages like English as well as non-SOT languages like Japanese.

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*Björn Rothstein*

Universität Tübingen

**Positional adverbials and the future use of the present perfect**

Fr 11.30-12.00, Raum: U5/117

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An often noted problem concerning the analysis of the present perfect is its behaviour with positional temporal adverbials like ‘yesterday’. Although the present perfect denotes some kind of anteriority, it cannot be modified by certain adverbials expressing pastness in languages like English; see (1). Klein (1992) dubbed this the *present perfect puzzle*. There is a further puzzle about the adverbial selection of the (German) present perfect (cf. Rathert 2004). In its future reading, only reference time modification by positional temporal adverbials seems to be possible. In (2), there is no event time modification for a futurate reading available. In (2) the adverbial *um zwei Uhr* ‘two o’clock’ either specifies a past event time or a future reference time. An event time modification is not possible. The core past reading of the German present perfect allows for either event time or reference time modification by appropriate positional temporal adverbials; see (3)a/b. The goal of this paper is to explain why the future reading differs from the core past use of the present perfect. It will be shown that this difference results from the meaning composition of the present perfect.

- (1) Chris has left yesterday. (Klein 1992)  
(2) Um 2 Uhr hat er geschlafen. (Rathert 2004) (German)  
*At two o’clock had he slept*  
(3) a. Jetzt/ b. Gestern hat er geschlafen. (German)  
*Now/ Yesterday has he slept*

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*Hector Manni*

Universidad Nacional del Litoral, Argentina

**Tense and evidentiality in Mocoví**

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Mocoví, a Guaykuruan language spoken in Argentina, is likely to be characterized as a superficially tenseless language. However, I will argue that it possesses both morphological and syntactical temporal properties. In this presentation, I am concerned with how the time interpretation in Mocoví is achieved. I propose that Mocoví possesses in the finite clause syntax a tense node. Following Kratzer (1998), I claim that in the Mocoví language, the tense node in the matrix clause has a zero tense ( $\text{\AE-T}$ ). And as  $\text{\AE-T}$ , it picks up features from its antecedent. But,  $\text{\AE-T}$  is in the matrix clause, so the problem to solve is what is the antecedent from which receives its value. I will argue that the candidate to be antecedent of  $\text{\AE-T}$  is the determiner in argument position.

Mocoví, the same as other Guaykuruan languages, has a particularly complex system which precedes the nouns. That system is apparently constituted by two subsets based in a perceptual semantic property: dimensional perception and presence/absence in the speaker view field; but I shall show such semantics is related to evidential properties that encode information source and epistemic modality. I adopt that Speas's (2006) proposal that evidential morphemes are a type of agreement that specify the nature of modal base. There are both semantic and syntactic reasons to assert that such system constitutes the DP structure.

As T is  $\text{\AE-T}$  in Mocoví, it doesn't introduce a variable over time intervals; consequently it triggers the insertion of a binder index at LF that it will generate the wanted property of time.  $\text{\AE-T}$  must be bound by an antecedent. I shall show that DP is the antecedent for  $\text{\AE-T}$ . I assume that the Evidential Mood Phrase is the landing site of the DP that rises from their position original. I posit the Mocoví D, specifically the evidential morpheme, maps properties of time into properties of worlds, in such a way the  $\text{\AE-T}$  receives its value.

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*Judite Carecho*

Universidade de Coimbra, Portugal

**Tense, 'aktionsart', and aspect in Portuguese and German**

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The difference between the Portuguese past tenses *Perfeito* and *Imperfeito* has been regarded by some authors as an instance of the contrast between perfective and imperfective aspect. However, as I will argue, it can be more effectively explained as a result of the interaction between tense meaning and basic 'aktionsart' class. The *Imperfeito* locates states as overlapping a given past perspective point, but event predicates cannot be interpreted in the same way. In many cases they receive a habitual reading, and sometimes a progressive reading. On the other hand, the *Perfeito*

locates both events and states as a whole in a given past interval. This is unproblematic for events, since they are self-contained situations with intrinsic boundaries, but *Perfeito* also forces a bounded interpretation upon states, which possess no such inherent limits. All these facts will be accounted for if the *Perfeito* and the *Imperfeito* are described as tenses that locate bounded and unbounded situations, respectively. Furthermore, this proposal can be extended to two other Portuguese tenses: the Present, which locates unbounded situations in a very similar way to the *Imperfeito*, and the Pluperfect, which mirrors the behaviour of the *Perfeito* and locates bounded situations only.

As for German, although the discussion of possible aspectual features is usually restricted to the *Perfekt* and the *Plusquamperfekt* and there is in fact no similar contrast between two patterns of interaction of tense and 'aktionsart', we do find that the German *Präsens* relates with different classes of 'aktionsart' in a way that is very similar to that of the Portuguese Present and *Imperfeito*. Other German tenses, such as the *Präteritum*, apparently do not interact with 'aktionsart'. However, predicate classes seem to play a role in their interpretation, at least in narrative discourse, as data from a parallel Portuguese-German corpus show.

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*Cheng-Fu Chen*

University of Texas at Austin

**The use and temporal interpretation of the Rukai future tense**

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The future time reference in languages that have tense categories is often associated with modality (for example, English, as in Enç 1996), and as Dahl (1985) puts it, "A sentence which refers to the future will almost always differ also modally from a sentence with non-future time reference (p.103)". The present paper investigates Rukai (Austronesian, Taiwan) and argues that the Rukai future encodes temporal succession, which allows the future to only signify temporal information.

The Rukai future can be used in sentences that convey desire, intension or ability. The meaning is, however, largely context-dependent and is not explicitly encoded on the morpheme itself. Finer distinctions on modality are conveyed by verbal morphemes of necessity and possibility. In the domain of temporality, what is crucial is that the future posts a constraint on simple sentences such that it cannot co-occur with past adverbials, even when the future seems to be used as a modal. Furthermore, as we contrast the interpretation of the future morpheme in simple sentences and subordinate clauses, we find its use for past situations in the latter, where it conveys future-in-the-past.

This paper provides a relative tense analysis for the Rukai future (Comrie 1985, Enç 1987); in its semantics, the future encodes a relation of temporal succession, with which the location of a situation in time is anchored to a given reference time (Reichenbach 1947, also Smith 1997), and not necessarily to the speech time.

The analysis has the implication that in languages that have a relative tense system, the future may only encode an essential temporal relation of succession. It allows the future to be dissociated from modality in the sense that the marked sentences differ from the others only temporally, but not modally.

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*Katharina Haude*

Universität zu Köln

**Tense marking on dependent nominals in Movima**

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Movima (isolate, lowland Bolivia), does not mark tense on the verb. In addition to occasional TAM particles, temporal relations are indicated by the article. The article is an obligatory part of every noun phrase, where it indicates presence, absence, or ceased existence of the referent. With these deictic properties, by implicature, it also indicates the temporal location of events relative to the speech situation: ceased existence of the referent normally implies that the event in which it participated also took place in the past. This temporal implicature can only be cancelled by a TAM particle in the clause.

Many entities that played a role in a past event are still in existence at the time at which the event is narrated, and here, no temporal inference can be made from the form of the article. However, the number of NPs denoting non-time-stable concepts is very high in Movima: subordinate clauses have the form of an NP, consisting of an article and a deverbal noun. Since the concepts referred to by these NPs are usually non-time-stable (states or events), the form of the article in these NPs reliably indicates discourse tense.

Thus, the deictic properties of the article together with the high frequency of deverbal NPs in Movima make it possible that the typically verbal feature of tense marking can be taken over by dependent constituents. This highly noteworthy phenomenon has so far not been described for any other language.

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*Ilana Mezhevich*

University of Calgary

**A unified view of tense and mood: the case of Russian conditionals**

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Russian like many other languages with no verbal mood morphology uses past tense morphology to convey irrealis (Dahl 1997; Palmer 2001):

- (1) a. Anna čita-**I-a** knigu včera/\*sejčas/\*zavtra. *Indicative Mood*  
 Anna **read-PAST-FEM.SG** book yesterday/now/tomorrow. *Past Tense*  
 ‘Anna read/was reading a book yesterday/\*now/\*tomorrow.’

- b. Anna **číta-l-a** by knihu včera/sejčas/zavtra. *Conditional Mood*  
Anna **read-PAST-FEM.SG** COND book yesterday/now/tomorrow. *No Tense*  
'Anna would read/would be reading a book yesterday/now/tomorrow.'

Previous accounts maintain that past and irrealis both express “remoteness” (Joos 1964; Langacker 1978; James 1982). This, however, does not explain how the morpheme that conveys “remoteness in time” can convey “remoteness in reality”. I argue that the parallel should be drawn between Tense and Mood themselves and not between particular realizations of these categories. I assume that Tense relates the utterance time T-Ut and the assertion time T-Ast (Klein 1995; Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 2000). I propose that Mood also relates two times: the evaluation time (time relative to which the utterance is evaluated as true or false; T-Evl) and T-Ut. The relation between two times is characterized as the single opposition of (non)coincidence: Tense expresses (non)coincidence of T-Ut and T-Ast, while Mood expresses (non)coincidence of T-Evl and T-Ut. To capture these similarities and differences, I propose that Tense and Mood have the same semantic feature [ $\pm$ COIN] but distinct morphosyntactic features, [ $\pm$ PAST] and [ $\pm$ FIN], respectively. The interaction between the two types of features together with the mechanism of feature agreement results in the interpretation of [ $-$ COIN] as both past and irrealis. This analysis correctly predicts that future tense morphology can also convey irrealis (e.g. Hebrew), while present tense morphology can only be used in real conditionals.



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## Abstracts AG 6

### Rechtsverschiebung im Sprachvergleich

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*Edward Göbbel*

Universität Tübingen

**Rightward movement of 'light' constituents**

Mi 14.30-15.30, Raum: U5/118

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This paper discusses extraposition (EX) of defocused PPs (1) and light PPs (2) in English. Building on and extending the analysis in Göbbel (2007), I will argue that, unlike EX of PP in (focus) neutral contexts, EX of defocused PPs is not prosodically triggered. However, I will defend an analysis in which displacement occurs at PF in both cases and the difference in prosodic representations are the options allowed by the same interface constraints.

In recent syntactic models (Chomsky 2001), syntactic structure is transferred to PF in terms of phases (vP, CP). It will be argued that Spell-out does not only linearize and substitute phonological terminals for morphosyntactic ones, as is often assumed, but it creates a hierarchical PF representation from the syntactic representation. This is necessary because phonological interface constraints (e.g. ALIGN LEX<sup>0</sup>/XP) require access to the full syntactic representations. Intonational evidence will be presented in favour of a model in which Spell-out also specifies an initial prosodic structure by grouping the terminals of a phase together into a major phonological phrase (MaP). MaPs thus formed may have to restructure under certain conditions (e.g. narrow focus), which destroys the phase-based derived prosodic structure, violating OO-Faithfulness (3). EX from NP in (focus) neutral contexts is seen as a process which adjusts the syntactic structure to the requirements of the interface constraints. The essence of optional EX is as follows: due to the complex NP, the output of the syntax is such a big MaP that it has to be broken up into two MaPs or part of the NP is extraposed. Movement at PF is adjunction to an XP that is aligned with the edge of a prosodic domain.

The account of EX of defocused PPs proceeds as follows: From the phase-based derived syntactic output (4a), the Generator generates a set of candidates consisting of pairs of syntactic and prosodic structures (4a-d), which are evaluated in parallel. Candidates (a) and (c) violate Align<sub>R</sub> XP twice. In (a), the complex DP contains two NPs requiring alignment with the right edge of a MaP. In (c), two separate NPs are not aligned with the edge of a MaP. Candidate (b) violates Max<sub>OO</sub>, whereas candidate (d) violates Align<sub>R</sub> XP once. Optional phrasing can be accounted for in terms of free ranking of ALIGN<sub>R</sub> XP and MAX<sub>OO</sub>. On the ranking ALIGN<sub>R</sub> XP >> MAX<sub>OO</sub>, candidate (b) is optimal, while on the ranking MAX<sub>OO</sub> >> ALIGN<sub>R</sub> XP both (a) and (c) are optimal. These are the attested prosodic representations. Candidate (d) is excluded be-

cause a MaP must contain an accented constituent, and DESTRESS-GIVEN forbids phrasal stress on contextually 'given' constituents.

Concerning EX of light PPs, neither prosodic phrasing nor phrasal stress can be made responsible for rightward shift. They can have different prosodic representations, e.g., as prosodic words in (2) or as affixal clitics incorporated into a PWd (5). I will argue that the optionality is simply a consequence of the fact that they have the same prosodic representation in both base and derived position.

- (1) He máde a próposal (*on this subject*) in Máy (*on this subject*)
- (2) I've réad some cómments (*about it*) today (*about it*) in Tíme magazine (*about it*)
- (3) Max<sub>OO</sub>: Every MaP derived by syntactic Spell-out corresponds to a MaP in prosodic structure.
- (4)
  - a. (He made a proposal on this subject in May)<sub>MaP</sub> ✓
  - b. (He made a proposal on this subject)<sub>MaP</sub> (in May)<sub>MaP</sub> ✓
  - c. (He made a proposal in May on this subject)<sub>MaP</sub> ✓
  - d. (He made a proposal in May)<sub>MaP</sub> (on this subject)<sub>MaP</sub>
- (5) Two translations (*of it*) have appeared (*of it*) → ((appeared)<sub>PWd</sub> əVIt)<sub>PWd</sub>

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*Katharina Hartmann*

Humboldt Universität zu Berlin

**The prosodic structure of extraposition**

Mi 15.30-16.00, Raum: U5/118

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Extraposition differs from leftward movement in some central aspects: It is categorially restricted, it is not sensitive to syntactic islands, and it lacks a syntactic trigger. Based on such observations, it has been argued that extraposition is a phonological operation, rather than a syntactic process (Truckenbrodt 1995, Göbbel 2006). This talk corroborates this view showing that extraposition is prosodically triggered.

I claim that CP-extraposition is a repair strategy that becomes obligatory if the *in situ* CP inhibits an optimal syntax-prosody mapping of the whole clause: It takes place if the constituent following the *in situ* CP is smaller than a phonological phrase (pp), the domain of phrasal stress. This is the case with *in situ* object CPs in embedded clauses (1a), CPs extraposed to the VP in the middlefield (1b), and main clauses with a verb particle in I<sup>0</sup> (1c).

- (1)
  - a. \*?weil er, [<sub>CP</sub> dass die Erde eine Scheibe ist], zeigte.
  - b. \*weil er [<sub>VP</sub> gezeigt, [<sub>CP</sub> dass die Erde eine Scheibe ist]], hat.
  - c. \*?Das schließt nicht, [<sub>CP</sub> dass wir hier nicht auch Probleme haben], aus.

The heads in  $I^0$  neither form a pp of their own, nor can they be phrased together with the preceding intonational phrase (ip). After CP-extrapolation these heads are integrated into the preceding pp of the main clause (2a). Extrapolation is optional if the phrase following the *in situ* CP is able to form at least a pp (2b).

- (2) a. (weil er zeigte)<sub>pp</sub> (dass die Erde)<sub>pp</sub> (eine Scheibe ist)<sub>pp</sub>  
 b. Sarkozy selbst war, [<sub>CP</sub> nachdem er die Jugendlichen als Abschaum bezeichnet hatte], in die Kritik geraten.

The empirical data to be discussed include extrapolation of finite and infinite object clauses, subject clauses, embedded verb second clauses, attributive clauses, relative clauses to subjects and objects, and extrapolation fromthetic sentences. The influence of focus on extrapolation will be considered.

The requirement that constituents following an *in situ* CP must be at least a phonological phrase follows from the Strict Layer Hypothesis (Selkirk 1984, 1996), which states that prosodic constituents are exhaustively parsed: A prosodic category may only dominate a category from an immediately lower level. Thus, an ip may immediately dominate only pps, but not prosodic words (w):

- (3) \*? ((weil er)<sub>pp</sub> (dass die Erde)<sub>pp</sub> (eine Scheibe ist)<sub>pp</sub> (zeigte)<sub>w</sub>)<sub>ip</sub>

The proposal also shows that ips may be recursive (against Selkirk 1996): An ip may be embedded into another ip as long as all constituents are exhaustively parsed (cf. (2b)).

To summarize, the position of embedded clauses seems to depend not only on syntactic requirements but also on prosodic conditions. This result has an impact on the grammatical architecture; it shows that the syntax-phonology interface must be bidirectional.

Göbbel, E. (2007) Extrapolation as PF Movement. *WECOL* 2006.

Selkirk, L. (1984) *Phonology and Syntax: The Relation between Sound and Structure*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Selkirk, L. (1996). The Prosodic Structure of Function Words. In: J. Morgan et al. (eds.) *Signal to Syntax*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 187-213.

Truckenbrodt, H. (1995) Extrapolation from NP and Prosodic Structure. *NELS* 25, 503-17.

Werner Frey & André Meinunger

ZAS Berlin

**Extrapolation as PF movement: further arguments in its favour and  
some refinements of its treatment**

Mi 16.30-17.00, Raum: U5/118

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It is the standard assumption that extraposition (EX) in German is to be analysed by syntactic means. However, focussing on the EX of relative and of noun complement clauses, we want to demonstrate that the different syntactic approaches to EX proposed in the literature cannot account for many empirical facts in German, cf. e.g. (1)-(3). (In (1), extraposition is enabled by contrastive focus; in (2), a full, accented DP impedes extraposition; in (3), a non-accented DP does not impede extraposition, the dependencies between the extraposed clauses and their source position have to be non-nested.) Furthermore, although extraposed elements often emanate from focussed constituents (Shannon 1995), we will argue that they do not acquire any information structural property by the detachment. In addition, EX does not induce any binding or other interpretative effects. All these observations suggest a prosodic approach to EX. Therefore, building on Truckenbrodt (1995) and Göbbel (2007), we propose a PF condition for EX in German, which accounts for the mentioned facts and also, by appeal to a mapping between phases and prosodic units, for the subtle but stable judgement that extraposition from an NP with argument structure (cf. the process denoting *Bemühung* in (4b)) is less good than from an NP without argument structure (cf. the result denoting *Vorhaben* in (4a)).

Extraposition in English does show effects beyond phonology (e.g. with regard to binding, illocutionary force (Lehmann 1984:204), idiomatic interpretation, cf. (5b)). Thus, we will argue that Inaba's (2007) suggestion is correct that extrapositions in German and English are quite different things, the former being a phonological process, the later a syntactic one.

- (1) a. \*Der Dichter hat gesagt, dass er auswandern will, der im Nachbarhaus lebt.  
b. DERjenige Dichter hat gesagt, dass er auswandern will, der im Nachbarhaus lebt.
- (2) a. \*Maria hat dem Bekannten die Kollegen vorgestellt, der im Lotto gewonnen hat.  
b. Maria hat sie<sub>1</sub> dem Bekannten t<sub>1</sub> vorgestellt, der im Lotto gewonnen hat. (Inaba 2007)
- (3) a. ?? Sie hat keinem etwas gesagt, was ihm nützte, der ihr begegnete. (Haider 1994)  
b. Sie hat keinem etwas gesagt, der ihr begegnete, was ihm nützte.
- (4) a. Otto hat das Vorhaben begrüßt, das Experiment durchzuführen.  
b. ?Otto hat die Bemühung verfolgt, das Experiment durchzuführen.

- (5) a. Max war über den Bären dienst entsetzt, den ihm Karl erwiesen hatte.  
 b. \*Mary praised the headway last year that John made. (Hulsey & Sauerland to appear)

Göbbel, E. (2007): Extraposition as PF Movement. *WECOL 2006*.

Haider, H. (1994): Detached Clauses – The Later the Deeper. Arbeitspapiere des SFB 340, 41, Universität Stuttgart.

Inaba, J. (2007): *Die Syntax der Satzkomplementierung*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Hulsey, S. & U. Sauerland (to appear): Sorting out relative clauses. *Natural Language Semantics*.

Lehmann, C. (1984): *Der Relativsatz*. Tübingen: Günter Narr Verlag.

Shannon, T. (1995): Extraposition of NP complements in Dutch and German: Results of an empirical comparison. In: T. Shannon & J. Snapper (eds.): *The Berkeley conference on Dutch linguistics 1993*, Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 87–116.

Truckenbrodt, H. (1995): Extraposition from NP and Prosodic Structure. *NELS 25*, 503-17.

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*Berthold Crysmann*

IfK, Universität Bonn

**On the nonlocality of complement and adjunct extraposition**

Mi 17.00-17.30, Raum: U5/118

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In a recent paper, Kiss (2005) has argued that relative clause extraposition should best be conceived of as an anaphoric process, where the extraposed clause is semantically attached to a nominal antecedent contained within the local clause. Empirically, this perspective is supported by split-antecedents, the type of morphological features involved in agreement, and the absence of island effects. Kiss shows that adjunct extraposition crucially differs from complement extraposition in this respect:

- (1) a. \*Man hat den Überbringer der Mitteilung beschimpft, dass die Erde rund ist.  
 b. \*Hier habe ich bei den Beobachtungen faul auf der Wiese gelegen, daß die Erde rund ist.  
 (2) a. Man hat die Frau des Boten beschimpft, der den Befehl überbrachte.  
 b. Hier habe ich bei vielen Versuchen faul auf der Wiese gelegen, bei denen die Schwerkraft überwunden wurde.

Recently, however, Kiss's approach has been challenged by Müller (2004) for failing to recognise apparent cases of non-local complement extraposition:

- (3) Ich habe [von [dem Versuch [eines Beweises [der Vermutung \_i ]]]] gehört,  
 [daß es Zahlen gibt, die die folgenden Bedingungen erfüllen]i .

It is of note that Müller's counter-examples always involve extraposition along a chain of complements. Nonlocal complement extraposition from adjuncts still appears to be degraded, thus contrasting quite strongly with adjunct extraposition:

- (4) a. Man hat über den Beweis der Theorie gelacht, daß die Erde eine Scheibe ist.  
b. \* Man hat bei dem Beweis der Theorie gelacht, daß die Erde eine Scheibe ist.

Thus, a uniform approach must fail to predict this complement-adjunct asymmetry, observable with complement extraposition, but unattested for adjunct extraposition. Furthermore, acceptable cases of non-local complement extraposition are characterised by a semantic affinity between the extraposed clause and the syntactic heads along the head-complement chain. I therefore suggest to analyse adjunct extraposition as an anaphoric process in the spirit of Kiss (2005), yet to account for cases of non-local complement extraposition along head-complement chains in terms of argument composition, possibly constrained by semantic bridging.

Kiss, Tibor. 2005. Semantic constraints on relative clause extraposition. *NLLT* 23:281–334.  
Müller, Stefan. 2004. Continuous or discontinuous constituents? *Research on Language and Computation* 2(2):209–257.

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*Jan Strunk & Neal Snider*  
Ruhr-Universität Bochum & Stanford University  
**Extraposition without subjacency**  
Mi 17.30-18.00, Raum: U5/118

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Extraposition of relative clauses has traditionally been analyzed as rightward movement and has been taken to obey stricter locality constraints than movement to the left. Specifically, Chomsky (1973) introduced the notion of Subjacency and claimed that an extraposed phrase can cross at most one cyclical node (S or NP). Baltin's (1981) even stricter Generalized Subjacency allows only one maximal projection to be crossed by extraposition. Although Chomsky (1986) has later introduced the less restrictive Barriers framework and Baltin (2006) admits that there are problematic examples involving extraposition from within prepositional phrases, these authors and many others still believe that there is clear evidence for syntactic locality constraints on extraposition even within the domain of one clause.

We scrutinize the different proposals of subclausal locality constraints on extraposition in the light of empirical data. We show that none of them can be upheld as a non-violable syntactic constraint since many authentic counterexamples such as (1) can be found.

- (1) *For example, we understand that Ariva buses have won [DP a number [PP of [DP contracts [PP for [DP routes [PP in [DP London]] t ]]]] recently, [RC which will not be run by low floor accessible buses.]*  
 (<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm199899/cmselect/cmenvtra/32ii/32115.htm>, 02/24/2007)

We also present the results of an experimental study on English and German which investigates whether the acceptability of a sentence with an extraposed relative clause is affected by how deeply the antecedent of the relative is embedded inside the matrix clause. In addition to collecting acceptability judgments, we also measure the effect of depth of embedding on reading times in a self-paced reading study to determine whether there are similar effects on acceptability (competence) and reading times (real-time processing). To get an impression of the magnitude of the effect of the factor *depth of embedding*, we cross it with the factor *height of attachment*, which subsumes linear distance and number of crossing dependencies – factors usually regarded as processing factors and not as syntactic constraints.

Initial results for English show a slight effect of *depth of embedding* on acceptability in that sentences in which the antecedent of the relative clause is embedded more deeply are slightly less acceptable. However, this effect is rather small compared to the effect of linear distance from antecedent to relative clause and number of crossing dependencies. In fact, items with Subjacency violations get better mean acceptability ratings than contrasting items without such violations but e.g. an intervening noun phrase between antecedent and relative clause. We therefore argue that the counterexamples to subclausal locality constraints we present cannot be explained as exceptions and that extraposition does not obey any categorical subclausal locality constraint. We rather think that Subjacency effects on extraposition should also be regarded as processing effects and should not be modeled in syntax proper.

- Baltin, M. R. (1981). Strict bounding. In C. L. Baker and J. McCarthy (Eds.), *The Logical Problem of Language Acquisition*, pp. 257-295. MIT Press, Cambridge, USA.
- Baltin, M. R. (2006). Extraposition. In M. Everaert and H. C. van Riemsdijk (Eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, Volume 2, pp. 237-271. Blackwell, Malden, Massachusetts.
- Chomsky, N. (1973). Conditions on transformations. In S. R. Anderson and P. Kiparsky (Eds.), *A Festschrift for Morris Halle*, pp. 232-286. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.
- Chomsky, N. (1986). *Barriers*, Volume 13 of Linguistic Inquiry Monographs MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

*Kayono Shiobara*

Bunkyo Gakuin University

**Post-cyclic linearization of structure with rightward dependency**

Mi 18.00-18.30, Raum: U5/118

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Examining how Fox and Pesetsky's (2005) (F&P) Order Preservation approach to linearization could be extended to rightward movement (RM), I show that OP is incomplete in accounting for some characteristic properties of rightward movement. This leads me to argue that RM is essentially different from leftward movement (LM): RM is a relativized, processing-motivated, post-cyclic phonological phenomenon, in that it is subject to violable, processing-motivated, phonological constraints on linear order such as nested dependency and right-edge heaviness.

Under F&P's analysis of cyclic linearization, escape hatch effects are an artifact of the role played by phases (CP and VP in F&P) in linearization: "leftward movement from a Spell-out domain D must take place from the left edge of D (and conversely for rightward movement)" (F&P:12). As F&P suggests, RM should take place essentially the same way as LM, which appears conceptually welcome because it maintains that RM is subject to the same OP requirement as LM. The flip side of this, however, is that it makes wrong predictions like the following. First, RM may, in principle, take place successive cyclically like LM, contrary to the widely recognized generalization that RM is clause bounded (Ross 1967). Secondly, the OP analysis of RM should allow not only nested dependency as in (1a) but also crossing dependency as in (1b) in multiple RM, though the latter is generally prohibited. This is because OP is irrelevant to phase-internal operations.

(1) Multiple Extraposition from NP:

- a.  $[\boxed{\text{CP}}_{\text{TP}} \text{S } \_s [\boxed{\text{VP}} \text{V O } \_o ] \text{adv}] \text{EX}_o \text{EX}_s]$   
 b.  $[\boxed{\text{CP}}_{\text{TP}} \text{S } \_s [\boxed{\text{VP}} \text{V O } \_o ] \text{adv}] \text{EX}_s \text{EX}_o]$  ( $\boxed{\phantom{X}}$  are phases.)

This problem does not arise for LM because crossing dependency is observed in many cases of multiple LM, e.g. object shift and the verb movement it is contingent on.

(2) Object Shift:

- $[\boxed{\text{CP}} \text{S } \text{V } [\text{TP } \text{O Adv } [\boxed{\text{VP}} \_v \_o ]]]$

Given these, I argue that unlike LM, RM is not a syntactic movement but should be analyzed as a processing-motivated phonological phenomenon. Under this view, we can attribute the nested dependency constraint on RM to the requirement of processing efficiency (Fodor 1978). In fact, the requirement is relativized rather than rigid, and can be overridden when the phrase extraposed from the object is heavier than that extraposed from the subject (Frazier and Clifton 1996, Hawkins 1994). I will further



argue that right-edge heaviness is purely phonological, rather than semantic or informational, based on the data from Salish languages where informational prominence is dissociated from prosodic prominence (Davis 2007).

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*Markus Bader, Tanja Schmid & Jana Häussler*

University of Konstanz

**A new constraint on extraposition**

Do 9.00-9.30, Raum: U5/118

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We will discuss new evidence from ongoing corpus studies and experimental investigations on the topic of extraposition in German. As far as clauses are concerned, a simplified picture of extraposition in German can be stated as follows:

- Infinitival clauses which are complements of a small class of functional verbs (modal verbs, perception verbs, *lassen* ('to let')) are prohibited from extraposition.
- Infinitival clauses which are complements of control verbs (main verbs selecting a *zu*-infinitive with the exception of raising verbs) can optionally be extraposed.
- Finite complement clauses must extrapose.
- Non-complement clauses (adverbial and relative clauses) can optionally be extraposed.

The empirical evidence that we will summarize in our presentation confirms the general picture given above. At the same time, it reveals several simplifications some of which have already been noted in the syntactic literature but have not so far been backed up by quantitative information. Among others, the following refinements are necessary:

First, modal verb constructions disallow complete extraposition but allow a kind of partial extraposition ('verb-projection raising'). Experimentally elicited grammaticality judgments show that partial extraposition is accepted to a much larger degree than expected by prescriptive grammar.

- (1) a. ... dass Peter seinem Opa das Buch hat geben wollen.  
           that P. his grandpa the book has give want  
           '... that Peter wanted to give grandpa the book'
- b. ... dass Peter seinem Opa hat das Buch geben wollen.
- c. \*... dass Peter hat wollen seinem Opa das Buch geben.

Second, control verb constructions allow complete intraposition, complete extraposition and a mixture between both ('third construction'). Experimental and corpus data show that acceptability and use of these constructions is verb-dependent in a gradient way.

- (2) a. ... dass Peter das Buch zu kaufen versucht hat.  
that P. the book to buy tried has  
'... that Peter tried to buy the book.'  
b. ... dass Peter das Buch versucht hat zu kaufen.  
c. ... dass Peter versucht hat, das Buch zu kaufen.

In accordance with most of the syntactic literature on German, we assume that intraposed infinitival clauses can either form a clausal constituent by themselves, or can be fused with their matrix clause, with the result that infinitival verb and matrix verb form a verb cluster. Functional verbs obligatorily lead to verb-cluster formation and therefore forbid clausal extraposition. In all other cases, extraposition is optional.

We will argue based on data as above that the ease of verb-cluster formation is crucial in determining whether a clausal constituent shows up in extraposed position or not. Ease of verb-cluster formation is assumed to depend on two (not necessarily independent) factors: (i) Lexical-conceptual lightness of matrix verb and embedded clause. (ii) The amount of argument-structure operations required for fusing verbs.

For example, modal verbs have few lexical-conceptual content and obligatorily fuse with their infinitival complement. Control-verbs have more lexical-conceptual content and therefore allow or even strongly prefer extraposition, depending on their exact meaning. We will show how this proposal extends to finite complement and non-complement clauses and how it can be formalized in a restricted version of categorial grammar (Williams, 1993).

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*Karina Schneider-Wiejowski & Olga Pustynnikov*

Universität Bielefeld

**On differences in prosodic behavior of syntactic constructions placed after the right sentence brackets in German and Russian**

Do 9.30-10.00, Raum: U5/118

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The “Nachfeld” is a facultative position in German sentence typology. Nevertheless, syntactic constructions that are placed into the “Nachfeld” can also be obligatory as is shown in the following sentence: *Es werden gebraucht drei rote Bauklötzen.* (There are needed three red building bricks).

In this case the “Nachfeld” is occupied by a subject which can be classified as a construction of the “enges Nachfeld”.

In our talk we will discuss the results of a completion experiment with German and Russian sentences. Native speakers should complete a set of sentences with different kinds of syntactic constructions that occupy the position after the right sentence brackets. German literature differentiates between the “enges Nachfeld” with NPs or PPs, for example, the “rechtes Außenfeld” with topicalization expressions and other additions, and the “weites Nachfeld” which comprises sentences.

We have controlled the question whether there is a stable interrelationship between the syntactic construction and its intonation unit and if there are differences in the prosodic attachments of these units.

To interpret our German data, we used GToBI, a descriptive model for German intonation. For Russian we took TOBI, the general describing model for intonation contours.

In particular we can make statements about differences in the prosodic behavior in German and Russian. This is an interesting aspect because word order is different in both languages.

Does a free word order facilitate a separate intonation unit or can the results of the Russian experiment be compared to those of the German experiment?

Our work is associated with the SFB 673 *Alignment in Communication*.

Peters, J. (2006) "Syntactic and prosodic parenthesis". Proceedings of the International Conference on Speech Prosody, 2-5 May 2006, Dresden.

Zifonun, G., Hoffmann, L. & Strecker, B. (1997): *Grammatik der deutschen Sprache*. 3 Bde. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter (Schriften des Instituts für deutsche Sprache 7).

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*Marlies Kluck & Mark de Vries*

University of Groningen

**Extrapolation and right node raising**

Do 10.00-10.30, Raum: U5/118

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Extrapolation and Right Node Raising (RNR) are right edge phenomena. In this talk, we will explore how they interact, both empirically and theoretically, using data from the Germanic languages (mainly Dutch). We will show that extrapolation (including Heavy NP Shift) can feed RNR and, somewhat marginally, the other way around, and also that these examples differ from constructions with a split antecedent.

We claim that neither extrapolation nor RNR involves rightward movement. Instead, we advocate the following:

- Extrapolation is specifying coordination in combination with forward deletion.
- RNR is sharing (multidominance). The right edge effect is the result of prosodic and semantic interface conditions.
- Sharing can be non-local.

Extrapolation may violate various locality constraints, and therefore cannot be analyzed as rightward movement (Koster 2000). Nevertheless, reconstruction effects (Büring & Hartmann 1997) indicate that a simple analysis in terms of right-hand base-generation (Culicover & Rochemont 1990) will also not do. Following De Vries (2002), we argue for an analysis in which a) part of the clause is syntactically repeated, now including the relevant additional constituent in its canonical position; b)

this part is attached to the clause as a specifying conjunct (comparable to an apposition); c) all repeated material in this (second) conjunct is phonologically deleted (normal forward deletion in coordination), which gives the effect of extraposition of a certain constituent.

Conditions on extraposition differ from those on leftward movement, and similarly, RNR (backward ellipsis) behaves differently from forward ellipsis. Following the tradition started by McCawley (1982), we analyze RNR in terms of multidominance. However, it has become clear that the right edge effect cannot be derived syntactically (Kluck 2007); rather it is the result of interface conditions (Hartmann 2000), including contrastive intonation on the preceding word(s). We think a synthesis of these ideas is possible and even necessary.

Finally, we show that a ‘remerge’ approach to sharing (in a bottom-up Minimalist derivation) explains why RNR can be non-local, and that it can be combined with extraposition straightforwardly.

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*Yasuyuki Fukutomi*

Fukushima University

**Right dislocation in Japanese: a preliminary study**

Do 10.30-11.00, Raum: U5/118

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The purpose of this talk is to present a proper analysis of the Japanese Right Dislocation (JRD) that is compatible with a restrictive theory of phrase structure. We show that the JRD construction has antisymmetric structures, on the basis of considerable evidence as to binding phenomena and quantifier scope interaction.

According to Kayne’s (1994) antisymmetric view of phrase structure, rightward movement/adjunction is universally prohibited since if it were allowed, it would result in a structure in which what follows linearly is hierarchically higher than what precedes. Hence, JRD appears to pose a problem. To solve the apparently problematic cases, Tanaka (2001) proposes that the JRD construction actually involves two independent clauses and that the apparent right-dislocated element is actually scrambled and left-adjoined to IP within the second clause, followed by the truncation of the lower IP. We point out that the bi-clausal approach, as it stands, cannot be tenable empirically. It cannot offer natural accounts for the discrepancies between JRD and scrambling, such as the impossibility of a right-dislocated *wh*-phrase and the possibility of right dislocation of a left branch element. We instead defend the double topicalization approach to JRD by incorporating the theory of leftward VP remnant movement articulated in Baltin (2006). The nonconstituency of the verb and its arguments in preposed position predicts that the post-verbal position in all languages is structurally lower than the preverbal position. It is also observed in light of the discrepancies between JRD and scrambling that the ordering of topic and focus in Japanese should be captured in terms of Rizzi’s (1997) articulated clause structure and

that the Left Branch Condition should be characterized as a condition on PF representations.

Finally, we demonstrate that the Turkish and Hindi Right Dislocation, which are discussed by Kural (1997) and Mahajan (1997), respectively, will also be reanalyzed in terms of this alternative analysis.

Baltin, Mark. 2006. "The Nonunity of VP-Preposing," *Language* 82, 734-766.

Kayne, Richard S. 1994. *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Kural, Murat. 1997. "Postverbal Constituents in Turkish and the Linear Correspondence Axiom," *Linguistic Inquiry* 28, 498-519.

Mahajan, Anoop Kumar. 1997. "Rightward Scrambling," *Rightward Movement*, eds. by D. Beerman, D. LeBlanc, and H. van Riemsdijk, 185-213. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. "The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery," in *Elements of Grammar*, ed. by L. Haegeman, 281-337. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Tanaka, Hidekazu. 2001. "Right-Dislocation as Scrambling," *Journal of Linguistics* 37, 551-579.

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*Eleni Gregoromichelaki*

King's College London

**A dynamic perspective on left-right asymmetries: CLLD and Clitic Doubling in Greek**

Do 11.30-12.00, Raum: U5/118

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*Dynamic Syntax* is a grammar formalism which reflects directly the dynamics of incrementally mapping a string of words to a semantically transparent logical form. Because no separate intermediate syntactic structure is postulated, traditional locality restrictions like the *Right Roof Constraint* must be attributable to the construction process and timing of introduction of new elements into the representation. This emerges in DS as an immediate consequence of monotonic and compositional bottom-up accumulation of information on the semantic tree: at early parsing stages interpretational processes may assign underspecified structure/content with delayed construal, interpretational processes at the closing stages may not.

In terms of discourse/semantic effects, right- (unlike left-) dislocates associated with pronominal expressions in the main structure receive special context-bound construals, the pronoun having to be construed with respect to its (discourse) context. DS mechanisms reflect this left-right asymmetry as what is introduced time-linearly first can introduce the context for processing what follows, whereas late additions can only be construed by reference to what precedes. Analogous locality restrictions on interpretation constrain clause bound scope construal for quantifying expressions. Interpretation of quantifiers in DS involves accumulating scope-dependency constraints, with evaluation as a final step in each predicate-argument domain, with indefinites the only type of quantifier that admits anaphoric-like dependent scope construal.

Such interpretational and structural restrictions interact in clitic duplication of arguments in, e.g., Modern Greek, where left-right asymmetries are analysed in terms of *CLLD* (left periphery, unbounded) vs. *Clitic Doubling* (right periphery, clause bound). I argue that the established DS tools mentioned above allow a non-ambiguity account of clitics in all their occurrences, with variation explicable from multiple strategies interacting in the construction of semantic structure, the range of effects seen as resulting from the stage during processing where the clitic or the doubled DP make their contribution to the resulting representation.

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*Balkız Öztürk*

Bogazici University

**Postverbal constituents in Uyghur and Khalkha**

Do 12.00-12.30, Raum: U5/118

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Khalkha (Mongolian) and Uyghur (Turkic) - two Altaic languages with the basic SOV word order - exhibit leftward scrambling yielding OSV order. They also allow postverbal constituents, yielding SVO and OVS. The main aim of this study is to show that postverbal elements in Uyghur are derived via rightward movement as shown in (1), and that the ones in Khalkha are not derived as parts of the sentence they adjoin to but belong to a second sentence, which is subject to phonological deletion under identity to the first sentence as in (2), similar to the proposals made for Japanese (Whitman 2000, Tanaka 2001, Abe 2004):

- (1) Uyghur:[<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> O V] S<sub>i</sub>]                      (2) Khalkha:[OV][S Ø<sub>V</sub> ]

We argue that this difference results from the presence of EPP effects in Khalkha as opposed to the case in Uyghur, which lacks such effects. EPP as the feature regulating the projection of specifiers in the functional domain (Chomsky 2000) imposes a degree of configurationality onto the phrase structure and blocks the projection of specifiers on the right. Thus, Uyghur lacking EPP effects allows for specifiers both on the right and on the left, whereas Khalkha can only project specifiers on the left due to EPP effects.

- Abe, J. 2004. On Directionality of Movement: A case of Japanese right dislocation. *Proceedings of the 58th Conference of the Tohoku English Literary Society*.  
Chomsky, N. 2000. Minimalist Inquiries: The Framework. *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik*. Martin, R., D. Michaels and J. Uriagereka.  
Tanaka, Hideo. 2001 Right-dislocation as scrambling. *Journal of Linguistics* 37:551-579.  
Whitman, J. 2000. Right Dislocation in English and Japanese. *Syntactic and Functional Explorations in Honor of Susumu Kuno*, Ken-ichi, T., A. Kamio and J. Whitman (eds.), Tokyo: Kuroshio Publishers.

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Carlo Cecchetto<sup>1</sup>, Carlo Geraci<sup>1</sup> & Alessandro Zucchi<sup>2</sup>  
 Università degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca<sup>1</sup>, Università degli Studi di Milano<sup>2</sup>

**Rightward *wh* movement in sign languages**

Do 12.30-13.00, Raum: U5/118

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The current reflection on rightward movement is mainly based on cases like extraposition or Heavy NP shift, but evidence from sign languages indicates that also genuine rightward *wh* movement exists (cf. Neidle *et al.* 2000 and Cecchetto *et al.* 2006). In this talk we focus on Italian Sign Language (LIS).

In LIS *wh* phrases move to the right periphery and questions are associated to a specific non-manual-marking (roughly, lowered eyebrows). We will show that *wh* non-manual-marking is just another way to connect the foot and the head of the *wh* chain. More generally, we hypothesize that sign languages can mark *wh* chains in two ways, either by movement or by non-manual-marking (they can also use both devices at the same time).

Since non-manual-marking is normally considered the sign language counterpart of prosody, our finding that non-manual-marking marks *wh* chains converges with evidence emerging from work showing that *wh* chains are marked by prosodic devices in spoken languages (cf. Deguchi and Kitagawa 2002 and Ishihara 2002 for Japanese and Richards 2006 for a cross-linguistic extension).

In LIS, as in other sign languages, rightward movement takes place also in core cases of syntactic movement, like *wh* movement. Therefore, the hypothesis that rightward movement is restricted to PF does not seem tenable. However, in LIS rightward movement is associated in interesting ways to prosodic marking of a syntactic dependency. In the last part of the talk, we will show how this association to prosody can explain why *wh* movement is rightward in LIS.

Cecchetto C., C. Geraci, and S. Zucchi (2006) "Strategies of Relativization in Italian Sign Language", *Natural Language and Linguist Theory*, 24:945–975.

Deguchi M. and Y. Kitagawa (2002) "Prosody and *Wh*-questions", in M. Hirotani (ed.) *Proceedings of NELS 32*, 73-92.

Ishihara S. (2002) "Invisible but Audible *Wh*-Scope Marking: *Wh*-Constructions and Deaccenting in Japanese", in L. Mikkelsen and C. Potts (eds.) *Proceedings of the (WCCFL 21)*, Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press, 180–193.

Neidle C., J. Kegl, D. MacLaughlin, B. Bahan and R. G. Lee (2000), *The Syntax of American Sign Language: Functional Categories and Hierarchical Structure*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Richards N. (2006) *Beyond Strength and Weakness*, manuscript, MIT.

*Cristiano Chesi*

CISCL - University of Siena

**Rightward movement from a top-down perspective**

Fr 9.00-9.30, Raum: U5/118

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Extraposition shows peculiar properties such as “clause”-boundedness (Akmajian 1975, Baltin 2006), adjunct/argument asymmetries sensitive to directionality (Baltin 2006) and the definiteness constraint (Fox & Nissenbaum 1999). This cluster of properties, which are usually resistant to a non-stipulative unified account, can be handled in a natural way if we drift away from the standard conception of bottom-to-top derivation and we redefine structure-building operations top-down, left-to-right, assuming a (weaker) version of the Linear Correspondence Axiom (Kayne 1994) in a head-driven, phase-based derivation.

A left-to-right (Phillips 1996) top-down (Chesi 2004) derivation, able to capture discontinuous dependencies using memory-buffers (Chesi 2007, Bianchi & Chesi 2005), requires that: 1. phases be N(ominal extended, in the sense of Grimshaw 1991)P(rojection)s and V(erb)al extended)P(rojection)s (which roughly correspond to DP and CP phases in standard minimalism); 2. the phrase structure be built phase by phase, following a Linearization Principle (similar to the LCA), by *merge*, *move* (their top-down definitions are irrelevant for the present discussion) and a third structure building operation dubbed *phase-projection*: phase-heads (N or V) project locally the minimal set of dominance relations so as to satisfy their (lexically encoded) selectional requirements. Selected phases (i.e. arguments) are projected (as Larsonian VP-shells) by the previous phase-head and, once the last selected phase is projected, the projecting phase becomes computationally closed (i.e. no further dominance relations can be introduced in this phase); unselected (computationally speaking, nested) phases are not predicted by phase projection and they need to be computed while the superordinate phase is still open (they are functional specification of the superordinate phase).

In the case of extraposition of objects, nominal selection requirements would be unsatisfied in situ, then the quantificational status of the DP (nominal phase) host (Baltin 2006) is the escape-hatch that forces the DP to be QR-ed (rightward, as discussed in Bianchi & Chesi 2007) then remerged in a peripheral position when selectional requirements can be satisfied locally (complying with a Complement-Principle-like requirement, Guéron & May 1984). On the other hand, extraposition of adjuncts is implemented by means of *late merge* (Fox & Nissenbaum 1999). Both procedures are (“clause”)/phase-bounded since: i. QR cannot scope out of the superordinate phase (Chesi & Bianchi 2007); ii. an adjunct clause, in order to be a nested phase, needs to be attached to the first open (and compatible) superordinate phase.

This approach also predicts that: 1. extraposition is not a feature-driven movement, though it affects scope relations (e.g. selectively bleeding condition C effects, Fox & Nissenbaum 1999, following the derivational top-down implementation of binding



principles proposed by Schlenker 2005); 2. the quantificational status of the host is important for a relevant subset of phenomena (this can hardly be captured in a purely phonological way, e.g. Göbbel 2007), moreover, the directionality of QR does not need to be stipulated (Bianchi and Chesi 2007, Vs. Fox & Nissenbaum 2001).

Bianchi, V., Chesi C. (2007) "Quantifier raising in a top-down grammar" XVII Colloquium on Generative Grammar, Gerona.

Chesi, C. (2007) "An introduction to Phase-based Minimalist Grammars" Studies in Linguistics (CISCL Working Papers) Vol. 1

Fox, D. and Nissenbaum, J. (1999) "Extraposition and scope: A case for overt QR" Proceedings of the 18th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics 18, 132-144.

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*Jiro Inaba*

Hiroshima University

**Against a uniform treatment of extraposition**

Fr 9.30-10.00, Raum: U5/118

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The phenomena subsumed under "extraposition", originally represented by data like (1), offer interesting research areas in German, because German is in principle an SOV-language and the post-verbal occurrence of an element is therefore to be regarded as something derived or marked. In this talk I mainly consider post-verbal positioning of the complement clause to a verb (cf. (2)) and of the restrictive relative clause (cf. (3)) in German:

- (1) I met a woman \_\_ yesterday [who likes to drink beer]
- (2) ich habe ihr \_\_ erzählt [dass ich zu ihr komme]
- (3) ich habe eine Frau \_\_ getroffen [die gerne Bier trinkt]

Within the standard generative framework (cf. Büring & Hartmann 1997, Müller 1995), all of these are treated as a uniform phenomenon, namely as a syntactic rightward movement operation to some higher adjoined position. For the extraposition in English (1), there is indeed empirical evidence for a syntactic (i.e. not phonological) status of this operation (cf. Culicover & Rochemont 1990). Now, this analysis for English has been carried over to the apparently similar phenomena in German, (2) & (3). Despite the theoretical advantage of a uniform treatment, however, I propose a difference analysis for the two types of extraposition in German, respectively. I claim that the post-verbal complement clause, (2), is not a result of rightward movement but represents a base-generated structure, as already advocated by Webelhuth (1992) or Haider (1997). For the post-verbal relative clause in German, (3), I argue that it involves rightward movement which takes place in the post-syntactic component, showing that the operation in question does not bring about LF-relevant semantic effects. I then turn to another type of construction in which both a complement clause and a relative clause show up extraposed:

- (4) weil er jedem Mädchen erzählt [dem er begegnet] [dass er einen Porsche besitzt]  
(5) \*weil er jedem Mädchen erzählt [dass er einen Porsche besitzt] [dem er begegnet]

I demonstrate that my proposal naturally explains these data, for which there has been offered no satisfactory account so far.

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*Heike Walker*

Georg-August Universität Göttingen

**Extraposition of relative clauses: influences on acceptability judgments**

Fr 10.00-10.30, Raum: U5/118

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Extraposition of relative clauses in English has been widely assumed to be subject to non-syntactic restrictions such as (i) focus requirements, (ii) the predicate restriction, and (iii) the definiteness constraint. It is claimed that the extraposed phrase and/or its antecedent NP must be interpreted as focus (1a). A sentence in which some other constituent is focused seems unacceptable (1b) (cf. Guéron 1980, Rochemont and Culicover 1990):

- (1) a. What did you sell to Shirley?  
We sold that PAINTING to Shirley that was in the SHED.  
b. Who was that painting that was in the shed sold to?  
\*We sold that painting to SHIRLEY that was in the shed.  
(Rochemont and Culicover 1990:26)

The predicate restriction requires that the predicate in the sentence must be one of “appearance in the world of the discourse” in order to allow extraposition from a subject NP (Guéron 1980 and Rochemont 1978). Thus, (2a) is a felicitous instance of subject extraposition, while (2b) sounds distinctly odd.

- (2) a. A man arrived who wasn't wearing any clothes.  
b. A man screamed who wasn't wearing any clothes.  
(Rochemont and Culicover (1990:65)

In view of examples like (3), it seems that the determiner of the antecedent NP of extraposition must be indefinite (definiteness constraint) (Rochemont 1978). However, it has been shown that the acceptability of sentences with extraposition from definite NPs may be improved by embedding the relevant examples in appropriate discourse contexts (cf. Guéron 1980, Maynell 2003, Rochemont and Culicover 1990).

- (3) a. A cocktail waitress entered the dining room who was wearing a blond wig.  
b. <sup>??</sup>The cocktail waitress entered the dining room who was wearing a blond wig. (Maynell 2003:4)

While there is a general consensus that the above-mentioned restrictions have an effect on the acceptability of extraposition constructions, there is no clear evidence on which of these factors has the greatest influence and whether one restriction can be explained as following from another.

In this paper, the different proposals are scrutinized and put to an empirical test. Specifically, using the technique of magnitude estimation, it is investigated whether and in what ways the acceptability judgment of a sentence that contains an extraposed relative clause is influenced by (i) the focus requirement, (ii) the predicate restriction, and (iii) the definiteness constraint. The factors are crossed in order to test the magnitude of the effect caused by each factor. The results will lead to an improved understanding of the nature of the constraints on extraposition.

- Guéron, Jacqueline (1980). On the Syntax and Semantics of PP Extraposition. In *Linguistic Inquiry* 11:4, 637-678.
- Maynell, Laurie A. (2003). Discourse Constraints on Extraposition from Definite NP Subjects in English. Ohio State University. Unpublished Manuscript.
- Rochemont, M. (1978). *A Theory of Stylistic Rules in English*. New York: Garland Press, 1985.
- Rochemont, M. and P. Culicover (1990). *English Focus Constructions and the Theory of Grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



**Abstracts AG 7****Local modelling of non-local dependencies in syntax**

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*Klaus Abels & Kristine Bentzen*

UCL &amp; University of Tromsø

**Is there any evidence for punctuated paths?**Mi 14.30-15.00, Raum: U5/222

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The paths of long distance dependencies are construed in different ways in various modern frameworks of generative grammar. Whereas in TAG and in HPSG paths are uniform in the sense that they do not contain any distinguished points, in the frameworks proposed by Chomsky since the 1970s, long displacement is modeled as a succession of relatively local “successive cyclic” steps. This gives rise to a non-uniform notion of path since the paths of movement are punctuated by intermediate landing sites that contain intermediate traces or copies.

Most arguments supporting the view that paths are punctuated are based on reconstruction and/or morphological effects along the path of movement. However, as Abels (2003) has pointed out, a true argument for the punctuated nature of movement paths would have to rest on a demonstration that reconstruction is possible to some intermediate places but not to others or that morphological effects show up in some places but not in others. In this paper we provide data from Norwegian showing that reconstruction is available to some positions but not to others, thus supporting the claim that paths in long distance dependencies are indeed punctuated rather than uniform.

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*Gregory Kobele*

Humboldt Universität zu Berlin

**Deriving the A, A-bar distinction in the Minimalist Program**Mi 15.00-15.30, Raum U5/222

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It seems a fact that movement dependencies come in two flavours: "A" and "A-bar". Over the years, a number of apparently independent properties have been shown to cluster together around this distinction. However, the basic structural property relating these two kinds of movement, the ban on improper movement (‘once you go bar, you never go back’), which attempts toward explaining the properties these two movement types have, has always been simply a descriptive stipulation. Here, I propose a timing-based account of the A/A-bar distinction, which derives the ban on improper movement, and allows for a simple account of some of their differences. In this account, "A" dependencies are those which are entered into before an expression

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is first merged into a structure, and "A-bar" dependencies are those an expression enters into after having been merged. The resulting system is mildly context-sensitive, which means that it provides a restrictive account of possible human grammars, while remaining expressive enough to be able to describe the kinds of dependencies actually attested.

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*Jong-Bok Kim*

Kyung Hee University, Seoul

**Non-local dependencies in the three different types of Korean relative clauses: a construction-based approach**

Mi 15.30-16.00, Raum U5/222

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In terms of truth-conditional meanings, there is no clear difference among (Korean) IHRCs (internally headed relative clauses), EHRCs (externally headed relative clauses) and PSRC (pseudo-relative clause). This paper tries to spell out the similarities and differences among these constructions all together. It claims that the shared properties as well as constructional idiosyncrasies can be captured only when we recognize the tight interactions among constructions in the multiple inheritance hierarchy.

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*Udo Klein*

SFB 732, Universität Stuttgart

**Long-distance dependencies, locality and discontinuous constituents**

Mi 16.30-17.00, Raum U5/222

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First I will show that if syntactic and semantic rules/constraints are local in the sense that they cannot operate on proper parts and subparts of the immediate constituents (but only on the immediate constituents as a whole), then a direct compositional analysis of longdistance dependencies (LDD) requires that the syntactic rules operate on discontinuous constituents.

Secondly, I will sketch an analysis of LDDs based on discontinuous constituents. The analysis will be expressed within a framework based on the notion of sign grammar proposed in Kracht (2003) and the notion of Simple Literal Movement Grammar proposed in Groenink (1997). The basic idea is to combine a "dislocated" sign with a verbal sign locally, while at the same time deferring the concatenation of the their exponents, so that the resulting exponent is not a string of words, but a pair (or more generally a tuple) of strings.

Finally I will discuss two important differences between this analysis of LDD and the HPSG analyses proposed in Sag and Wasow (1999), Müller (2004) and Sag (to appear). First, HPSG postulates a difference in syntactic categories in order to analyse the difference between a dislocated and a non-dislocated sentence. Here only a

difference in exponent functions but not in syntactic categories is postulated. Thus the tectogrammatical structure of dislocated and nondislocated sentences is different in HPSG, whereas here it is (almost) the same. Secondly, in the present framework the relation between syntactic and semantic structure is exhaustively characterised by associating syntactic and semantic rules. In HPSG the relation between syntactic and semantic structure cannot be exhaustively characterised by associating syntactic and semantic constraints.

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*Andreas Haida*

ZAS & Humboldt Universität, Berlin

**The semantics of successive cyclic *wh*-movement**

Mi 17.00-17.30, Raum U5/222

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In minimalist frameworks, the theory of successive cyclic movement raises serious problems, most notably the problem of what triggers the intermediate movement steps in long-distance *wh*-questions such as (1a), given that *wh*-movement is triggered by an interrogative complementizer ( $C^{[+Q]}$ ) and the embedded clause of (1a) is non-interrogative (see 1b).

- (1) a. Who do you think John loves?  
 b. [<sub>CP1</sub> who  $C^{[+Q]}$  you think [<sub>CP2</sub>  $t_{\text{who}}$   $C^{[-Q]}$  John loves  $t_{\text{who}}$  ]]

Stepanov & Stateva (2006) show how to solve this problem by assuming that long-distance *wh*-questions share a common structural core with a construction for which the triggering problem has already been solved: *wh*-scope marking questions (see 2 for a German example).

- (2) Was glaubst du wen Hans liebt?  
 what think you who Hans loves  
 ‘Who do you think Hans loves?’

The analysis of Stepanov & Stateva (2006) is a variant of Dayal’s (1994) Indirect Dependency Approach, according to which the embedded clause of (2) is interrogative (see 3).

- (3) [<sub>CP1</sub> was  $C^{[+Q]}$  glaubst du [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub>  $t_{\text{was}}$  [<sub>CP2</sub> wen  $C^{[+Q]}$  Hans  $t_{\text{wen}}$  liebt]]]  $t_{\text{glaubst}}$  ]]

Correspondingly, the sentence in (1a) is analyzed as shown in (4), where *what* is a non-overt scope marker which incorporates into the matrix verb.

- (4) [<sub>CP1</sub> who  $C^{[+Q]}$  you [<sub>VP</sub> *what*+think [<sub>NP</sub>  $t_{\text{what}}$  [<sub>CP2</sub>  $t_{\text{who}}$   $C^{[+Q]}$  John loves  $t_{\text{who}}$  ]]]]

However, this syntax is not complemented by a compositional semantics. I will fill this gap with an analysis which is based on the partition semantics of Groenendijk & Stokhof 1982). The basic idea of this analysis is that the trace of the scope marker

resolves the type mismatch between the matrix verb – which selects for a semantic object of type *st* – and the embedded clause – which denotes an object of type  $\langle s, st \rangle$  – by denoting a variable of type *s*. This assumption is all that is needed to interpret (3) in the original framework of Groenendijk & Stokhof (1982) (see Haida 2007). However, for interpreting (4) we must provide a semantics for incorporated scope markers. I will show that such a semantics can be easily provided if we adopt the analysis of Kratzer & Shimoyama (2002), according to which *wh*-words introduce alternatives into a semantic computation. On the basis of this assumption, (4) can be assigned an adequate meaning without making any assumptions beyond what is required for analyzing *wh*-scope marking questions of languages like Hindi and Iraqi Arabic.

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*Chris Worth*

Ohio State University

**Towards a CVG account of gap agreement in Chamorro**

Mi 17.30-18.00, Raum U5/222

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Chamorro is an Austronesian Language spoken primarily in Guam, which is generally taken to have VSO word order. It displays an interesting pattern of agreement in unbounded dependency constructions, whereby verb agrees via infixation with the grammatical relationship between each verbal head and the constituent from which the element has been extracted, be it subject, object, or oblique. Convergent Grammar (CVG) is a relational, multi-modal, type-theoretic, resource sensitive grammatical framework which “can be seen as a coming together of ideas of widely varying provenances, be they transformational, phrase-structural, or categorial.” (Pollard 07) The question of how a verbal head can agree with an extracted element can be accounted for using a combination of lexical specification and rules of natural deduction. Embedded constructions are of particular interest, as each verb’s agreement morphology varies with the corresponding variance in the role of the extracted element within the verb’s arguments or adjuncts.

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*Masaya Yoshida & Angel J. Gallego*

University of Edinburgh & Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

**Phases and ellipsis**

Mi 18.00-18.30, Raum U5/222

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We investigate the so-called *Antecedent Contained Sluicing* (ACS) as in (1) (see Yoshida 2006). Based on the properties of ACS, i.e., (i) the correlation between the positions that the elided site is incorporated into (which restricts the possible antecedent for IP-ellipsis), and (ii) antecedent containment. We explore the idea that ellipsis resolution depends on the cycle/phase where the ellipsis site is incorporated.



- (1) John must not kiss anyone [<sub>PP</sub> without [<sub>CP</sub>[<sub>IP</sub> PRO knowing [<sub>CP</sub> who [<sub>IP</sub> Δ]]]]].  
 \*... without knowing who he must not kiss.  
 (= if he does not know who he must not kiss)  
 ... without knowing who he is kissing.

The focus of our study is on the contrast shown by (1) and (2), i.e., if the PP containing the IP-ellipsis is attached to the TP, functional categories get recovered into ellipsis site:

- (2) John must not kiss anyone today [<sub>PP</sub> without [<sub>CP</sub>[<sub>IP</sub> PRO knowing [<sub>CP</sub> who [<sub>IP</sub> Δ]]]]]  
 ... without knowing who he must not kiss.  
 (= if he does not know who he must not kiss)  
 ... without knowing who he is kissing.

Assuming that the extraposed PP is attached to the TP, this suggests that there is a correlation between the PP's position and the possible antecedents for the elided site. If the PP is attached to the vP, vP is the antecedent (and higher functional elements are unavailable); however, if the PP is attached higher up, TP is selected as an antecedent (and the functional elements become available). Such an asymmetry falls into place if one capitalizes on the privileged status of vP and CP (Chomsky's 2001; to appear *phases*).

Our proposal raises technical problems concerning the base position of external arguments, the nature of Transfer, and the semantic identity between the elided domain and its antecedent.

Chomsky. 2001. "Derivation by Phase," in *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, Cambridge (Mass): MIT Press.

Chomsky. To appear. "On Phases," in *Foundational Issues in Linguistic Theory*, Cambridge (Mass): MIT Press.

Yoshida. 2006. "Sometimes Smaller Is Better: Sluicing, Gapping and Semantic Identity," in *NELS 36*, Amherst (Mass.): GLSA Publications.

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*Eric Potsdam & Maria Polinsky*

University of Florida & Harvard University

**Real and apparent long-distance agreement in subject-to-subject raising constructions**

Do 9.00-9.30, Raum U5/222

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This paper documents and analyzes instances of agreement in which a non-thematic predicate agrees with the subject of its complement clause. We show that this agreement pattern corresponds to two constructions. In one, illustrated with data from Greek, there is real long-distance agreement between the predicate and the embedded subject. Such constructions provide evidence for non-local agreement relations in

syntax. In the second, represented with data from the Caucasian language Adyghe, there is only apparent long-distance agreement. The embedded subject has a silent syntactic representation in the matrix clause and the agreement is actually local.

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*Marc Richards*

Universität Leipzig

**Probing the past: on reconciling LDA with PIC**

Do 9.30-10.00, Raum U5/222

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The phenomenon of non-local or long-distance agreement (LDA) poses a specific problem under the phase-cyclic minimalist framework of Chomsky 2000 *et seq.*, where the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) sets strict limits on the search space of a probe. An apparent case of illicit LDA that involves “searching into a phase already passed” (Chomsky 2005:16) is agreement that holds between a matrix-clause predicate (probe) and an embedded-clause argument (goal), as is attested across a diverse range of languages. The challenge from the minimalist perspective is to keep a distant, in-situ goal accessible to a higher, matrix probe whilst maintaining PIC.

This paper considers and assesses the various analytical options that are open to us for achieving this goal within a minimalist architecture. Essentially, there are two available strategies for localizing LDA: either Agree between PIC-separated probe and goal proceeds incrementally, in smaller, local, cyclic steps (phase-sized or smaller), as is proposed by Bhatt 2005, Legate 2005 and others; or the PIC-separation of probe and goal is only apparent, with no intervening phase boundaries after all (see, e.g., the ‘invisible topicalization’ of Polinsky & Potsdam 2001). I argue that the latter type of approach is the preferable one, on conceptual, technical and empirical grounds, and that attempts to develop unified analyses of LDA are misguided. Rather, at least three main types of LDA can and must be distinguished, each with a different set of properties depending on the structures involved: LDA with nonfinite, restructuring infinitives (Hindi, Itelmen), LDA across finite TPs (Tsez, Algonquian), and LDA across finite CPs (e.g. Chukchee). I show that none of these provides clear evidence of PIC-violating Agree, and that PIC and LDA are thus already reconciled without the need to abandon or weaken PIC or to introduce new technology.

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*Miriam Butt*

Universität Konstanz

**Revisiting Long-Distance Agreement in Urdu/Hindi**

Do 10.00-10.30, Raum: U5/222

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Butt (1993, 1995) analyzes instances of so-called Long-Distance Agreement as in (1) as a series of local agreements and also proposes to make a distinction between truly

nominal infinitives vs. verbal infinitives (but both have the same surface form: e.g., *calaanii*).

- (1) naadyaa=ko [gaarii calaa-n-ii] aa-t-ii hai  
 Nadya.F.Sg=Dat car.F.Sg.Nom drive-Inf-F.Sg.Nom come-Impf.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg  
 'Nadya knows how to drive a car.'

Bhatt (2005) argues against this analysis, claiming that it is motivated by just one specific dialect (Butt's) and that a larger pattern must be accounted for. His analysis involves a disassociation between case and agreement, a new version of AGREE, and crucially invokes the notion of restructuring (Wurmbrand 1998).

This paper revisits the argumentation, takes a closer look at "restructuring", shows that several different kinds of syntactic structures are actually involved and that the original idea of locality with respect to agreement can be maintained. The talk is accompanied by a computational implementation.

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*Omer Preminger*

MIT

**Long-Distance Agreement in Basque, locally speaking**

Do 10.30-11.00, Raum U5/222

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It has been well-established in the syntactic literature of the last few decades that the syntactic computation privileges certain boundaries, in such a way that establishing dependencies across multiple boundaries of this sort is impossible, or at least relatively cumbersome. In this respect, the phenomenon of *L(ong)D(istance)A(greement)* seems quite problematic, since prima facie, LDA constitutes a counter-example for such generalizations. I show that for the case of LDA in dialectal Basque (as discussed by Etxepare 2005), there is independent support for an analysis that breaks up the seemingly long-distance relation into multiple local relations, each of which is well-behaved with respect to the aforementioned boundaries.

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*Petr Biskup*

Universität Leipzig

**Agreement, C-Selection, movement, and set-merge**

Do 11.30-12.00, Raum U5/222

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Some non-local syntactic relations based on Agree pose a problem for Chomsky's model with forgotten phases because according to Chomsky (2000, 2001) Agree is subject to the Phase Impenetrability Condition. In this paper, I follow Chomsky's proposal (1995) that merger of  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  forms  $\{\gamma\{\alpha, \beta\}\}$ , where  $\gamma$  is the label and  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  sets of features. However, in contrast to the standard assumptions, I propose

that for Agree the whole set information of the syntactic object is visible and relevant. Given the Phase Impenetrability Condition, when a phase is spelled out, the complement of the phase head becomes inaccessible. In fact, one can differentiate between the set information about the syntactic structure on particular nodes and the presence of elements in the structure. Although the complement of the phase head is inaccessible (it has been sent to spellout), the information about it is present on the highest node. And since non-complement nodes always stay present in the derivation after spellout, probing elements merged later in the derivation can see the history of the derivation with the relevant goal.

As to Move, although probing elements can see the set information with features of the elements in the phase complement (and in this way, they can be valued), they cannot move the appropriate elements because they are not present in the structure; they have been sent to spellout.

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*Juan Cuartero & Fabian Heck*

Universität Leipzig

**Long distance agreement in relative clauses**

Do 12.00-12.30, Raum U5/222

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Relative clauses and clefts that associate with pronouns bearing 1. or 2. person exhibit some cross-linguistic variation with respect to agreement: In German, the verb of the relative clause exhibits 3.-person-agreement. In French, by contrast, the verb shows what appears to be long distance agreement (LDA) with the pronominal head noun with respect to person and number. This is surprising, provided that agreement is usually prevented from applying across clause boundaries. Aims of the talk are (a) to discuss different mechanisms that could bridge the apparent gap in locality and (b) to pursue the question why some languages can resort to (one of these) mechanisms while others cannot.

Among the options that suggest themselves are 1. Head Raising (Brame 1968, Schachter 1973, Vergnaud 1974), 2. Matching (Carlson 1977, Sauerland 2003), and 3. Cyclic Agree (Adger & Ramchand 2005). Perhaps not surprisingly, these options do not come off equally well.

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*Chiyo Nishida*

University of Texas at Austin

**Extended categorial grammar analysis of ‘restructuring’  
and ‘clitic climbing’ in Romance**

Do 12.30-13.00, Raum U5/222

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This paper demonstrates that the local treatment of the so-called ‘restructuring’ (RS hereafter) and ‘clitic climbing’ (CC hereafter) phenomenon in Romance using

extended categorical grammar (Moortgat 1989, ECG hereafter) has empirical advantages over its comparable minimalist analysis (Cinque 2004).

In some Romance languages, certain verbs taking a non-finite clausal complement allow the pronominal clitic that belongs to the embedded verb (1a) to climb and attach to the matrix verb (1b). (Exx. from Spanish)

1a. José quiere leer=**LO**. b. José **LO**=quiere leer. ‘John wants to read IT’

Cinque (ibid.) proposes that RS verbs be generated as the head of various functional projections like ModP, AspP, MoodP, etc., which form a universal template; the clitic may optionally climb out of the non-finite clause to attach to a functional head. Cinque’s templatic analysis of RS and CC runs into some empirical problems for Spanish, the most serious one being that in Spanish, non-functional, object control verbs allow CC, as in 2b and 3b.

2a. José me=enseñó a leer=**LO**. ‘José taught me (how) to read it’ (both)

b. José me=**LO**=enseñó a leer.

3a. José me=permitió a leer=**LO**. ‘Joe permitted me to read it’ (both)

b. José me=**LO**=enseñó a leer.

ECG include a type-changing rule, DIVISION ( $X/Y: f \rightarrow (X/Z)/(Y/Z): \lambda v_1 \lambda v_2. f(v_1(v_2))$ ), besides the combinatory rule, FUNCTIONAL APPLICATION ( $X/Y: f \ Y: a \rightarrow A: f(a)$ ). These two rules make it possible to concatenate the CL, the matrix verb, and the embedded verb, as in  $[[CL=V] V]$ , yielding the correct semantics, where the climbed CL is linked to the embedded verb.

Our ECG analysis also provides a straightforward account of the coordinate structure, as shown in 4, whereas the minimalist counterpart lacks one.

4. Jose **LO**=puede y **LO**=debe leer. Jose IT can and IT must to.read  
‘Jose can and must read it’

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*Daniel Hole*

Universität Potsdam

**Locality and complementarity in dative binding**

Fr 9.00-9.30, Raum U5/222

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This paper discusses issues of locality and complementary interpretation in the domain of ‘beneficiary’ and ‘possessor’ datives in German. I will defend four interrelated claims. (i) The analysis of ‘beneficiary’ and ‘possessor’ datives can be unified, with the differences between the two interpretations mainly following from different types of bindees bound by the dative, and only secondarily by different types of binder datives. (ii) Each ‘beneficiary’ or ‘possessive’ dative must bind a variable.

(iii) The bindee in the case of a ‘possessor’ dative is a – frequently implicit – possessor variable in the left periphery of a more deeply embedded argument within the same tense domain (occupying the trace position of competing possessor raising analyses). (iv) The bindee in the case of a ‘beneficiary’ dative is a beneficiary in the left periphery of a more deeply embedded purpose phrase within the same tense domain. (iii) and (iv) entail that the dative DP itself never has a possessor or beneficiary interpretation (*pace*, e.g., Pylkkänen 2002 or Lee-Schoenfeld 2006). Instead, the thematic relation borne by the referent of the dative DP – this is presupposed for the current talk – amounts to the LANDMARK role and/or the P-EXPERIENCER role (with P-EXPERIENCER being a modalized EXPERIENCER role). The structure in (1) summarizes claims (i)-(iv).

- (1) The structure of (obligatory) dative binding:  
[DP<sub>DAT.LANDMARK/P-EXPERIENCER,i</sub> ... [(\*T) ... [\*(PRON<sub>i</sub>) ...]<sub>POSSESSEE/PURPOSE<sub>j</sub></sub>]]

Four kinds of data are used to support the claims: (i) the absence of strict-identity readings with possessor and beneficiary datives, (ii) the binding behavior of reflexive and pronominal internal arguments in complex DPs, (iii) patterns of *wh*-binding in questions and, (iv), the availability of bridging interpretations for definites under dative binding, which is restricted to the local tense domain.

Lee-Schoenfeld, Vera (2006). ‘German possessor datives – raised and affected’. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Syntax* 9, 101-142.  
Pylkkänen, Liina (2002). ‘Introducing arguments’. *PhD Dissertation*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA.

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Dalina Kallulli  
Universität Wien

**Local modelling of allegedly local but really non-local phenomena: unifying  
lack of superiority and Principle C effects**

Fr 9.30-10.00, Raum U5/222

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This paper is an attempt towards a uniform analysis of lack of superiority and Principle C effects across several construction types, which crucially relies on and provides further support for Kratzer’s (2006) view that although the locality constraints for bound variable pronouns are often hard to detect because of spell-out forms that obscure the presence of agreement chains, the relation between a bound variable pronoun and its antecedent is necessarily subject to locality constraints. The central claim that I would like to put forth is that the lack of superiority and/or Principle C effects in these constructions is due to the existence of a phonetically null (object) pronoun (*pro*) in a concealed relative clause, which is (d-)linked with a c-

commanding constituent (either a *wh*-phrase or an R-expression, depending on the construction), which in turn is (externally) merged in the upper clause. I contend further that the linking of the null pronominal in the concealed relative clause and the *wh*-phrase/R-expression in the upper clause is mediated by an elided (or silent) DP in a phonetically null copular structure with which the *wh*-phrase/R-expression in the upper clause stands in a part-whole relationship.

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*Florian Schäfer*

Universität Stuttgart

**Local case and cyclic Agree**

Fr 10.00-10.30, Raum U5/222

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(i) Standard accounts of structural case claim that nominative is checked by Tense while accusative is checked by little *v* introducing an external argument. This stipulates Burzio's Generalization (BG) as a property of little *v*.

(ii) Alternative accounts (Marantz 2000, McFadden 2003, Sigurðsson 2003) propose that nominative and accusative should be seen as standing in a dependency relation (thereby trivially deriving BG) and that morphological case is a mere Spell-Out-phenomenon read off at PF from a local configurational relation.

(iii) I argue for an alternative that combines ideas of (i) and (ii). Morphological case is a PF-phenomenon and accusative depends on the presence of nominative within the same local domain. However, the information evaluated at PF is not configurational (higher vs. lower NP) but PF evaluates syntactic Agree-relations: unmarked case is determined locally within the *v*P-phase via Agree between a verbalizing head *v*/Voice and the most local NP; dependent case is realized by any further NP without lexical case within the phase. Cases of apparent long-distance case result from cyclic agree between *v*/Voice and higher functional heads.

The main argument that neither (i) nor (ii) suffices comes from German anticausatives with a nominative theme and an accusative reflexive pronoun. This structure is syntactically transitive (Steinbach 2000) which means that an external argument is present. This must be the reflexive pronoun because the theme can be shown to be base-generated below the reflexive (the relative order of the theme and the reflexive is free due to scrambling (1a, b), the orders differ in their possible interpretations; bare plural or indefinite themes get a weak reading only if they follow the reflexive.) In a nom/acc system, the external argument gets nominative and the internal argument gets accusative unless the external argument is a reflexive. In the latter case, the system switches to a kind of ergative/absolutive frame. I argue that this deviation from the nom/acc pattern can be derived if case is realized post-syntactically on the basis of syntactic Agree.

- (1) a. weil sich Türen öffnen und schließen sollten (*generic, existential*)  
b. weil Türen sich öffnen und schließen sollten (*generic, \*existential*)
- 

*Hans-Martin Gärtner*

ZAS, Berlin

**Function composition and the linear local modeling of extended neg-scope**

Fr 11.00-11.30, Raum: U5/222

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This presentation reiterates arguments from Błaszczak & Gärtner (2005) in favor of an (enriched) CCG approach (cf. Steedman 2000) to extending the scope of negative quantifiers over matrix clauses. The interaction of function composition with constraints on linear adjacency, prosodic blocking, wrapping, and type shifting will be discussed.

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*Tibor Kiss*

Universität Bochum

**Locality: ontology or description?**

Fr 11.30-12.00, U5/222

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Locality is a distinctive trait of current grammar theories. Yet, it remains unclear whether locality should be considered as a constraint on grammar design or whether locality reflects an underlying property of universal grammar itself. Current proposals sometimes tacitly assume prerequisites of computational grammars, as e.g. the idea that operations should apply to local structures, or should make use of locally available information only. Imposing such constraints over operations may lead to more efficient computational grammar processing, but it does not reveal anything about the processed entities itself. Nor does it reveal anything about the structure of the human mind. Similarly, ontological locality cannot be justified by recourse to compositionality.

An alternative, agnostic view would assume that locality is *always* a property of grammar design, hence a descriptive characteristic. But is it a useful one? While annotation schemata have been very successful on the level of the word, annotations at sentence level (which could form an empirical basis for future generalizations) are quite often awkward due to their non-locality. From the perspective of annotation and search of linguistic phenomena, linguists would like to see revealed as much as possible in as little structure as needed. It seems, however, that such a requirement can only be met by annotating local structures with non-local information. Typical examples of such annotations can already be found in grammatical description, if e.g. local topological properties of clauses are translated into features of intervening heads that do not show the relevant property.

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*Yo Sato*

King's College London

**A linearisation-based account of unbounded dependency**

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In this paper I present a linearisation-based account of unbounded dependency constructions (UDCs) that uses the non-standard SLASH mechanism proposed by Penn (1999) but does not rely on non-local LP conditions either, which are considered to be a characteristic of a linearisation account. Under the proposed analysis the potential left-dislocation is marked with a combination of local LP and partial compaction conditions. The marked constituent percolates up the tree until it reaches the top node where it can be linearised, again with local LP and compaction conditions. The traditional constructs such as gap and filler are dispensed with, but the Locality Principle is maintained.

This account of UDCs will benefit from the advantages of both a linearisation grammar and the traditional locally bound HPSG. First, by extending linearisation to a construction that has been considered to require a different structure to its 'non-extracted' counterpart, the grammar becomes simpler and more portable, thereby rendering the syntax-semantics interface more transparent. Second, as this account is nevertheless locality-respecting, it is more straightforward to embed into the classical form of HPSG and computationally more efficient to process.

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*Antje Lahne*

Universität Leipzig

**Local modelling of long-distance agreement**

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The main goal of this talk is to propose a new analysis of LDA which is based on the idea that LDA is the result of ordered operation application at an extremely local level conditioned by a specificity condition on syntactic derivation.

Background assumptions made in the new analysis are that heads are bundles of unordered features, and head movement is an operation by which the features of the goal are added to the feature set of the probe. Several features can be dealt with simultaneously, while Agree only takes place under c-command. The syntactic constraint relevant to the local decisions made is a version of Maximise Matching (cf. Chomsky 2001). The syntactic derivation proceeds in such a way that the set of phi-features H of the embedded object are "handed on" to the highest head in the embedded clause (presumably I) by verb-object agreement and subsequent V-to-I movement. The matrix verb then agrees with the most specific goal (according to Maximise Matching) in its search space, which is H.

The new analysis accounts for a number of properties of LDA. Firstly, it captures the parasitic nature of the construction: matrix V can only show LDA if embedded V shows local agreement. Secondly, the analysis accounts for the observation that in

Tsez LDA is obligatory when the embedded absolutive argument is interpreted as a topic, and disallowed when the argument has no such interpretation. Thirdly, by avoiding a raising-to-object scenario, the analysis correctly predicts that embedded arguments cannot take scope over the matrix subject (Potsdam and Polinsky 2001:619).

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*Antonio Fábregas*

CASTL-Universitetet i Tromsø

**Non-local dependencies in word-internal syntax**

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In this presentation we address the problem that parasynthesis, as a morphological operation, presents for locality in a word-internal syntax. Apparently, parasynthesis implies a derivational morphology process which requires the co-occurrence of two different affixes in order to turn an adjective or a noun into a verb.

We will show that the right analysis of parasynthesis preserves the locality of word internal relationships. In the analysis that I argue for, the verbal affix selects a structure headed by the prefix, which is independently needed for semantic reasons which have to do with specific semantic properties of the base.

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## Abstracts AG 8

### Topikalität

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*Svetlana Petrova*

Humboldt University Berlin

**Types of topic expressions and the structure of the left periphery in Old High German**

Mi 14.30-15.00, Raum U2/025 (Ost)

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The paper examines the behaviour of different types of expressions and constructions in OHG with respect to their ability to provide the aboutness topic of the utterance. First, it will be shown that phrases with properties of canonical aboutness topics, i.e. individual denoting expressions displaying the features ‘givenness’, ‘referentiality’ and ‘definiteness’ are good candidates to appear in the prefield of main clauses followed by the finite verb thus yielding V2 in the surface. In contrast, sentences with no topic-comment division likethetic or presentational sentences (Sasse 1995) use to leave the preverbal position empty. This allows to assume that the V2 pattern in main declarative clauses in OHG is sensitive to the ability to assign a topic-comment division to the utterance and that the preverbal position is identified with the constituent which represents the aboutness topic in the sentence.

From this perspective, we shall look at other types of phrases filling the prefield in main declarative clauses in OHG. On the one hand, they differ from canonical topics in the sense that they convey novel, i.e. not pre-established material in the discourse, or are indefinite. On the other hand, however, they share with canonical topics the property to act as the subject of the predication (Endriss and Hinterwimmer t.a.), i.e. they represent an individual or a set of individuals about which the sentence makes a comment.

These facts support the topical status of the preverbal position in V2 main clauses in OHG under the assumption of a more general term of aboutness topicality which not necessarily relates the status of the topic expression to givenness/familiarity but focuses on the predication structure of the utterance proper.

Endriss, C. and Hinterwimmer, St. t.a. Direct and Indirect Aboutness Topics. In *The notions of information structure*, eds. Caroline Féry, Gisbert Fanselow and Manfred Krifka.

Sasse, H.-J. 1995. "Theticity" and VS order: a case study. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 48, 1/2:3-31.

Werner Frey  
ZAS Berlin

**Italian Clitic Left Dislocation and German D-Pronoun Left Dislocation: A fresh look of comparison**

Mi 15.00-15.30, Raum U2/025 (Ost)

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In the literature, Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) of some Romance languages (and of Greek) and Germanic D-Pronoun Left Dislocation (GLD) of German or Dutch are standardly seen as equivalent, especially in terms of their information structural property as topic marking constructions (e.g. Anagnostopoulou 1997, Grewendorf to appear). Only certain (actual or presumed) syntactic differences are acknowledged, which are mainly seen as reflexes of the different syntax of the resumptive elements.

The talk concentrates on CLLD in Italian (*Il libro su se stesso, l'ha comprato ieri.*) and on GLD in German (*Das Buch über sich, das hat er gestern gekauft.*). It is true that these constructions share a number of properties: (i) the dislocated phrase ( $XP_{\text{disl}}$ ) cannot be a quantified phrase; (ii) CLLD and GLD are said to be dislocations which do not induce weak crossover; (iii) they do not license parasitic gaps. However, there exist important syntactic and information structural differences, some of which have not been discussed in the literature so far: (iv) CLLD may involve several  $XP_{\text{disl}}$ , while GLD allows only one  $XP_{\text{disl}}$ ; (v) a clause with CLLD is not an island, whereas a clause with GLD is; (vi) in embedded structures with a complementizer,  $XP_{\text{disl}}$  of CLLD follows the complementizer,  $XP_{\text{disl}}$  of GLD precedes it; (vii) there exist CLLDs with non-specific indefinites as  $XP_{\text{disl}}$ ; there do not exist such GLDs; (viii) CLLD is possible in any type of subordinate clause, GLD only occurs in so-called root contexts; (ix)  $XP_{\text{disl}}$  of CLLD is not possible as an answer to a wh-question, but  $XP_{\text{disl}}$  of GLD is; (x)  $XP_{\text{disl}}$  of CLLD is always contrastively interpreted, this does not hold for  $XP_{\text{disl}}$  of GLD.

The talk argues that contrary to the standard assumption, CLLD does not necessarily mark a topic, only GLD does. However, CLLD and GLD share the property that their respective  $XP_{\text{disl}}$  have to be – in a broad sense – anaphoric. Furthermore, the obvious assumption is made that the Italian clause offers a richer structure at its left periphery than the German clause does. Finally, I presume that  $XP_{\text{disl}}$  of CLLD has reached its surface position via movement, whereas  $XP_{\text{disl}}$  of GLD is base generated there. It is argued that under these assumptions, the noted properties of the two constructions become plausible.

Anagnostopoulou, E. (1997): Clitic Left Dislocation and Contrastive Left Dislocation. In: E. Anagnostopoulou et al. (eds.) : *Materials on Left Dislocation*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 151-192.

Grewendorf, G. (to appear): The Left Clausal Periphery: Clitic Left Dislocation in Italian and Left Dislocation in German. In: B. Shaer et al. (eds.): *Dislocated Elements in Discourse: Syntactic, Semantic, and Pragmatic Perspectives*. New York, London: Routledge.

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Peter Öhl

BU Wuppertal

**Grammatical relations and discourse configurationality**

Mi 15.30-16.00, Raum U2/025 (Ost)

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In mainstream typological work on comparative syntax, it is common practice to divide languages into the types 'topic prominent' and 'subject prominent' (cf. Sasse 1982; 1995). More recent work on this matter (cf. E. Kiss 1995; 2001) broadens the spectrum to a more general division into discourse configurationality and the prominence of grammatical relations: there are languages said to be *topic prominent* or *focus prominent* on the one hand, and, on the other hand, languages where *syntactic functions* marked by *specific case*, like the nominative in English-type languages or the absolutive in so-called 'ergative' languages, are said to play a prominent role in sentence construction.

This paper intends to discuss this matter on the grounds of empirical data from German in comparison to languages that are more obviously 'subject prominent', like English, and to languages that have been identified as discourse configurational in the literature, like Chinese, Japanese and Korean. The results of our discussion will be:

- Through its V2-syntax, the specific ways of topicalising and focussing, and the possibility of even having sentences without subjects, the classification of German syntax is not at all obvious. If a division as suggested above does indeed have typological relevance, then languages like German have features of *discourse configurationality* at least as much as those of 'subject prominence'.
- Dividing languages into 'discourse configurational', 'relation configurational', or 'mixed' types does not yield a proper classification. The systems *information structure* and *argument structure / case licensing* are subject to principles that are independent in the first place. Therefore, the parameters of these systems are not, in fact, complementary.
- Interface conditions of syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, that can vary in several ways, are the reason for the existence of an uncaptured number of syntactic systems that can be typologically classified according to descriptive criteria. Languages that have been classified as 'topic prominent', for example, show the co-occurrence of topic fronting and the absence of a configurational subject. These two properties are not necessarily related, however. The existence of a high number of 'mixed languages' (cf. Li & Thompson 1976) is therefore not deviant, but, actually, the normal case.
- Grammatical relations that are the basis for the existence of subjects are purely formal and should be captured by formal methods. The discourse oriented relation *topic/ comment* is functionally motivated and should be explained on the grounds of pragmatics.

*Manfred Consten, Mareile Knees & Monika Schwarz-Friesel*

Friedrich Schiller University Jena

**Complex anaphors as discourse topic markers**

Mi 16.30-17.00, Raum U2/025 (Ost)

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Complex anaphors are nominal anaphoric expressions with propositional antecedents (clauses or longer text segments). They refer to propositionally structured referents and constitute them as unified discourse objects in a discourse representation (text-world model), i.e. discourse participants can handle abstract referents like “things” (Consten/ Knees/ Schwarz-Friesel 2007). This so-called complexation process is the precondition for establishing referents as discourse topics (i.e. discourse referents that are highly activated and most accessible for coherence relations in the representation of a discourse segment, cf. Averintseva-Klisch 2007).

- (1) Am 12. Dezember 1969 explodierte in der Mailänder Landwirtschaftsbank [...] eine Bombe, die sechzehn Menschen in den Tod riß und über hundert schwer verletzte. Das Attentat wurde, wie man später erfahren sollte, von Neofaschisten verübt, doch deuten alle Indizien heute darauf hin, daß es vom italienischen Geheimdienst eingefädelt worden war [...]. (TigerKorpus, 9183–9184)

On the 12<sup>th</sup> of December in 1969, a bomb exploded at the Milan Bank of Agriculture killing sixteen people and hurting more than one-hundred seriously. Later on, they found out that the assassination had been committed by neo-Fascists. Today, however, evidence suggests that it had been contrived by the Italian Secret Service [...].

We will argue that complex anaphors, especially lexical ones, are predestinated to refer to discourse topics. Corpus data suggest that complex and nominal discourse topics can occur together in the same discourse segment so that the notion of discourse topic as the only topical referent in a given discourse segment has to be revised.

Averintseva-Klisch, M., 2007, Anaphoric Properties of German Right Dislocation. In: Schwarz-Friesel, M., Consten, M., Knees, M. (eds), *Anaphors in Texts*. Amsterdam: Benjamins (SLCS 86), 165–182.

Consten, M.; Knees, M.; Schwarz-Friesel, M. 2007, The Function of Complex Anaphors in Text. In: Schwarz-Friesel, M.; Consten, M.; Knees, M. (eds.), *Anaphors in Text*. Amsterdam: Benjamins (SLCS 86), 81–102.

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*Maria Averintseva-Klisch*  
University of Tübingen

**German right dislocation as a discourse topic marking construction**

Mi 17.00-17.30, Raum U2/025 (Ost)

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In my talk, I consider NP right dislocation in German, i.e. a construction consisting of an NP at the right end of the clause and a coreferent pronoun inside the clause. I argue that the label of right dislocation in fact comprises two distinct constructions, which I call *right dislocation proper* (RD) and *afterthought* (AT). Whilst AT repairs insufficient pronominal reference, RD serves as an explicit marking of the current discourse topic. Discourse topicality corresponds to stable activation at the level of the discourse representation. Accordingly, I understand discourse topic as the discourse referent that is most stably activated during a particular discourse segment.

Besides having different discourse functions, RD and AT differ in a number of prosodic, syntactic and semantic characteristics. In short, RD is prosodically as well as syntactically integrated into its host sentence, whereas AT constitutes a separate prosodic as well as syntactic unit: e.g., RD is upward-bounded, whereas AT is not. Semantically, RD is restricted to <e>-type denotations, while AT allows all kinds of NP denotations.

I will concentrate on RD and propose a semantic account of RD, according to which RD-NP adds a separate meaning dimension to the semantics of its host sentence. This separate meaning can be described in terms of ‘separate performatives’ as a signal to the hearer to activate (or to hold activated) his mental representation of the referent of the RD-NP. This semantic account of RD-NP correlates straightforwardly with the topic-marking function RD has in discourse.

Separate performative account of the RD offers a semantic explanation of the fact that only definite individual or kind nominal denotations are possible in RD-NPs: quantificational expressions are excluded due to the impossibility of quantifying across meaning dimensions. I argue that this restriction corresponds to the ontological “individualized-entity-constraint” on the discourse topic referent.

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*Annemie Demol*

Ghent University

**IL versus CELUI-CI: topic continuity versus topic shift ?**

Mi 17.30-18.00, Raum U2/025 (Ost)

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*Research questions:* The aim of my talk will be to verify :

- (i) whether the French third person pronoun IL refers to continuous topics, i.e. whether it refers to the topic entity of the current sentence, which was also the topic of the previous sentence;

- (ii) whether the French demonstrative pronoun CELUI-CI marks a topic shift, i.e. whether it refers to the topic entity of the current sentence, which was not yet the topic of the previous sentence.

I shall mainly treat endophoric occurrences of both pronouns in non-subordinate clauses (475 of IL and 460 of CELUI-CI), taken from the newspaper corpus *Le Monde sur cd-rom*. The analysis is largely based on the framework developed by Lambrecht (1994). IL is considered to be a preferred topic expression; CELUI-CI is treated as if it were a definite NP, rather than an (unaccented) pronoun. The following research questions will be answered:

- (i) Is the last mention preceding IL *a topic expression* (as defined by Lambrecht 1994) ?  
(ii) Is the last mention preceding CELUI-CI *a non-topic expression* ?

*(Provisional) Results:* My corpus shows some clear tendencies that largely support the research hypotheses: IL refers to continuous topics in 64.63% of the cases, whereas CELUI-CI is used to mark a topic shift in 60.65% of the examples. Nevertheless there are also counterexamples into which I will go more deeply during my talk. In the case of the demonstrative pronoun, the need for disambiguation or the desire to express some referential contrast account for most examples in which a third person pronoun would be expected, given that the referent in question is a continuous topic. Finally I hope to be able to present some results with respect to the question of topic continuity/shift in subordinate clauses.

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*Paul Isambert*

University of Paris 3

**Topicality and discourse structure:  
evidence from the French marker *autrement***

Mi 18.00-18.30, Raum U2/025 (Ost)

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We want to investigate the organization of discourse structure, as revealed by the adverb *autrement*, which in one of its use works as a marker of topic shift (roughly equivalent to apart from that). *Autrement* is anaphoric and takes as its antecedent a 'topical' constituent, that is 'what is being talked about' in the current sentence or discourse (or any subpart of the latter), but also a framing adverbial, a topicalized phrase, or the subject. The idea advocated here is thus that discourse has a structural organization where topics are 'embedded': there is a general matter of discussion, divided into sub-matters, further distinguished according to adverbial specifications, and so on, down to the subject of the clause, which is a topic in the traditional sense of information structure. Although there are great morphological as well as syntactic differences between those topical constituents, they all pass the 'talking about X' test, they cannot be taken as predicates in any way, they do not bear focus (and *autrement*



cannot have a constituent under focus as its antecedent). Finally, and most importantly, although the notion of topic is a notoriously slippery one, there happens to be no satisfying discourse relation (whatever the theoretical framework) to describe two sentences connected by autrement, except that ‘something has changed’. ‘Topic’ here is a rather vague notion, not necessarily amenable to formalization, working more or less as a mental address or anchor. But when autrement shows up, then we know that ‘something has changed’, and that what has changed is what we are talking about.

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*Roland Pfau*

University of Amsterdam

**On topics and conditionals in sign languages**

Do 9.00-9.30, Raum U2/025 (Ost)

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In the past, various studies on spoken and signed languages have emphasized similarities between topics and conditionals (e.g. Haiman 1978; Coulter 1979). The proposed similarities range from morphological marking and syntactic properties to semantic interpretation. Haiman (1978:564), for instance, points out that “conditionals, like topics, are givens which constitute the frame of reference with respect to which the main clause is either true (if a proposition), or felicitous (if not)”.

In this presentation, I will take a closer look at topics and conditionals in sign languages, above all, in Sign Language of the Netherlands (NGT) and American Sign Language (ASL). I will address two main issues. First, I will consider the similarities and differences between topics and conditionals in these sign languages. Crucially, topics and conditionals occupy a clause-initial position and receive similar non-manual marking (raised eyebrows). Note that generally, such syntactic non-manual markers are taken to be the overt realization of features hosted by functional heads which attract material into their respective specifiers.

Second, I will investigate the interaction of topicalized constituents with conditional clauses in the light of Rizzi’s (1997, 2001) elaborated structure of the left periphery. This investigation takes into account the fact that conditionals as well as topics precede interrogatives (which presumably occupy SpecInterP), that topic stacking is possible, and that topics in turn may precede conditionals; that is: topic > conditional/topic > interrogative.

*Remus Gergel*

University of Tübingen

**On (non-)correlations of movement as re-merge and topicalization:  
evidence from topics in adjective doubling**

Do 9.30-10.00, Raum U2/025 (Ost)

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The current work analyzes topicalized doubling adjectives. Its aim is to contribute to the issues of adjective and movement properties in connection with topicalization. More specifically: Predicate doubling with verbs is (dialectally) known from varieties of Germanic, Romance, Semitic, etc. (cf. e.g. Vicente 2007 and references therein). In some languages, topicalization-based doubling also occurs with adjectives, in some of them widely and in fully grammaticalized fashion in colloquial speech (call this type of phenomenon AA constructions). Both predicate types, when doubled, show parallels to topicalization (conspicuous semantic ones and the clause-peripheral position). At the same time, drawing essentially on Romanian data, we suggest that a simple (and hence attractive) cross-categorical generalization (along the lines of “Topicalize and/or doubly Spell-out a predicate!”) is *not* warranted (*pace* copy theory of movement). Morphosyntactic and semantic differences are observed in our case study of AA – viz. both (i) from their adjectival counterparts (i.e. the topicalized variant without double Spell-out), and (ii) from their categorial cousins: doubling verbs. We suggest that there are three key factors that determine AA: [f1] syntactic and semantic properties of topicalization; [f2] double Spell-out of the adjective, i.e. in both the head and the foot of what we claim to be an A'-dependency; [f3] degree- and movement-sensitivity. It is significant that [f2] requires morphosyntactic support through the morpheme *de* ‘of’ in Romanian. The latter factor, [f3], gives one kind of indication that the phenomenon at hand may be semantically motivated, if morphosyntactically implemented in the pertinent derivations. We compare the doubling phenomenon to additional evidence in which A'-dependencies in the language require the presence of the same or suspiciously similar morpheme; e.g., degree questions and subcomparatives (cf. e.g. Chomsky 1977, Grosu 1994, Heim 2006 *i.a.* on their A'-status).

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*Reiko Vermeulen*

University College London

**The syntax of topics in Japanese**

Do 10.00-10.30, Raum U2/025 (Ost)

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This talk presents new evidence that ‘aboutness’ in the sense of Reinhart (1981) is the only notion relevant for the syntactic distribution of topics in Japanese. In particular, I argue that ‘discourse givenness’ and ‘contrastiveness’ are sufficient to mark an item with the putative topic marker *wa*, but the items so marked are not in fact topics. The evidence comes from the observation that only aboutness *wa*-phrases display a

syntactic distribution that is predicted by independent considerations at the syntax-discourse interface.

Based on two separately motivated ideas, Neeleman & van de Koot (to appear) argue that a topic cannot follow a fronted focus (see also Büring 1997, 2003, Wagner 2007). One idea is that at the level of discourse, the background of a focus cannot contain a topic-comment structure (Hajičová et. al.1997) and the other is that the sister constituent of a moved focus is interpreted as the background (Rizzi 1997).

I show that, indeed, in a context where a *wa*-marked phrase must be interpreted as an aboutness topic (Reinhart 1981), it cannot follow a fronted focus. A *wa*-phrase can follow a fronted focus, but examination of the relevant context reveals that such a *wa*-phrases is simply discourse given. There are also further syntactic differences between aboutness *wa*-phrases and discourse given *wa*-phrases.

The analysis is extended to contrastive topics, which are realised as stressed *wa*-phrases. I argue that contrastive topics are in fact aboutness *wa*-phrases that are interpreted contrastively. The statement is still *about* the *wa*-phrase. In a context where a *wa*-phrase must be interpreted as a contrastive topic (Büring 1997), it cannot follow a fronted focus. A stressed *wa*-phrase can also follow a fronted focus, but I argue that such a *wa*-phrase is simply contrastive in the sense that there is a salient alternative in the context (Hara 2006).

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*Masanori Deguchi*

Western Washington University

**Topicalization and contrastive readings: insights from Japanese *wa***

Do 10.30-11.00, Raum U2/025 (Ost)

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Contrastive reading is one of the interpretive functions that are often linked with topichood cross-linguistically (e.g., topicalization of non-specific indefinites is only licensed on contrastive readings in Danish; the Japanese topic marker marks contrasts as well as themes). Since this association is too pervasive to be a coincidence, it calls for an explanation.

To this end, I discuss in this talk contrastive readings as they relate to the Japanese *wa*-topicalization. In particular:

- (i) I discuss two types of contrastive readings, where contrastiveness is not attributable to *wa*-marked phrases themselves;
- (ii) I demonstrate how these contrastive readings are derived;
- (iii) I conclude that (at least most) contrastive readings associated with *wa*-topicalization are not due to the semantic ambiguity of *wa*-marked phrases themselves, contrary to the wildly held view (e.g., most notably in Kuno (1973)).

I assume that the basic interpretive function of Japanese *wa*-topicalization is “to limit the applicability of the main predication to a certain restricted domain,” as Chafe

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(1976: 50) argues for Chinese topics. On this assumption, I illustrate and argue for two ways in which contrastive readings are derived: (i) through interaction among topicalized phrases, and (ii) due to the nature of a certain type of predicates.

Contrary to the well-accepted assumption, I conclude that *wa*-marked phrases do not have the intrinsic meaning of contrast in addition to theme. I contend that the two types discussed in this study account for a good portion, if not all, of contrastive readings associated with *wa*-topicalization.

Chafe, Wallace L. 1976. Givenness, Contrastiveness, Definiteness, Subjects, Topics, and Point of View. In *Subject and topic*, ed. Charles N. Li. New York: Academic Press.  
Kuno, Susumu. 1973. *The structure of the Japanese language*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

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*Katharina Hartmann & Andreas Haida*

Humboldt University Berlin

**On (de-)topicalization in Hausa**

Do 11.30-12.00, Raum U2/025 (Ost)

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This talk discusses the correlation between focus and topic marking of subjects in Hausa (West-Chadic). Hausa shows an asymmetry with respect to focus marking: While focused non-subjects do not require focus marking, focused subjects must (in general) be marked by movement to a left-peripheral focus position, triggering a special form of the person-aspect marker (the *relative* aspect, as opposed to the *absolute* aspect). Hartmann & Zimmermann (2007) and Fiedler et al. (submitted) attribute this asymmetry to the fact that phrases in the canonical subject position are interpreted as topics (if they allow for a topic interpretation; see below). When a subject is focused, its focus status must be overtly marked. Put differently, it must be de-topicalized (the *De-Topicalization Hypothesis*, DTH). In this talk, we corroborate the DTH by showing that subjects that resist to be interpreted as topics do not have to be de-topicalized when they are focused. The argument to this conclusion is based on distributive subject quantifiers, which cannot serve as topics cross-linguistically.

Hausa has a class of adnominal quantifiers with distributive interpretation. If a distributive subject quantifier is focused, the person-aspect marker can appear in the absolute form, which is in general excluded after focused subjects:

(1) Q: Who is reading the books of Ken Saro-Wiwa?

A: Kóo-wanee d'áalibí yá-**naa** /\*yá-**kee** kářantá littattafái ná Ken Saro-Wiwa.  
DISJ-which student 3SG-PROG.**ABS/REL** read books of KSW  
'Every student is reading the books of Ken Saro-Wiwa.'

The grammaticality of the absolute aspect in (1) can be explained with the DTH: Since distributive quantifiers cannot be topics, they can remain in the canonical subject position even if they are focused. If our account is correct, the asymmetry between obligatory subject focus marking and optional non-subject focus marking

becomes spurious in Hausa. In our view, focus marking is generally optional in Hausa and becomes obligatory for subjects under the following conditions: i) when they have to escape a topic interpretation, ii) when they are interpreted exhaustively, or iii) when they are negated.

To illustrate ii), observe that the relative form of the person-aspect marker becomes obligatory if a focused distributive quantifier is to carry an exhaustivity presupposition, which is marked by the focus-sensitive particle *nee*:

(2) Kóo-wanee d' áalibí **nee** \*yá-naa/yá-kee kářantá littattafáí ná Ken Saro-Wiwa.

Thus, this talk adjusts the wide-spread assumption that focused subjects are *always* marked in Hausa. It proposes a unified analysis of focus marking that considers focus marking optional across all parts of speech in Hausa and attributes the manifold exceptions to the optional marking of subject phrases to the factors i) to iii) mentioned above.

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*Anne Schwarz*

Humboldt University Berlin

**On the (re)presentation of topics in some Gur languages (Niger-Congo)**

Do 12.00-12.30, Raum U2/025 (Ost)

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This talk deals with the encoding and interpretation of topics in some African tone languages of the Gur family (Buli, Konni, Dagbani, and Gurene). First, it will be shown that subjects do not need special topic marking, corroborating the claim that the constituent cross-linguistically “most readily identified with the pragmatic role of topic” is represented by the subject (Lambrecht 1994: 132). The strong subject-topic correlation even permits the “intransitive-passive” use of a subgroup of verbs despite of the lack of passive morphology (cf. Reineke & Mieke 2005). Example (1) illustrates such a “flexible” verb in Buli which allows a topical theme to acquire subject function at the expense of the agent.

- (1) A: bŭgsī j́ígsá-ŋá. [ ]  
 [ ] pound sheanut.PL-DEF  
 ‘Pound the sheanuts!’  
 B: j́ígsá-ŋá . bŭgsī-yā. [ ]  
 [ ] sheanut.PL-DEF be.pounded-ASS  
 ‘[The sheanuts]<sub>T</sub> have been pounded.’ (reply after completion of task)

Apart from unmarked topic-comment configurations, some common means to explicitly mark sentence constituents as (contrastive) topics will be illustrated. Of major interest are however topicless sentence configurations which are structurally reminiscent of comitative / imperfective encodings in the respective languages. Although they have the same surface order SV(O) as categorical statements, the constitutive relation between subject and predicate inthetic statements is not identical

with that in the former. Inthetic utterances in Buli (2), non-topical subject and predicate need to be connected by a particle (*à*). This encoding is quasi-automatically employed with indefinite subjects and always occurs with non-topical subjects within the focal domain (subject focus, sentence focus).

- (2) lórá ñàyé` lē nàgì chāāb.  
car.PL CL.two PTL hit each.other  
'Two cars crashed into each other.' (reply on: 'What happened?')

I am going to argue that the special morphosyntactic encodings found inthetic utterances are based on presentational constructions compensating for the lack of topic-suitable discourse referents and serving the establishment of background information for the following predications.

Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form. Topic, focus, and the mental representations of discourse referents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.  
Reineke, Brigitte, and Mieke, Gudrun. 2005. Diathesis alternation in some Gur languages. In *Studies in African linguistic typology*, ed. Erhard Voeltz, 337-360. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

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*Malte Zimmermann & Daniel Hole*

University of Potsdam

**Strategies of topic marking in Chadic (Afro-Asiatic)**

Do 12.30-13.00, Raum U2/025 (Ost)

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The paper discusses the grammatical marking of topics in three Chadic languages, Hausa, Miya (West Chadic), and Mina (Central Chadic). Drawing mainly on data from the literature, these languages are shown to exhibit two strategies of topic marking. The first is syntactic left-dislocation in (1a/b).

(1a) Hausa:

*Kàndee fa*, mun fi sôn-tà [Newman 2000: 616]  
K. TOP 1PL exceed like-3SG.F  
'As for Kande, we like her the most.'

(1b) Mina:

*ná dár wèhí í dár r̀è hìd̀ə nt́ sk̀* [Frajzyngier & Johnston 2005:365]  
DEM dance DEM 3PL dance HAB man one NEG  
'This dance, one does not dance it just by one person.'

The second strategy is the use of special indefiniteness markers with indefinite topics (2ab).

(2a)Hausa:

*wata raanaa, wad'ansu* 'ya-m *birnii* nàa zàune, ...  
 some day some children-of town PROG sitting  
 'One day some city folk were sitting around.'

(2b)Mina:

*Màllúm wàcí gár à ndò jáaṅgàl* [Frajzyngier & Johnston 2005: 359]  
 marabout DEM leave 3SG go voyage  
 'This marabout left to go on a trip.'

Constituents introduced by these elements show typical topic properties and their function lies in the (re-)introduction of discourse referents.

Both strategies are also attested in intonation languages such as German (3ab):

(3a) [Der Chef], der ist korrekt. [left dislocation]

(3b) Jeder hat [einen *gewissen* Diplomaten] getroffen. [indefinite topic marker]

The emerging picture of topic marking in Chadic is thus comparable to what is found in intonation languages, with the crucial difference that the latter can also mark topics by prosodic means, an option excluded in the Chadic tone languages.

Frajzyngier, Z. & E. Johnston (2005). A Grammar of Mina. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.  
 Newman, P. (2000). The Hausa Language. Yale University Press, New Haven.

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*Ingo Reich*

University of Tübingen

**Topicalization and Asymmetric Coordination**

Fr 9.00-9.30, Raum U2/025 (Ost)

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A crucial property of Asymmetric Coordination (AC) in German (in the sense of Höhle 1990) is the fact that the finite predicate in the second conjunct is systematically fronted. And although coordinations tend to show parallelism effects, this has no effect whatsoever on the first conjunct's verb order, see the AC in (1) with VL+V2 order.

(1) [Wenn du nach Hause *kommst*] und [der Gerichtsvollzieher *steht* vor der Tür]

Given that there is no subject gap in the second conjunct, this conjunct shows V2, and the question emerges, whether its prefield is subject to any interesting restrictions. Apart from some remarks in Frank (2002), this question has not been addressed in the literature.

In this talk, I argue on the basis of data like (2) and (3) that only those complements are licensed in the prefield of an AC's second conjunct that would end up at the left periphery of the middle field in a verb final equivalent of the relevant sentence.

- (2) wenn dich dein Team auf der Schlußrampe im Stich lässt und  
a. du musst deshalb deine Konkurrenten ziehen lassen  
b. \*?deine Konkurrenten musst du deshalb ziehen lassen
- (3) wenn du mit 180 Sachen fährst und dir sackt plötzlich der Kreislauf in den Keller

Within the framework of Frey (2004) this is equivalent to say that there is no „real A-bar-movement“ to the prefield of a non-initial AC-conjunct, only „formal movement“.

But why is that? Another crucial characteristic of AC is its fusing interpretation (see Höhle 1983), which is modelled as „event subordination“ in Reich (2007), triggered by a syntactic feature called [OCC(asion)] residing in the target position F of the fronted finite predicate. Since (only) real A-bar-movement to [Spec,F] is triggered by interpretable features like [TOPIC] and [FOCUS] this suggests a semantic incompatibility.

Frank, Annette (2002): ‚A (Discourse) Functional Analysis of Asymmetric Coordination.‘ In: M. Butt & T. King (eds.): Proceedings of the LFG02 Conference. 174-196.

Frey, Werner (2004): ‚The Grammar-Pragmatics Interface and the German Prefield.‘ *Sprache & Pragmatik* 52, 1-39.

Höhle, Tilman N. (1983): Subjektlucken in Koordinationen. Ms., Univ. Tübingen.

Höhle, Tilman N. (1990): ‚Assumptions about Asymmetric Coordination.‘ In: Mascaró, J. & M. Nespors (eds.): Grammar in Progress. Dordrecht: Foris. 221-235.

Reich, Ingo (2007): *Asymmetrische Koordination im Deutschen*. Habilitationsschrift, Univ. Tübingen. (Erscheint in der Reihe „Studien zur deutschen Grammatik“, Stauffenburg)

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*Karen Lahousse*

Fund for Scientific Research – Flanders / University of Leuven

**Implicit stage topics**

Fr 9.30-10.00, Raum U2/025 (Ost)

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Many researchers observe that spatio-temporal adverbials in sentence-initial position specify the frame in which the whole proposition takes place and are topical/thematic in some way (cf. Jackendoff 1972, Laenzlinger 1996:50, Cinque 1990, Chafe 1976, Lambrecht 1994, Erteschik-Shir 1997, Jacobs 2001, etc.). Whereas most attention has been given to overt, explicit spatio-temporal topics, Erteschik-Shir (1997/1999) argues that spatio-temporal topics, or *stage topics*, can also be covert or implicit. In this talk, I will concentrate on the notion of *implicit stage topic* and provide empirical evidence in favour of its existence.

I will first give a brief overview of the literature on spatio-temporal topics, and I will present Erteschik-Shir’s hypothesis according to which the presence of an implicit stage topic is only justified if its content is deictically or ‘discoursally’ specified, i.e. recoverable from the speech context or the narrative context. I will refine this author’s



conception of implicit stage topics while arguing that only those implicit stage topics whose presence is lexically or grammatically indicated in the clause are linguistically relevant. Thus, I will argue that the presence of a covert stage topic must be justified by the presence of a temporal or locative anaphoric expression, such as a temporal or locative pronoun or adverb, or by the tense morphology of the verb.

In the second part of my talk, I will show that the existence of implicit stage topics and the specific constraints they are subject to are confirmed by the distribution of nominal inversion in French. I will present the results of my corpus research, which has shown that absolute inversion only occurs in clauses which refer to the preceding temporal context, and, hence, where the presence of an implicit stage topic is justified. Moreover, I will argue that, from a theoretical point of view, the notion of covert stage topic as a formalization of the spatio-temporal linkage between sentences is also appealing to the extent that it enables us to draw a parallel with other types of topics, which can also be implicit. Zribi-Hertz (2003) indeed argues that, whenever a pronoun appears in a sentence, it must be licensed by the presence of an implicit or explicit (aboutness-)topic in the clause, which binds the pronoun.

The conclusion of my talk will be that, just as ‘aboutness-topics’, stage topics can be implicit, since they interact with syntactic structure in the same way as overt stage topics do.

Chafe, W.L. 1976. Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subjects, topics, and point of view. In C.N. Li, ed. *Subject and topic*. New York: New York Academic Press. 27-55.

Cinque, G. 1990. *Types of A' dependencies*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Erteschik-Shir, N. 1997. *The dynamics of focus structure*. Cambridge: CUP.

Erteschik-Shir, N. 1999. Focus structure and scope. In G. Rebuschi & L. Tuller, eds. *Grammar of focus*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 119-150.

Jackendoff, R. 1972. *Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Jacobs, J. 2001. The dimensions of topic-comment. *Linguistics* 39: 641-681.

Laenzlinger, C. 1996. *Adverbs, pronouns, and clause structure in Romance and Germanic*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Lambrecht, K. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zribi-Hertz, A. 2003. “Réflexivité et disjonction référentielle en français et en anglais”. In P. Miller & A. Zribi-Hertz, eds. *Essais sur la grammaire comparée du français et de l’anglais*. Saint-Denis: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes. 135-175.

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*Elitzur Avraham Bar-Asher*

Harvard University

**“What is it all about?”– reanalyzing a variety of theories about topicality**

Fr 10.00-10.30, Raum U2/025 (Ost)

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Reviewing the history of the discussions about topicality since the works of the Prague’s school of linguistics reveals a unique situation in which at the same time

there are debates about the content of the phenomenon (*aboutness-givenness*) and doubts whether and how topicality is marked in the different languages. Such a situation suggests the possibility that in fact we are dealing with different phenomena and that this situation is asking for a careful reorganization of the discussion itself.

The goal of this paper is therefore to systematically review some of the major approaches concerning topicality in the literature, to demonstrate their theoretical problems, and to conclude that at the moment none of them is entirely satisfying.

It will be demonstrated that there is a list of interconnected questions that each theory should answer, besides the obvious task of defining topicality:

- How many topics each sentence must or can have?
- What are the elements that stand in the relation “to be a topic of”?
- What is the nature of the phenomenon? Is this a grammatical phenomenon at all?
- How to recognize a topic? Does it have to be marked linguistically? If not, is there any (good) test to identify the topic, and what is the nature of these kinds of exams?

Exploring the answers for these questions reveals that some of the debates in the literature are in fact results of constraints which were prompted from answering some of these questions, and sometimes they have external motivations that are not directly relevant to our discussion. Therefore, it will become clear that often there is no direct debate between the different approaches.

Following this discussion it would be appropriate to ask whether we should abandon the notion of topicality all together. I will argue for a negative answer and suggest restricting the relevance of topicality to the sphere of the interface between the syntax and the semantics, where it seems that topicality is very significant.

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*Britta Stolterfoht<sup>1</sup>, Lyn Frazier<sup>2</sup> & Charles Clifton, Jr.<sup>2</sup>*

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<sup>2</sup>University of Massachusetts, Amherst

**Sentence topics in processing English**

Fr 11.00-11.30, Raum U2/025 (Ost)

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Many languages permit considerable flexibility of word order. However, when a phrase appears in a non-canonical position, typically there are information-structure constraints on its discourse status. In German, a language that permits scrambling, it has been argued that an argument may be scrambled in front of a sentential adverb but only if the argument may serve as a topic (Frey, 2000). Do adverbs also convey information-structure constraints in a fixed word order language like English? It has been assumed that English, in contrast to languages like German, does not reveal a position for topics, but has only one subject position (Spec TP; see Bobaljik & Jonas, 1996; Svenonius, 2002).

Two self-paced reading studies investigated whether the position preceding a sentential adverbial is linked to topicality in English. If English does not have a position for topics, no effect of adverb position should be found. In contrast, if adverb placement in English is comparable to adverb placement in German, then topical properties might be attributed to the subject. In the subject-adverb order in (1d), a non-referential subject like *no king*, which cannot serve as topic, should be highly marked.

(reading times)

- (1) a. The envoy said that presumably the king defeated the knights. (2208)  
 b. The envoy said that the king presumably defeated the knights. (2178)  
 c. The envoy said that presumably no king defeated the knights. (2277)  
 d. The envoy said that no king presumably defeated the knights. (2555)

The results of both self-paced reading studies revealed significantly longer reading times for sentences with a non-referential subject preceding the adverb in comparison to the other conditions. The data suggest that even in a fixed word order language like English adverb placement can influence assumptions about topichood in a manner similar to that proposed for scrambling languages.

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*Elsi Kaiser*

University of Southern California

**Structural and information-structural effects on topicality**

Fr 11.30-12.00, Raum U2/025 (Ost)

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Reduced anaphoric forms such as pronouns are commonly assumed to refer to entities that are prominent/salient in interlocutors' minds (e.g., Ariel 1990, Gundel et al 1993), and these salient entities are often regarded as sentence-level topics (e.g., Grosz, Joshi & Weinstein 1995, Prince 2003, Beaver 2004). Various factors have been claimed to influence how salient an entity is at a particular point in the discourse, including being realized in subject position (e.g., Chafe 1976, Crawley & Stevenson 1990), being pronominalized (e.g., Kameyama 1999, Beaver 2004), and being semantically and/or prosodically focused (e.g., Birch, Albrecht & Myers 2000). If one regards highly salient entities as sentence-level topics, then these salience-influencing factors are also topicality-influencing factors.

In this paper we investigate how (i) subjecthood, (ii) pronominalization and (iii) focus influence the choice of sentence-topic. Research by Arnold (1999) and Cowles (2003) shows that focused entities are more salient (in our terms, more likely to be sentence-topics) than non-focused entities. However, existing work has not fully investigated how grammatical role/subjecthood and pronominalization contribute to salience and sentence-level topicality. Our aim is to better understand how these different kinds of information interact and contribute to sentence-level topicality, as measured by subsequent pronominal reference.

We present results from three psycholinguistic experiments which suggest that subjecthood has a stronger effect on sentence-level topicality -- as measured by subsequent pronoun interpretation -- than pronominalization and focusing. In fact, it seems that effects of subjecthood can be modulated but not overridden by the two information-structural constraints we tested. This fits with a model which allows multiple factors to influence sentence-level topicality, and supports our Structural Primacy hypothesis, which posits that grammatical role has a greater influence than information-structural factors, possibly because of the cognitively central role that factors like subjecthood play in successful comprehension.

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## Abstracts AG 9

### Experimental pragmatics/semantics

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*David Restle*

Universität München

#### **Underdetermination and enrichment in control constructions**

Mi 14.00-14.30, Raum U2/ 133 (Ost)

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From a semantic point of view, infinitive constructions like [*Peter asked/promised Mary*] *to come to the party* and its German equivalent are underdetermined structures under more than one aspect. On the one hand, the lack of a syntactic subject calls for the reconstruction of a “logical” subject. In our example we need to reconstruct the reference of the person whose coming-to-the-party is the content of the request/promise. On the other hand, the semantic relation holding between the referential arguments of the control predicates and the referential arguments of the embedded infinitives is underdetermined: In the German nominal control construction *die Freude zu gewinnen* (literally ‘the joy to win’) either the context or intervening facultative pronominal adverbs *darüber/daran/darauf* determines if the event of winning is temporally located before, at, or after the event of joy (cf. Restle 2006). The discussion in this paper will be confined to the first case of underdetermination, the interpretation of PRO.

Early research (cf. Rosenbaum 1967) was trying to get a grip on the problem of control interpretation with purely syntactic means (with the terms “subject/object control” stemming from this time), and failed. The options left nowadays are either semantic or pragmatic, as the dependencies of the control interpretation from context and stereotypes seem to suggest.

Proponents of the semantic view of control interpretation (e.g. Culicover & Jackendoff 2005) use coercions in order to transform *little John asked to go* into *little John asked to be allowed to go*. This view is problematic in light of the fact that we can not predict exactly when coercion is necessary and when it is not.

Proponents of more pragmatic views (e.g. Köpcke & Panther 2002) introduce special pragmatic roles and maxims in order to reconstruct logical subjects - pragmatic roles that seem to be idiosyncratic for control phenomena.

Besides the comparison of those general options we report on the results of a questionnaire which backs up the willingness for pragmatically induced control changes at least amongst younger speakers. Our new model will avoid the problems mentioned above in using an optimality theoretic device to enrich the conceptually underspecified semantic representation. This OT-account is also able to describe the differences in orientation strategy between German and English.

- Culicover, Peter W. and Ray Jackendoff (2005): *Simpler Syntax*. Oxford.
- Köpcke, Klaus-Michael and Klaus-Uwe Panther (2002): Zur Identifikation leerer Subjekte in infinitivischen Komplementsätzen – ein semantisch-pragmatisches Modell. In: *Folia Linguistica* XXXVI/3–4, 191-218.
- Restle, David (2006): *Kontrollnomina. Eine Untersuchung zum Verhalten attributiver Infinitivkonstruktionen im Deutschen* (Habilitationsschrift Universität München).
- Rosenbaum, Peter (1967): *The grammar of English predicate complement constructions*. Cambridge, MA.
- Abbott, B. (2004) Definiteness and indefiniteness. In Horn, L. R. and Ward, G. (eds.), *The*

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*Petra Burkhardt*

University of Marburg

***The hepatitis called ...: electrophysiological evidence for enriched composition***

Mi 14.30-15.00, Raum U2/ 133 (Ost)

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Two phenomena are discussed that depend on enriched composition in order to understand ‘what is implicated’: reference transfer and inferential bridging. In reference transfer, a salient property of an individual can be used to refer to this person (the famous *ham sandwich* example). In bridging, inferential knowledge is required for proper discourse integration of an expression. These two phenomena differ in their usage of pragmatic knowledge: in bridging, inferential knowledge is used to *establish a dependency* between an expression and information in the discourse model in order to reach an overall coherent interpretation. Note that an utterance containing an inference-based expression can be interpreted in and of itself (e.g. the second sentence of (1)). In reference transfer, pragmatic knowledge is essential to reach a reasonable *interpretation of the expression itself*. Here, an isolated utterance that includes a reference transfer is semantically anomalous (e.g. *The hepatitis called this morning.*).

In the present paper, the time-course of enriched composition is investigated by means of event-related brain potentials (ERPs). Previous research on inferential bridging reported two ERP-components: a negative-going potential peaking around 400ms (N400) reflecting the ‘givenness’ of an expression in the discourse model (identity < inference < new expression) and a positive deflection peaking around 600ms (P600) for expressions that require the introduction of a new discourse referent (inferential and new expressions) (Burkhardt 2006).

Experiment 1 manipulated the degree of the inferential relation between a critical NP (e.g. *the knife* in (1)) and the information provided by the context (underlined). Stimuli were presented in segments and time-locked to the onset of the critical NP. Despite the well-known observation that semantic predictability is reflected in the N400, the present manipulation only yielded a difference in the P600-component for the two more difficult inferences (*killed/discovered*). This suggests that the respective discourse representations must be updated towards a more specific event representation (e.g. the killing-event is in fact a stabbing-event) – while the instrument role in the

‘easy’ inference (*stabbed*) represents an implicit argument whose integration does not exert additional computation cost.

- (1) *Am Donnerstag wurde ein Busfahrer am Parkplatz erstochen / ermordet / entdeckt. Die Medien berichteten, dass **das Messer** offensichtlich deutliche Fingerabdrücke trug.*

On Thursday, a bus driver was stabbed / killed / discovered in the parking lot. The press reported that **the knife** obviously carried clear fingerprints.

Experiment 2 investigated referential processing of NPs denoting an individual (e.g. *the therapist*) vs. NPs requiring reference transfer (e.g. *the [person associated with] hepatitis*). Context sentences set the scene to license the transfer of meaning. Critical NPs were matched for length and frequency of occurrence. Results revealed a P600 for the reference transfer, supporting the idea that the positivity is a general index of enriched composition.

- (2) *Der Arzt fragt seine Helferin erneut, wer so früh angerufen hat. Die Helferin antwortet, dass **die Hepatitis / die Therapeutin** so früh angerufen hat.*

The doctor asks his assistant again who called that early. The assistant responds that **the hepatitis / the therapist** called that early.

These two studies suggest that enriched composition is discernible on the basis of ERP-signatures. The two phenomena – even though they differ in the particular underlying processes, one thematically-driven, the other contextually-driven – have in common that they hinge on enriched composition, which is reflected in a positivity that taps a fairly late processing phase.

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*Natalie Klein, Whitney Gegg-Harrison, Rachel S. Sussman, Greg N. Carlson & Michael K. Tanenhaus*

University of Rochester & University of Wisconsin, Madison

**Referential domains and the real-time processing of “weak definite” noun phrases**

Mi 15.00-15.30, Raum U2/ 133 (Ost)

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Definite NPs ostensibly select a uniquely identifiable discourse referent (recently, Roberts 2003). Lending credence to this generalization is the obligatory use of the definite article when the referent is semantically unique (e.g. superlatives, “the tallest mountain”), or when the speaker wishes to make it so (“It’s *the* reason, not *a* reason!”) (Abbott 2004). However, Carlson & Sussman (2005) and Carlson (2007) note a special class of nouns called “weak definites,” where this generalization does not hold. Take the weak definite “the radio”. For the statement, “Bill heard about the riot on the radio, and Mary did too” to be true, it is necessary that Bill and Mary heard about the same riot, but not necessarily via the same radio. The weak definite NP does

not seem to refer to a unique discourse entity and contribute a truth-conditional meaning as an indefinite NP might. In a set of visual world studies, we show that this intuition holds in online reference interpretation. We also show that weak definites are not simply indefinites in disguise, since indefinites serve to establish discourse entities where weak definites do not.

In Experiment 1, participants saw a metal board with several magnetic ClipArt objects attached. Each half of the board was painted a different color, to visually invoke distinct referential domains (Brown-Schmidt 2005). Each color domain contained a magnetic person, as a potential agent, and a unique token of the critical object, as well as a distracter object. Participants heard short stories and were asked to use the magnets to enact the narrative. Critical trials included repeated mention of a weak definite NP, or of a semantically matched regular definite NP (e.g. “Rudy read the newspaper/book. This afternoon, Patty read the newspaper/book too.”).

As predicted, when participants enacted the narrative, they were significantly more likely to select a new token of the critical object when the object was a member of the weak definite noun class (thus remaining within the same referential domain as the newly mentioned agent). That is, participants were most likely to have Rudy and Patty read the same book, but different newspapers ( $p < .001$ ). During the experiment, participants’ eye-movement data were collected with a head-mounted eye-tracker. Response-contingent analyses show that, when they chose the new token, participants were more likely to look at the old token of the critical noun in the regular definite condition than in the weak definite condition. In other words, controlling for behavioral response, participants made more frequent looks to the old book than the old newspaper when enacting “This afternoon, Patty read the book/newspaper.”

Experiment 1 shows that, for a special class of nouns, reference to a unique discourse entity is not necessitated by the use of a definite NP. These data are consistent with the hypothesis that weak definite NPs do not establish a discourse entity, and are therefore not merely indefinites in disguise. Experiment 2 was designed to test this hypothesis explicitly by comparing weak definites to weak indefinites. The experimental setup was identical to that in Experiment 1. In Experiment 2, the stimuli used weak definite nouns, and manipulated whether participants heard each noun with an indefinite or definite article on the first-mention (e.g. “Rudy read a/the newspaper. This afternoon, Patty read the newspaper too.”). Participants were more likely to select the old token of newspaper when the first-mention was an indefinite NP.

These studies provide experimental evidence for a special class of weak definite nouns that do not refer uniquely, and show that these weak definites do not necessarily establish entities in the discourse. In this way, they are distinct from both regular definites and from indefinites. Eye-movement data confirm these major referential differences happen as the utterance unfolds.

Abbott, B. (2004) ‘Definiteness and indefiniteness’ In Horn, L. R. & Ward, G. (eds.) *The Handbook of Pragmatics*. Oxford: Blackwell. 122-149.



- Brown-Schmidt, S. (2005). *Language Processing in Conversation*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Rochester.
- Carlson, G. and Sussman, R. (2005). Seemingly indefinite definites. In S. Kespar and M. Reis (eds.) *Linguistic Evidence: Empirical, Theoretical, and Computational Perspectives*: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Roberts, C. 2003. Uniqueness in definite noun phrases. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 26(3):287-350.

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*Daniele Panizza & Gennaro Chierchia*

University of Trento & Harvard University

**Two experiments on the interpretation of numerals**

Mi 15.30-16.00, Raum U2/ 133 (Ost)

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Numbers have (at least) two interpretation: a weak one (the ‘at least’ reading) and a strong one (the ‘exactly’ reading). There is a dispute on how such interpretations come about. The dispute centers around the following three theses

- (1)
  - a. Numerical expressions are lexically ambiguous (e.g. Horn)
  - b. Numerical expressions are underspecified (e.g., Carston, Breheny)
  - c. Numerical expression have a weak interpretation that gets strengthened via a scalar implicature (Grice, early NeoGriceans, Chierchia)

The present paper addresses experimentally a factual claim pertaining to this debate. The claim is the following:

**MAIN CLAIM:** The strong interpretation of number words occurs preferentially in UE (upward entailing) contexts than in DE (downward entailing) ones. ‘Preferentially’ here means both ‘more often’ and ‘with less of a processing cost’. Although theses similar to MC have been put forth in the literature, they still remain controversial since native speakers intuitions are arguably not sufficient to establish this claim. We address MC in two ways. First, we tackle the preference issue by means of an off-line questionnaire. Then we address the processing cost issue through an eye tracking experiment.

In the first experiment participants had to read sentences containing a numeral determiner in the first clause, embedded in either a positive UE context or in a DE one (e.g.: UE: “John parked two cars in the garage and he parked a motorcycle in the courtyard” vs. DE: “If John parked two cars in the garage, he will park a motorcycle in the courtyard”). Participants were asked to choose a preferred paraphrase that disambiguated the sentence towards the weak or the strong construal of the numeral (“at least two cars” vs. “exactly two cars”). The results show a significant difference in the interpretation of numerals: subjects selected more often the strong value when the numeral was embedded in a UE context. The second experiment taps on line processing of numerals. Participants were asked to read the same sentences used in the first experiment in three circumstances: (i) with a neutral continuation, (ii) with a

positive continuation (e.g.: If John parked two cars in the garage, he will park a third car in the courtyard”), and with a negative continuation (e.g.: “..., he will *not* park a third car in the courtyard”). Both continuations contain an ordinal linked to the substantive appearing in the first clause. Only the *positive* continuation, however, forces a strong interpretation of the numeral, which would occur in a DE context and hence be costly, according to MC. (While the negative continuation may also appear to induce a strengthened interpretation, it can be shown that this is not so, and thus it provides an interesting control for our hypothesis). We found that the numeral in the first clause (for which participants showed a preference in choosing the “exactly N” meaning in the first experiment) were more difficult to read in the first-pass reading times in the UE condition as, presumably, processing of the scalar implicature takes place more often in such contexts. Furthermore, there were significant interactions in the second-pass reading times on the same region depending on continuation type. In the *positive* continuation, when people were forced to strengthen the numeral meaning, numerals were re-read more often when embedded in a DE context, whereas in the other two conditions the opposite pattern emerged. Overall, these results seem to support our main claim and the scalar approach.

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*Julia Holzgrefe, Heiner Drenhaus & Joanna Blaszczak*  
University of Potsdam

**Context-dependency or default processing: An ERP study on scalar implicatures**  
Mi 16.30-17.00, Raum U2/ 133 (Ost)

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**I. The issue:** We provide evidence from an event-related brain potentials (ERP) study that the generation of a scalar implicature depends upon previously processed context, and, moreover, that pragmatic processing is not a secondary process of speech comprehension but rather, it would seem, that discourse information is already integrated at an early stage of processing. The results of our study seem to favor the Neo-Gricean (default) view on the generation of scalar implicatures in that we find higher processing costs in so-called ‘lower-bound’ contexts (in which a scalar implicature is not licensed (cf. Horn 1984:13)) as opposed to ‘upper-bound’ contexts (in which a scalar implicature is available).

**II. Theoretical background and aim of the study:** There are two main approaches regarding the generation of scalar implicatures: there is the so-called Neo-Gricean viewpoint (cf., among others, Horn 1984, Levinson 2000) on the one hand, and the Relevance Theory-based approach (cf., among others, Carston 1998, Sperber & Wilson 1986/1995) on the other. Whereas the former postulate a default generation of scalar implicatures (e.g., the inference from *p or q* to *p or q but not both*), the latter claim that a scalar implicature is only generated when the generation is warranted by context. More precisely, whereas the latter consider the generation of a scalar implicature to be as an additional, non-autonomous and cost-intensive processing step,

according to the former view, generating a scalar implicature is a relatively autonomous, context-insensitive, ‘low cost’ processing step. Contextual information is only considered in a secondary stage of processing. According to the default view, the integration into the discourse context leads to a cancellation of the scalar implicature whenever the discourse goal set by the interlocutors can be satisfied by the plain meaning of a scalar term (without the scalar implicature). Consequently, the Neo-Gricean analysis predicts – depending upon the nature of the cancellation process – either equal or higher processing costs in ‘lower bound’ contexts, while the Relevance Theory-based analysis instead predicts lower processing costs in ‘lower bound’ contexts compared to ‘upper bound’ contexts. These two different predictions have been tested by Breheny, Katsos and Williams (2006) in their self-paced reading study. They found longer reading times in the ‘upper bound’ condition which was interpreted as reflecting higher processing costs and hence to favor the Relevance Theory-based view on scalar implicatures. The aim of our study was to test the predictions mentioned above by using another experimental technique.

**III. Experiment:** Our experiment used the event-related potentials (ERPs) paradigm and focused on the processing of the German weak scalar term *oder* ‘or’. The critical phrases were presented in two different context conditions, ‘lower bound’ and ‘upper bound’. In a pilot judgement study the material had proven suitable as ‘lower’ and ‘upper bound’ contexts, yielding, in the former case, an interpretation of the scalar term without scalar implicature (*p, q or both*) and, in the latter case, an enriched interpretation (*p or q but not both*).

**VI. Discussion/Interpretation of the results:** The first and most important result of our study is that the previously processed discourse context influences the primary processing of the scalar term, reflected by a remarkable difference in the waveforms of the grand average ERPs to the word *oder* ‘or’. The statistical analysis of the mid-line electrodes revealed a significant difference between the two context conditions in the time window 550 – 650 ms, caused by a late positivity for the ‘lower bound’ condition. This component is well-established in language processing research as P600, which is usually interpreted as an indicator for processes of syntactical reanalysis, but, more recently, also an indicator for pragmatic reanalysis (cf. Drenhaus et al. 2006). Irrespective of this question, the P600 clearly reflects higher processing costs in the ‘lower bound’ condition. This result is not in line with the findings of Breheny et al. (2006). Regarding the aforementioned predictions, it rather fits the default view on the generation of scalar implicatures.

Breheny, R., Katsos, N. & Williams, J. (2006). Are Generalised Scalar Implicatures Generated by Default? An online investigation into the role of context in generating pragmatic inferences. *Cognition*, 100, 434-463.

Carston, R. (1998). Informativeness, relevance and scalar implicature. In R. Carston & S. Uchida (eds.), *Relevance Theory: Applications and Implications* (pp. 179-236). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Drenhaus, H., beim Graben, P., Saddy, D. & Frisch, F. (2006). Diagnosis and repair of negative polarity constructions in the light of symbolic resonance analysis. *Brain and Language*, 96, 255-268.
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- Levinson, S. (2000). *Presumptive Meanings*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
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*Arjen Zondervan*

Utrecht Institute of Linguistics

**Effects of question under discussion and focus on scalar implicatures**

Mi 17.00-17.30, Raum U2/ 133 (Ost)

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This work presents experimental evidence for the claim that the contextual property that licenses or blocks scalar implicatures (SIs) is the Question Under Discussion (QUD) of the context, and the focus structure it gives rise to in the target sentence. Only if the constituent that contains the scalar term has focus, the SI will arise. This is in line with the exhaustivity approach of SIs by Van Rooij (2002). Two off-line experiments provide evidence for this claim, both for operator focus and bare focus.

While many researchers agree that SIs do not arise automatically with every scalar item, the properties of the contexts that license or block SIs are far from clear. It is well known that SIs disappear (or flip) in downward entailing environments and in certain modal contexts. However, also in non-downward entailing, non-modal contexts, the SI often is claimed to be absent, e.g. in the well-known example (1), where the numeral 2 is considered not to give rise to the and not more SI that numerals are normally associated with.

- (1) Q: "Who has 2 children?"  
A: "John has 2 children."

Van Rooij (2002) accounts for SIs by considering a sentence with a scalar term as an exhaustive answer to a question. He claims a covert exhaustivity operator (*exh*, similar to overt *only*) is applied to answers, which picks out the minimal elements of a set of sets. Crucially, *exh* only applies to the set of sets of the term answer: the part of the sentence that actually answers the question, not to the presupposed part of the question. Therefore, in (1) *exh* only applies to the set of sets denoted by John, not to the numeral 2 (children). This explains the absence of the SI in (1). So according to Van Rooij, the presence or absence of an SI depends on the question the sentence is supposed to answer. I will adopt the term Question Under Discussion (QUD) for this (implicit or explicit) question. If we then follow Rooth's (1996) Question-answer congruence for focus: 'The position of focus in an answer correlates with the ques-

tioned position in *wh*-questions', we can conclude that SIs can only arise in the part of the sentence that has focus, as that is the constituent that answers the QUD. See e.g. (2a-b), where (2a) gets no SI, while (2b) does.

- |            |                     |         |                        |
|------------|---------------------|---------|------------------------|
| (2)a. QUD: | “Who has A or B?”   | b. QUD: | “What does John have?” |
| A:         | “JohnF has A or B.” | A:      | “John has A or BF.”    |

Experimental studies seem to confirm the effect of QUD and focus on SIs: Without context, the percentage of SIs for adults is around 60% (see e.g. Noveck (2001)), but with a clear QUD that causes the constituent with the scalar term to get focus, SIs go up to 100% (e.g. Chierchia et al. 2001). However, a direct comparison of the effects of different QUDs and focus structures for one sentence (like (2a-b)) has never been made. I therefore conducted two experiments, using the Truth Value Judgment Task (TVJT), to check these predictions.

In Experiment 1 (N=31), I used the focus-sensitive operator *only* to force the right focus structure on the target sentence. Test sentences for the non-focused condition (QUD: Who has A or B?) were of the form *Only John has A or B*, in which the subject is the only possible focus. The focused condition sentences (QUD: What does John have?) were of the form *John has only A or B*, where the object is the only possible focus. Stories were created in which the QUD was made salient, e.g. by introducing a contrast set for the focused constituent only (see the appendix for example stories). The results of the experiment showed a significant difference ( $p < .0005$ ) between the two conditions, with more SIs being calculated in the focused condition than in the non-focused condition. To control for a possible bias caused by e.g. presuppositional or monotonicity properties of *only*, in Experiment 2 (N=36) the right focus structure of the target sentences was created using an explicit *wh*-question. Example items are given in the appendix. Again, a significant difference ( $p = 0.001$ ) was found that supports the effect of the QUD and focus on the calculation of SIs.

Chierchia, G., S. Crain, M.T. Guasti, A. Gualmini and L. Meroni (2001). The acquisition of disjunction: Evidence for a grammatical view of scalar implicatures. In A. H.-J. Do et al. (eds.), *BUCLD 25 Proceedings*, 157-168.

Noveck, I. (2001). When children are more logical than adults: Experimental investigations of scalar implicature. *Cognition* 78: 165-188.

van Rooij, R. (2002). *Relevance Implicatures*. Ms., ILLC, Amsterdam, available at <http://semanticsarchive.net/Archive/WIyOWUyO/Implicfinal.pdf>

Rooth, M. (1996). Focus, in S. Lappin (ed.), *The Handbook of Contemporary Semantic Theory*, Blackwell, London.

Daniel Grodner; Natalie Klein, Katie Carbary & Michael Tanenhaus  
Swarthmore College & University of Rochester

**Experimental evidence for rapid interpretation of pragmatic ‘some’**

Mi 17.30-18.00, Raum U2/ 133 (Ost)

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Scalar inferences (SIs) are commonly generated when a speaker uses a weak expression rather than a stronger alternative. One classic example is *some* as used in a partitive construction. For instance, *John ate some of the apples* implies that he didn't eat them all. How and when do listeners compute SIs? One prominent proposal is that perceivers initially decode the literal content of a triggering expression in order to establish whether the SI should be generated in the present context (Sperber & Wilson 1995, Carston 1998). This view predicts that the pragmatic component of meaning is late arriving. An alternative is that SIs are part of the default meaning of triggering expressions (Chierchia 2004, Levinson 2000). On this view the SI is derived directly. A number of recent results suggest that perceivers activate the literal meaning of the scalar expression prior to the SI. The majority of this evidence comes from full sentence verification judgments (Bott & Noveck 2004) or hinges on indirect measures of interpretation such as reading time (Breheny, Katsos & Williams 2005). These methods may obscure the compositional processes involved in incremental interpretation. An exception is Huang & Snedeker (H&S, 2006, submitted). These researchers used a visual-world task to examine the processing of scalar *some*. In a typical trial, participants were asked to *Point to the girl with some of the balloons* in the presence of a girl with 2 of 4 balloons (pragmatic target) and another girl with 3 of 3 balls (literal target). Individuals initially looked at both girls with no preference for the pragmatic target prior to the noun's point of disambiguation (POD). H&S argued that the literal interpretation left the referent ambiguous. In contrast, participants were able to identify the referent prior to POD for commands containing nonscalar *all*.

There are several potential problems with H&S' conclusion. First, there is no evidence that participants entertained the literal meaning of *some* prior to POD. Significantly, relative fixations to the two targets did not differ in the interval prior to *some* versus after. Second, *some* is not clearly associated with a SI when it appears in object position, especially when it is fully articulated. It is the partitive *of the* which signals the upper bounded interpretation. Note that *Click on the girl with some socks* does not imply that there are other socks in the discourse. By comparison non-scalar quantifiers provide sufficient information to identify the target before the partitive. Third, it is likely that the literal target (compatible with all) was more visually salient than the pragmatic target because it contained more items.

To address these concerns we conducted a visual world study that modified the H&S design in three critical ways. First, we introduced a competitor target that was not compatible with the literal meaning of *some*. Second, we replaced *some of the* with *summa* because this is its natural articulation in American English. The shortened first syllable also provides an earlier signal for the partitive so the cue to the timing of the

SI is more comparable to critical information in our literal controls. Third, we included *nunna* as well as *alla* as literal controls. To establish a baseline for the auditory POD we also included a late disambiguation condition.

Contrary to H&S, we found convergence on the target for *some* in the ambiguous region and no evidence that the literal interpretation was favored early. Like H&S target identification (established as the point where proportion of looks to the target reliably exceeded chance) was faster for *all* than *some*. However, the interpretation of the SI for *some* was not delayed relative to literal *none*. These results suggest that (1) the SI associated immediately at the word “some” rather than after a delay, and (2) comparisons of literal and pragmatic interpretations need to take into account the complexity of task demands and the form of the referring expression. A second study (in progress) will also be reported. It compares the processing of contrastively focused SOME, where the upper-bound interpretation is presupposed rather than inferred. Here all parties agree that the upper-bounded interpretation should not be delayed.

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*Kerstin Börjesson*

University of Leipzig

**On the validity of empirical evidence supporting the *graded salience hypothesis***

Mi 18.00-18.30, Raum U2/ 133 (Ost)

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In my talk, I want to point out a few potential weaknesses in Rachel Giora’s empirical support of the graded salience hypothesis. The points I want to make concern the choice of testing material, on the one hand, and the general theoretical underpinnings, on the other.

In a number of articles, Rachel Giora has offered psycholinguistic evidence for the graded salience hypothesis, according to which the distinction of salient/non-salient meaning plays a decisive role in the interpretation process. More specifically, Giora argues that salience is a matter of degree, thus predicting that experimental results for highly, less and nonsalient, say, metaphorical meanings should differ. What is more, Giora assumes that cases of metaphor and idiom should differ in how salient their respective literal (compositional) and non-literal (non-compositional) meanings are. Looking at the experimental results regarding these questions, her assumptions seem to be born out.

However, there are a few critical points, two of which are given below, that can be made, which call into question the validity of these results. Thus, looking at some of the material Giora uses in her experiments, alternative explanations for the results are possible. For example, the fact that subjects had more difficulty interpreting the last sentence in (1) than in (2) may not (solely) be due to the non-salient nature of the non-literal reading intended in (1), but might result from the relative difficulty of resolving the anaphoric relations in the two examples (taken from Giora, Rachel (2002)

‘Literal vs. figurative language: Different or equal?’ *Journal of Pragmatics* 34, pp. 487–506; bold font my emphasis.).

- (1) a. Mary: My husband is terribly annoyed by his new boss. Every day he comes home even more depressed than he had been the day before. Somehow, he cannot adjust himself to the new situation.  
b. Jane: Their bone density is not like ours.
- (2) Our granny had a fracture just from falling off a chair and was rushed to the hospital. I told my sister that I never had fractures falling off a chair. She explained to me about elders. She said: Their bone density is not like ours.

Another problem concerns Giora’s classification of cases of idiom and metaphor. It is not clear on which basis she differentiates the one from the other. Rather, comparing examples for metaphor (e.g. break ones head) with those for idiom (e.g. on one leg as in He told me the whole story on one leg.) leads one to doubt whether what has been classified as metaphor might not just as well have been classified as an idiom and vice versa, since no clear definitions for the two concepts are offered. In light of this shortcoming, the different results Giora achieves for idioms and metaphors decrease somewhat in their significance.

The point I want to make is not that the graded salience hypothesis as such is flawed. Rather, from a theoretical view point it seems that the empirical evidence used to support this hypothesis is not as robust as it, possibly, would be, if a few more theoretical distinctions and considerations were taken into account.

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*Frauke Berger, Anja Müller, Michaela Schmitz, Barbara Höhle & Jürgen Weissenborn*

University of Potsdam & Humboldt University Berlin

**The acquisition of the additive focus particle *auch* (‘also’) in German**

Do 9.00-9.30, Raum U2/ 133 (Ost)

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Our research reports on experimental group data of monolingual German learning children concerning the acquisition of the focus particle *auch*. Previous studies in this field using off-line techniques suggest that children up to school age still have difficulties comprehending sentences containing the focus particles like German *auch*, Dutch *ook* or English *only*. This late receptive mastery stands in contrast to the early target-like production of focus particles already in children’s first multi-word utterances. This temporal gap between production and comprehension points to an instance of productive mastery preceding receptive mastery.

We question this rather untypical acquisition pattern by providing new findings on the production and comprehension of sentences containing the additive focus particle *auch* by German learning children. More specifically, we investigate the processing of SVO-sentences containing *auch* in post-verbal position. This requires a set of al-



ternatives either to the subject or the object. The identification of the focused constituent (**Domain of Application**) depends on prosodic information. In 1a) the preceding subject (*Toby*) is the DoA and the particle itself is accented. In 1b) the following object (*Puppe*) is the DoA and the particle is unaccented.

- (1) a. *[Toby]<sub>DoA</sub> hat AUCH eine Puppe .*      *'[Toby]<sub>DoA</sub> has ALSO a doll.'*  
       *'There are other people than Toby possessing a doll'*  
       b. *Toby hat auch [eine PUPPE]<sub>DoA</sub>.*      *'Toby has also [a DOLL]<sub>DoA</sub>.'*  
       *'Toby possesses a doll besides other things'*

First, we addressed the question whether German children are able to produce these two types of focus structures adequately. We used a sentence completion task designed to elicit utterances with accented and with unaccented *auch*. The results showed that 28-month olds complemented the given beginning of a sentence significantly more often with an accented *auch* than with an unaccented *auch*-utterance. However, we did not observe that a child produced an accented *auch* in an unaccented *auch*-condition and vice versa. Although children seemed to be able to distinguish between both *auch*-contexts, these results suggest an advantage for the production of utterances containing the accented *auch* reflected by an earlier appearance and a more frequent correct use.

On comprehension side we questioned the claim of late receptive mastery by conducting an experiment in an eye-tracking paradigm. Four-year olds listened to SVO-sentences either containing the accented postverbal *auch*, the unaccented postverbal *auch* or no particle at all. Simultaneously, they were presented with a visual scene depicting the subject and object of the sentences as well as possible alternative sets. Children directed significantly longer fixations to the alternative set for the subject of sentences with the accented *auch*, as compared to sentences with an unaccented *auch* or with no *auch* at all. Similarly, children fixated the alternative set for the object of the sentence more often with sentences containing unaccented *auch* as compared to accented *auch*.

These results indicate that children as young as 4 years display more adult-like comprehension of sentences with the focus particle *auch* than indicated by previous studies. The children in our study seemed to be able to establish alternative sets of sentence constituents in the discourse model. Furthermore, they treated accent as a cue for determining the appropriate domain of application of *auch*. Taken together, our results challenge the assumptions of an early exhaustive mastery on production side as well as of a late receptive mastery on comprehension side. We will discuss our results in relation to previous studies and point out potential linguistic and extra-linguistic factors that might be responsible for the pattern of results.

*Petra Schulz & Julia Ose*

University of Frankfurt/Main

**Semantics and pragmatics in the acquisition of telicity**

Do 9.30-10.00, Raum U2/ 133 (Ost)

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The goal of this study was to investigate children's knowledge of the syntax-semantics/pragmatics interface for telicity in German. As telicity can result either from semantic or from pragmatic inferences, it provides a good testing ground for the question of whether 'what is said' is acquired earlier than 'what is implicated'. Apart from inherently telic verbs such as *aufmachen* 'open' (1), there are so-called compositionally telic predicates, which result from adding to an atelic predicate (2a) a telic particle (2b) or a DP (2c) (cf. Krifka, 1989; van Hout, 1996):

- |   |                                |
|---|--------------------------------|
| (1) Sie hat die Tür aufgemacht.             | 'she has the door OPEN-made'   |
| (2) a. Sie hat gegessen.                    | 'she has eaten'                |
| b. Sie hat (den Apfel) <u>auf</u> gegessen. | 'she has (the apple) UP-eaten' |
| c. Sie hat <u>den Apfel</u> gegessen.       | 'she has the apple eaten'      |

Inherent telicity as in (1) is achieved via the lexical semantics of the verb and is thus an invariant part of the verb meaning. As for compositional telicity, two types of telicity markers have to be distinguished (van Hout, 1996, 1998; Schulz & Penner, 2002; Jeschull, 2007). Strong telicity markers such as telic verb particles (2b) entail telicity, i.e. they always invoke an event type shift from atelic to telic. Weak telicity markers such as quantized objects (2c) conversationally implicate telicity, i.e. they may or may not invoke an event type shift from atelic to telic. In sum, while (1) and (2b) are obligatorily assigned a telic reading, (2c) may be assigned an atelic or a telic interpretation.

If children understand the semantics and pragmatics of telicity in an adult-like manner, they will be able to differentiate between strong and weak telicity markers. Therefore, two sets of studies are reviewed assessing children's and adults' understanding of inherent telicity (Study 1) and of the two types of compositional telicity (Study 2). In both studies, a truth-value-judgment (TVJ) design was used: Each subject was shown several multi-picture-sequences depicting different events. In half of the trials the event was completed, in the other half it was incomplete, the latter one being the crucial condition. A *yes/no* question was asked to test whether subjects accepted the predicate for the kind of event depicted (e.g., *Did she open the box?*).

The first study tested 32 monolingual German speaking (L1) children (2;0 to 4;10), 17 early second language learners of German (eL2) (3;7 to 5;9) and 16 adults as a control group. The L1-children correctly rejected particle verbs for incomplete events by age 3, the eL2-children around the age of 4;9, after ca. 24 months of exposure to German. Thus, an adult-like interpretation of inherently telic predicates is achieved rather early in development.

In the second study 70 monolingual German speaking children in 2 age groups (3;0 to 4;0; 4;1 and 6;0) and 32 adults participated. The 3-year-olds as well as the 4-to-6-year-olds correctly rejected particle verbs as in (2b) for incomplete events in over 90 % of the cases. Transitive sentences as in (2c) were accepted for incomplete events 86% (3 year-olds) and 73 % (4-to-6-year-olds) of the time. This response pattern was on a par with the adults' interpretation, allowing an atelic reading for a transitive sentence in 79% of the cases.

Taken together, the results from Study 1 and Study 2 suggest (a) that by age 3 children have mastered the semantics of telicity, and (b) that by age 4 they distinguish between strong and weak telicity markers. As for telicity, 'what is said' seems to be acquired only a little earlier than 'what is implicated'. Future studies should substantiate these findings by testing the same group of children on both types of telicity.

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*Leah Paltiel-Gedalyovich*

Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

**Response uniformity distinguishes semantics from pragmatics: evidence from Hebrew coordination and implications for interpreting child language data**

Do 10.00-10.30, Raum U2/ 133 (Ost)

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This paper reports adult and child data from experiments testing Hebrew speakers' knowledge of the semantics and pragmatics of coordination. Adults show uniformity in judgments of semantic meaning, while judgments of the pragmatic implicatures vary. Children from the age of 5 show uniform adultlike knowledge of semantic, truth-conditional meaning, while the non-truth-conditional semantic and pragmatic meanings are not demonstrated even at the age of 9;6. I argue that it is uniformity which distinguishes semantics from pragmatics for adults. For children, it has been argued that earlier acquisition distinguishes semantics from pragmatics (e.g. Hyams, 1996). I argue that the distinction between semantic and pragmatic meanings in age of acquisition is a reflection of the relational complexity of these meanings, as measured by Halford, Wilson and Phillips' (1998) relational complexity metric, and not related to their belonging to semantics or pragmatics.

The (invariant) semantic meanings of the Hebrew coordinators investigated here are the truth-conditions of conjunction (*ve* /'and', *aval*/'but') and disjunction (*o*/'or') and the non-truth-conditional contrast associated with *aval*/'but'. The (variable) pragmatic meanings investigated are the scalar quantity implicatures associated with the use of disjunction, and the pseudo-scalar quantity implicature associated with the use of *aval*/'but'. I predicted that adults would uniformly accept true coordinations and reject false coordinations and would uniformly reject use of *aval*/'but' where there is no contrast, as these are instances of invariant semantic meanings. By contrast, adults were predicted to be inconsistent in acceptance of uses of disjunction when conjunction is a true option and the use of *ve* /'and' when contrast is present, as these are

instances of variable pragmatic meaning. Children were predicted to be adultlike from the age of 5 for truth conditional meaning since as ternary relations these are predicted to be attained by age 5. Conversely, the quaternary level non-truth-conditional contrast relation and scalar implicatures should be attained only by age 11 (Paltiel-Gedalyovich, 2003). However, the maturity of child behavior on the pragmatic tasks would be difficult to evaluate due to the variability of the adult responses.

I tested 17 mono-lingual Hebrew speaking adults and 141 monolingual typically developing Hebrew speaking children aged 2;7 to 9;6 on their knowledge of the truth-conditions, conventional non-truth-conditional meaning and conversational implicatures associated with the coordinators *ve* /‘and’, *aval* /‘but’ and *o* /‘or’, using a variant of the Truth Value Judgment task (Crain and Thornton, 1998).

As predicted for semantic meaning, adults uniformly rejected false coordinations (98.7%) and accepted true coordinations (96.3%), and consistently rejected the use of *aval* in non-contrastive contexts (93.75%). Contrary to the prediction for pragmatic meaning, they consistently rejected true coordinations which violated the quantity implicature (97.1%). This uniform response for a pragmatic judgment is consistent with this being a Generalized Conversational Implicature (Levinson, 2000). The adults did show lack of uniformity in accepting such coordinations given an appropriate context (doubt), thus demonstrating the variability in pragmatic meaning (25.9%). Similarly, they inconsistently rejected the use of *ve* in contexts of contrast (50%).

Children from the age of 5 consistently rejected false coordinations and accepted true coordinations (97%), demonstrating adultlike knowledge of semantic meaning. However, even as old as 9;6 years children inconsistently accepted true coordinations which violated the quantity implicature (50.5%), demonstrating immature knowledge of the pragmatic implicature. Even the oldest children did not consistently reject the use of *aval* in non-contrastive contexts demonstrating immature semantic knowledge (26.5%). Since the adults’ insistence on the use of *aval* in contrastive contexts was inconsistent, interpretation of the children’s judgments of the use of *ve* in contrastive contexts is not possible.

These results support the use of response uniformity in distinguishing semantic from pragmatic meaning. Furthermore, analysis of the child data promotes the view that acquisition of both semantics and pragmatics is influenced by relational complexity rather than semantics preceding pragmatics.

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Vincenzo Moscati  
University of Siena

**Modality and negation. A subset configuration in the interpretation of  
multiple-operators sentences**

Do 10.30-11.00, Raum U2/ 133 (Ost)

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In recent years the acquisition of scope ambiguities has been subject to many investigations (Musolino, 1998; Musolino at all. 2000) which have revealed that children often access non-adult interpretations of sentences with multiple logic operators. The results of other related studies also suggested that pragmatic factors such as the link with the discourse might play a crucial role in biasing children's interpretations (Musolino & Lidz 2004, Gualmini 2004, Husley at all. 2005, Noveck et all. 2007). To date, only sentences with negation and nominal quantifiers have been tested. In this study, we will look at another type of logic operators: modals. Modal verbs can be treated as quantifiers over possible worlds, and the same results found for nominal quantifiers could in principle be replicated. We conducted two experiments with English and Italian preschoolers looking at the interpretation of the modal *can* in combination with negation. In both experiments, we create a question-answer comprehension task where the target sentence was presented in a context of a story.

In the first study, conducted on 15 English children (4:0-5;5 – mean 4:9), children were presented with sentence (1), which was presented as an instruction to one of the characters of a story.

Then children were asked to answer (2).

- (1) 'The lion cannot be in the same cage as the tiger'  
*It is not possible for the lion to be in the tiger's cage*      Scope: **Not > Can**
- (2) 'Can the lion be in the tiger's cage?'

Sentence (1) expresses the meaning given in italics with inverse wide scope of negation on *can* and the only answer to question (2) consistent with this interpretation is 'no'. Children consistently give this answer (43 times out of 47 - 91%) showing i) an adult like behavior, ii) no preference for the isomorphic reading (see Musolino 1998). The results of Experiment 1 suggest that children easily select inverse scope interpretations and in the next experiment we wanted to test if inverse scope is accessed also in sentences uniquely interpreted with surface-scope by adults. We tested Italian-speaking children (17 children; 4;7-6;3 - mean 5;5) on sentences which closely map the word order of the English sentence (1).

- (3) Il contadino può non dare le carote al leone  
the farmer can not give the carrots to-the lion  
*the farmer may not give the carrots to the lion*      Scope: **Can > Not**

Although the linear order of (3) matches (1), the interpretation is the opposite, with negation taking narrow scope. When asked a question equivalent to (2), Italian chil-

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dren answered similar to English children (answering ‘no’ 41 times out of 59 - 69%) in contrast with the adult Italian control group (<10%). We control for a *denial bias*: children have no general preference for ‘no’ instead of ‘yes’.

The overall pattern suggests that children have no problem in access inverse scope readings (exp.1) and that in the case of Italian (exp 2) they seem even to be biased toward such readings. We try to address the question of what is the nature of the deviance found in Experiment II. One possibility is that Pragmatics plays a role. We added another experimental condition in order to test the QAR hypothesis proposed in Husley et al. (2005). According to this HP, the interpretation varies in function of the Question-Under-Discussion, which is made salient by the discourse. For this reason we changed the QUD. Again children answer ‘no’ (70%), showing that the manipulation of the QUD is not influential on children’s interpretation.

Those results, compared with similar findings documented in the literature (Moscati & Gualmini 2007) suggest that children always select the semantically stronger (in the sense of Crain, Ni & Conway 1994) interpretation, in accordance with the Semantic Subset Principle. This pattern does not exclude a role of pragmatics but can be accounted for by a version of the Principle of Charity (Wilson 1959) which might bias the interpretation toward the stronger reading.

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Anja Müller, Petra Schulz & Barbara Höhle

Humboldt University Berlin, University of Potsdam & University of Frankfurt/Main

**Pragmatic children: how children interpret sentences with and without *only***

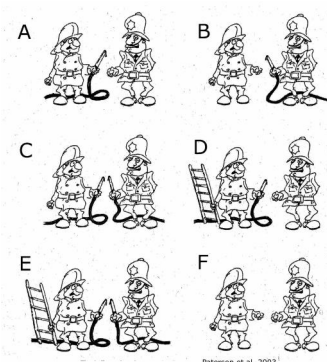
Do 11.30-12.00, Raum U2/ 133 (Ost)

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Challenging previous accounts of children’s comprehension of focus particles (FP), two experiments investigated how German-speaking children interpret sentences with and without *nur* ‘only’. Paterson et al. (2003) found that English children up to age 12 interpreted sentences with *only* not in an adult-like fashion. In their study children interpreted sentences with *only* in the same way as sentences without *only*. Paterson et al. argued that these errors were caused by ignoring the set of alternatives. They attributed this performance to a less well-developed pragmatic knowledge.

To examine these effects in a closely related Germanic language, we replicated the Paterson-study in German. Thirty 6-year-olds and 30 adults participated in a picture-matching task, employing 6-picture-tabloids (as below) and one of three sentence-types:

- (1) Der Feuerwehrmann hält einen Schlauch. The fireman is holding a hose.
- (2) Der Feuerwehrmann hält *nur* einen Schlauch. The fireman is *only* holding a hose.
- (3) *Nur* der Feuerwehrmann hält einen Schlauch. *Only* the fireman is holding a hose.



All participants interpreted sentence (1) correctly, by selecting the pictures A, C, D and E. To *nur*-sentences, children gave significantly more incorrect responses than adults. When presented with sentences (2) and (3) children did not give the expected responses (pictures A, D, and A, C, respectively), but again selected the pictures A, C, D and E. This result indicates that also German-speaking 6-year-olds ignore the set of alternatives. These findings support Paterson et al.'s account.

However, do these findings really indicate that children have not the pragmatic abilities to evaluate a felicitous set of alternatives? We argue that the results of Experiment 1 have to be re-examined: The reaction score of test sentence (1) was based on a semantic interpretation, since accepting pictures A, C, D, and E was counted as targetlike. Semantically, (1) is true if a fireman is holding a hose, thus allowing that he is holding something else (D,E) or that somebody else is holding a hose, too (C,E). Pragmatically, pictures C, D, and E represent a violation of the Gricean maxim of Quantity, because they contain more visual information than is named in sentence (1). That means that the test sentences 1 were underspecified with respect to the presented pictures.

In Experiment 2 we examined whether children are sensitive to this kind of underspecification in test sentence (1). If children consider the different numbers of elements not mentioned in the test sentences we expect them to judge the pictures A, C, D, E in a different way. In a truth-value-judgment-task design, thirty 6-year-olds and 30 adults were shown one of the pictures and asked whether it matches the given sentence. Children as well as adults judged picture A to be the best match for the test sentence, followed by picture C, D and E. The more elements there were that were not mentioned in the test sentence the worse the sentence was rated as matching the picture. This result indicates that children are pragmatically highly competent in obeying Grice's maxim of quantity. Further, the observed sensitivity to the information not mentioned in the test sentence indicates that children are aware of the information which constitutes the set of alternatives. This suggests that the observed failure of the children in Experiment 1 does not result from their inability to construct the set of alternatives. Possible reasons for children's non-target-like reactions to sentences with FP and methodological consequences for further experiments will be discussed.

*Katharina Rohlfing*

University of Bielefeld

**Meaning in objects?**

Do 12.00-12.30, Raum U2/ 133 (Ost)

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It is commonly assumed that a symbol is autonomous when it can be flexibly applied (Kauschke, 2000). Transferring this assumption to language acquisition means that a child displays her or his knowledge about a specific symbol, when she or he uses it beyond specific contexts such as action sequences or routines. Clearly, this view stands for an attempt to separate semantic from pragmatic knowledge, and it seems obvious that such knowledge can be tested in adults under experimental conditions. However, to show the presence of such semantic autonomy in the absence of contextual cues is difficult in studies with children.

I would like to exemplify these difficulties on children's lexical knowledge about spatial prepositions such as ON or UNDER. Various studies have shown that when two-years-old children are told to put one object ON or UNDER another one, their answer is often influenced by the presented objects. In her pioneering work, Clark (1973) proposed that when one of the objects is a container, children will put something into it; when an object offers a horizontal surface, children are inclined to put the other object on it. Since this study, it has been argued that children's responses in such situations are actually not based on meaning but rather on what was possible given the objects included in the study (see also Rohlfing, 2006). To characterize such behavior, the notion of 'nonlinguistic strategies' was introduced (Clark, 1973). These strategies have been discussed as a form of pragmatic behavior proceeding semantic knowledge competence. Clark (1973, p. 177) differentiates between a stage where infants rely on "nonlinguistic strategies plus partial semantic knowledge of the words; a transition stage; and a stage where they rely on full semantic knowledge of the words".

I would like to argue that these strategies should be viewed as contributing to semantic knowledge. My argument is based on evidence from studies with (a) adults showing that even adults' lexical knowledge is influenced by presented objects and (b) children showing that ecologically valid objects do not permit to balance relational possibilities. They simply restrict the answers, and children are, indeed, guided by objects presented to them. This admission provides support for the idea proposed by Sinha (2007; originally by Lotman, 1984) according to which material objects are a semiotic system as well and contribute to the „semiosphere“. Children are good learners because they are biased towards certain solutions (Dabrowska, 2004).

Clark, E. V. (1973): Non-linguistic strategies and the acquisition of word meanings. *Cognition* 3: 161-182.

Dabrowska, E. (2004): *Language, mind and brain. Some psychological and neurological constraints on theories of grammar*. Washington, D.C.:Georgetown University Press.



- Kauschke, C. (2000): Der Erwerb des frühkindlichen Lexikons. Eine empirische Studie zur Entwicklung des Wortschatzes im Deutschen. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Lotman, Y. M. (1984): O semiosfere. *Sign Systems Studies (Trudy po znakovym sistemam)* 17: 5-23.
- Rohlfing, K.J. (2006): Facilitating the acquisition of UNDER by means of IN and ON — a training study in Polish. *Journal of Child Language* 33: 51-69.
- Sinha, C. (2007): *Intersubjectivity, normativity and reference*. Paper presented at the 10th International Conference for Cognitive Linguistics (ICLC 2007), Kraków, Poland, 16. – 20. Juli.

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*Robert Kurtz & Ronnie Wilbur*

Purdue University

**The development of conversational competence in children with specific language impairment**

Do 12.30-13.00, Raum U2/ 133 (Ost)

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Research on the development of conversational skills suggests that children's awareness of rules described in terms of Grice's maxims develops unevenly, competence with the maxims of quality and manner being demonstrated earlier than with those of relation and quantity. It remains to be shown, however, whether very young children's difficulty complying with the latter two actually reflects lack of understanding of the maxims themselves, or whether toddlers simply lack the linguistic sophistication necessary to exhibit competence with them. Thus, it remains uncertain whether the maxims are present pre-linguistically, or whether they emerge as part of language development.

This study examined the ability of preschool children with specific language impairment (SLI), whose cognitive development was within normal limits, but whose language development lagged behind that of their peers. Two adult raters viewed videotapes of spontaneous, one-on-one conversations between four children with SLI and adult examiners, compared with similar conversations involving four typically-developing children of similar age. The raters identified occurrences of what they judged to be violations of conversational rules and assigned each violation to a category based on a system developed by Bishop and Adams (1989).

The children with SLI produced a significantly higher frequency of violations than their peers in the control group. All but two of the violations identified by the adult raters can be analyzed as falling under the Gricean maxims of relation and quantity, consistent with results of earlier studies of younger, typically-developing children.

If children with SLI display a pattern of violations similar to that of younger, typically developing children of similar linguistic ability, it stands to reason that compliance with the maxims of relation and quantity are strongly linked to language development. If these children perform better than younger, language-matched controls, but below their more language-proficient age mates, it would suggest that cognitive maturation plays a role. While our study confirms that children with SLI exhibit lower

competence compared their typically developing peers, further research including younger, language-matched control subjects is required to determine how children with SLI compare to this population.

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*Hans-Christian Schmitz*

University of Frankfurt/Main

**Free creation of intensional contexts**

Fr 9.00-9.30, Raum U2/ 133 (Ost)

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1. Modal enrichment: Recipients do not always understand speakers literally but perform operations of meaning enrichment. One type of meaning enrichment – which is not mentioned so often – is the creation of an intensional context for interpretation like in the following example:

- (1) A: *Wie spät ist es?* B: *Es ist 5 nach 3, meine Uhr geht aber 5 Minuten vor.*  
(A: *What time is it?* B: *It's 5 past 3, but my watch is 5 minutes fast.*)

In an experiment 42 subjects are asked to interpret B's answer. 36 subjects (85.7%) understand that it is 15:00h; only 6 subjects (14.3%) interpret the answer literally as meaning that it is 15:05h. The majority of subjects perform an operation of modal enrichment: They apply a modal operator (by-speaker's-watch) to the first conjunct of B's answer. Thus, they interpret it in the sense of "By my (B's) watch it's 5 past 3". Since B also says that his watch is 5 minutes fast, the subjects conclude that it is (exactly) 3 o'clock. Further experiments show that recipients can generate and apply different kinds of modal operators. The generation and application of modal operators is context dependent, but even in example (1) it does not depend on the occurrence of "aber" (but).

2. Bottom-up generation of implicatures: A cooperative speaker wants to be understood. He must anticipate possible meaning enrichments which might be carried out by the recipient. The recipient wants to understand the speaker. He can only carry out meaning enrichments that can be anticipated (even be intended) by the speaker. It must be clear in advance what kinds of meaning enrichment operations can be carried out; the set of enrichment operations that can be performed is restricted. We can take these operations into account when we construct meaning representations with feature structures in which both literal meanings and the applicability of enrichment operations are specified.

3. Controlling enrichment: In a given situation, an operation of meaning enrichment might be only optional but not obligatory for the recipient. In such a situation, a speaker cannot be sure whether the recipient will perform this operation or not; and the recipient cannot be sure whether he should perform it or not. In order to assure that he is properly understood the speaker must control which enrichment operations

are performed. Some words – among them “tatsächlich” (in fact) – serve the purpose of controlling meaning enrichment:

(2) A: *Wie spät ist es?* B: *Tatsächlich ist es 5 nach 3, meine Uhr geht aber 5 Minuten vor.*

(A: *What time is it?* B: *In fact, it's 5 past 3, but my watch is 5 minutes fast.*)

42 subjects are asked to interpret B's answer of example (2). Only 2 subjects (4.8%) perform an operation of modal enrichment and understand that it is (exactly) 3 o'clock. The majority of 40 subjects (95.2%) interpret the answer literally. Further experiments show that the interpretation does neither depend on a specific accentuation pattern nor on the occurrence of “aber” (but). Moreover, it does not depend on the ‘naturalness’ of the answers. The difference between the interpretations of examples like (1) and (4) only depends on the occurrence of “tatsächlich”. However, “tatsächlich” does not have a direct truth-conditional impact on the answer sentences – “It's 5 past 3” and “In fact (tatsächlich), it's 5 past 3” have the same literal meaning. “Tatsächlich” just blocks the performance of a modal enrichment operation. This can be easily specified within a feature structure like that mentioned above in which the applicability of a modal enrichment operation is blocked.

More ‘linguistic’ accounts that try to explain the blocking-effect by specifying a direct impact of “tatsächlich” on the literal truth-conditions of sentences fail in interpreting sentences that contain modal operators besides “tatsächlich” like, e.g., “Peter believes that it is in fact (tatsächlich) 5 past 3” or “In fact (Tatsächlich) Peter believes that it is 5 past 3”. The meaning of “tatsächlich” is taken to be an example for the interdependency of semantic and pragmatic interpretation and the permeability of the semantics-pragmatics boundary.

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*Eleni Kriempardis*

University of Cambridge

**Are implicatures more than a type of communicated content?**

Fr 9.30-10.00, Raum U2/ 133 (Ost)

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Starting from Grice's notion that ‘saying’ is to be understood as closely related to conventional meaning, the distinction between ‘what is said’ and ‘what is implicated’ is usually discussed as a distinction between two types of communicated *content*. The main argument against the Gricean picture is that pragmatic principles are necessary not only to derive ‘what is implicated’, but also its logical input, ie ‘what is said’ itself. What Relevance Theory (Sperber & Wilson 1986/1995; Carston 2002) advocates, therefore, is a general inferential mechanism that is used to derive both types of content. In the present paper, I argue that the focus on inferential strategies has had a paradoxical effect on the debate: it has not been emphasised enough that the concept of ‘implicature’ is (at least) as much about pragmatic strategies as it is about a certain

type of content. I aim to illustrate how this has made it difficult to develop a notion of 'what is said' that is pragmatic but characterised just as independently (from what is PCI-implicated) as one would wish (eg Levinson 2000: 198). I will propose such a characterisation of 'what is said' as well as a (vaguely Gricean) overarching needs-based principle of interpretation that applies both to utterances with and without particularised conversational implicatures (PCIs) and indicates when a PCI is needed.

The focus on inferences that characterises the Neo- and Post-Gricean pragmatic debate has two aspects that are particularly relevant to the present issue. First, it engenders discussions about logical properties of propositional units that permit inferences. Second, the cognitive processing level and the reflective level of utterance interpretation are not distinguished consistently. However, if the reflective level is conceptualised as a level at which speakers and hearers can negotiate (and learn) what may reasonably be meant by making a particular utterance in its context, not all aspects of the semantics/pragmatics discussion that theorists are concerned with are necessarily relevant. What matters instead is that speakers and hearers share a repertoire of pragmatic principles that tell them a) what can be intended to be conveyed by a particular utterance in its context and b) what the speaker can be taken to have committed himself to.

It is compatible with this set-up that implicature strategies can be applied twice: once to reach an understanding of a pragmatic 'what is said', and once to infer additional implicit assumptions, where necessary. Due to further constraints, both enriched scalars and metaphorical expressions belong to the former level. What is important, however, is that this does not mean that one principle is responsible for the interpretation of both 'what is said' and 'what is PCI-implicated' as is the case for Relevance-theoretic explicatures and implicatures. Strategies of interpretation that are responsible for the pragmatic 'what is said' are all lexeme-based while PCIs require the availability of auxiliary assumptions to be derived. This distinction has significant social implications. If it can be demonstrated that the notion of pragmatic 'what is said' is sufficiently restricted by generally valid principles, it is capable of doing the job that Cappelen & Lepore (2005; 2007) require of their 'semantic content'. As with Bach's 'implicature' (1994), their concern that a slightly richer notion will lead to indeterminable entities can be shown to be unwarranted, *as long as* the relevant notion is consistently understood as suitably restricted by shared principles at a reflective level.

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*Nausicaa Pouscoulous*

Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig

**Experimental evidence on the implicit/explicit distinction**

Fr 10.00-10.30, Raum U2/ 133 (Ost)

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When a speaker utters a sentence such as (1): “Daniel kicked the glass over and it fell on the floor”, the hearer may infer that Daniel broke the vase but this wasn’t explicitly stated, most linguists agree it was conveyed implicitly – that it is an implicature. Unfortunately, the distinction between what is explicitly said and what is implied is not always clear-cut. It was first assumed that semantic processes allowed us to access the explicit part of meaning, while pragmatic ones would retrieve the intended implicit meaning. In recent years this view has been questioned by several theoreticians (Levinson, 2000; Récanati, 2004; Sperber and Wilson, 1986/1995 amongst many others), who claim that some pragmatic inferences play a crucial role in the derivation of the explicit meaning of an utterance (‘what is said’). For such cases, at the interface between pragmatics and semantics, it is difficult to decide whether they are part of ‘what is said’ or implicitly communicated.

Of particular interest are scalar inferences, which have been studied empirically more extensively lately (Bott and Noveck, 2004; Breheny et al., 2006; Noveck, 2001; Papafragou and Musolino, 2003). These arise when a speaker’s use of a term such as ‘some’ indicates that he couldn’t have used a more informative term from the same scale, like ‘all’. For example, if someone says, (2): “Some of the children are in the classroom”, the hearer is entitled to infer that *not all* of the children are in the classroom. It is important to note that the quantifier ‘some’ is logically compatible with the stronger ‘all’, for if it turned out that ‘all’ the children were in the classroom, the sentence with ‘some’ would still be true, if misleading. Hence, the scalar expression ‘some’ may be interpreted in two different ways: either with its literal, semantic meaning, which is compatible with ‘all’, or with an inference-driven, pragmatic reading, which excludes ‘all’. Another scalar expression that licenses such inferences is the disjunction (‘or’) and conjunction (‘and’), as in (3): “Mummy or Daddy is picking up Molly from school” (not *both* of them).

In order to investigate whether scalar inferences are part of the explicit or implicit meaning of an utterance we used an experimental paradigm first established by Gibbs and Moise (1997) (and replicated in Nicolle and Clark, 1999) and which they used to test other pragmatic inferences. In two experiments, we studied whether subjects understood scalar inferences such as those linked to (2) and (3) as being part either of ‘what was said’ by an utterance (its explicit meaning) or implicitly communicated. According to Récanati’s ‘availability principle’ (2004) we have pre-theoretical intuitions of which parts of meaning are explicit and which are implicit. Thus a classification such as the one established by the answers of naïve subjects to our questionnaires should be representative of what belongs to ‘what is said’ and ‘what is implicit’. Given a sentence with a scalar inference subjects were asked, in Experiment 1, to

choose between two possible paraphrases (one conveying the literal meaning of the utterance and the other the inference), the one that better paraphrased what was explicitly said. It was overwhelmingly found that subjects consider scalar inferences as being part of the explicit meaning of the utterance or ‘what is said’. In experiment 2, we wanted to ensure that these results were not an artifact of the design. Therefore we change slightly the instruction (introducing an example) in order to be able to compare subject’s intuitions on scalar inferences and their responses for clear cases of particularized implicatures. For instance, for the sentence (1), we used “Daniel made the vase fall” as a paraphrase of the explicit meaning, while for the implicature we put “Daniel broke the vase”. For implicatures such as (1), participants rightly chose the explicit paraphrase around 90%, thereby showing that they can distinguish between ‘what is said’ and what is implicated. But for scalar inferences they still overwhelmingly preferred the implicit paraphrase.

We take these data to show that scalar inferences, unlike particularised implicatures, are understood by subjects as part of the explicit meaning of an utterance. If we are to take Récanati’s ‘availability principle’ seriously we should thus consider them as part of ‘what is said’. Such a conclusion bears important consequences for the current theoretical debates both on scalar inferences and on the explicit/implicit distinction more generally.

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*Judith Degen*

University of Osnabrück

**Theoretical implications of experimental evidence on scalar implicature processing**

Fr 11.00-11.30, Raum U2/ 133 (Ost)

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Experimental research investigating the default nature of scalar implicature processing has been viewed as a means of resolving the long-standing debate between Neo-Griceans and Relevance Theorists (Noveck and Posada (2003)). I argue that this view is based on a misconception about the relation between the involved theories (Neo-Griceanism vs. Relevance Theory) and the empirically testable models (the Default vs. the Context-Driven model).

Current experimental research on scalar implicature processing is yielding substantial support for the Context-Driven over the Default account of scalar implicatures (Noveck and Posada(2003), Breheny et al. (2006)). What are the theoretical implications of this evidence? Since the Context-Driven model is taken to be on par with Relevance Theory and the Default model with Neo-Gricean accounts, it is concluded e.g. by Noveck and Posada (2003) that the current support for the Context-Driven model provides evidence for Relevance Theory and against Neo-Griceanism in general.

I argue against the assumption that being a Neo-Gricean implies defending a Default notion of scalar implicatures. Although certain Neo-Gricean accounts (e.g. Levinson (2000)) explicitly endorse the Default model, this is not necessary for Neo-Griceanism in general. A Context-Driven Neo-Gricean account may (very informally) look as follows: for every potential implicature trigger encountered in a given utterance, check whether its use is indeed only attributable to a clash between the maxim of Quantity-1 and one of the Quality maxims. If it is (as in example (1)), generate the implicature. If its use may be attributable to another maxim (e.g. to Quantity-2 in example (2)), do not generate the implicature.

- (1) [A mother goes shoe-shopping with her sons who argue about wanting both white and blue sneakers although it is clear they will only get one pair each.]  
Mother: I will buy you blue or white sneakers! – (but not both.)
- (2) [A very generous mother, whose main goal is to make her children happy, goes shoe-shopping with her sons.]  
Mother: I will buy you blue or white sneakers. – (and possibly both)

Thus we arrive at a Gricean interpretation of scalar implicature processing that is in line with the current experimental evidence.

Consequently, only some Neo-Gricean accounts are undermined by the current empirical evidence, not, however, the Neo-Gricean approach in general. Thus, contrary to what has been claimed, experimentally testable predictions are largely divorced from the theoretical debate. The question of Default is not suited to settle the debate between Neo-Griceanism and Relevance Theory.

Breheny, R., N. Katsos, and J. Williams (2006). Are generalised scalar implicatures generated by default? An on-line investigation into the role of context in generating pragmatic inferences. *Cognition 100*, 434–463.

Levinson, S. C. (2000). *Presumptive Meanings - The Theory of Generalized Conversational Implicature*. The MIT Press.

Noveck, I. and A. Posada (2003). Characterizing the time course of an implicature: an evoked potentials study. *Brain and Language 85*, 203–210.

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*Frank Liedtke*

University of Düsseldorf

**Trigger or enrichment: on the proper treatment of what is said**

Fr 11.30-12.00, Raum U2/ 133 (Ost)

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Following the traditional, Gricean account of utterance-meaning, there are two aspects of each utterance which are relevant for grasping what the respective speaker has communicated: the conventional meaning of the words uttered (what has been said) and the conversational implicatures (what has been implicated). Within this account however, *saying* is not restricted to conventional semantic aspects alone, but it contains pragmatic ingredients too. These components make possible the specifica-

tion of reference, the resolution of indexicals and the disambiguation of ambiguous expressions, and together they constitute the pragmatic *saturation* of what is said.

It was since the eighties of the last century (Searle, Sperber/Wilson) that the problems and deficiencies of this account have been recognized. Not only reference assignment and disambiguation, which are triggered “bottom up” via the use e.g. of indexical expressions, but also further contextual information is held to be indispensable for determining a representation of what is said by an utterance. Typically this information is added “top down” to what has been literally expressed. In spite of its non-literal character, it is treated as having been communicated or *said* by the speaker. This second type of pragmatic intrusion is called *free enrichment*. The position which consists in claiming that not only saturation, but also free enrichment plays a constitutive role in building up an instance of what-is-said, is called the contextualist position, and it is held roughly by authors like Bach, Levinson, Récanati et al. Most authors claim that the process of free enrichment is inferential in nature (implicature, generalized conversational implicature, explicature). In contrast, Récanati holds that these processes are associative in nature, not inferential, and that they arise locally, incrementally in the course of the production of an utterance. (Récanati 2004)

Integrating enrichment into what-is-said has some consequences which are relevant to the cognitive side of communication. Indeed this strategy leads to some methodological problems. The first problem concerns the cognitive status of pragmatic processes and their results. Saturation and enrichment are primary pragmatic *processes* which *result* into what-is-said. Furthermore, the former processes are said to be subdoxastic, the latter results are called available or conscious for the communicants (Récanati 2004, 14) This distinction between unconscious processes and conscious results seems stipulative, it is not clear whether the former are subdoxastic and the latter are conscious by definition or if this is a matter of contingent facts.

The second methodological problem arises if one wants to distinguish the two types of primary pragmatic processes, saturation and enrichment, from each other, or if one wants to distinguish primary pragmatic processes from secondary ones (conversational implicatures). Figurative speech for example is held to be a species of what-is-said by Récanati, but there are cases of irony which are to be treated best as cases of conversational implicature.

In order to face these problems, I want to test the intuitions of language users about the scope and the nature of what-is-said. Written and recorded oral dialogues will be presented to native speakers of German. In a second move, the recipients of the dialogue will be asked what one or both participants of the dialogue have *said*. The scope of possible answers provides some evidence concerning the question whether one may include pragmatic enrichment into the realm of what-is-said, and if one may, what exactly is to be included and what not.

Récanati, François, *Literal Meaning*, Cambridge, 2004.







## Abstracts AG 10

### Strategien der Integration und Isolation nicht-nativer Einheiten und Strukturen

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*Ulrich Busse*

Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg

**Was ist eigentlich ein Anglizismus?**

Mi 14.30-15.00, Raum: H/201 (West)

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Im Rahmen der Fremdwortdiskussion im Deutschen spielen die Anglizismen eine immer größer werdende Rolle. Dies spiegelt sich zum einen in einer öffentlich lebhaft bis polemisch geführten Debatte und zum anderen in der Fachdiskussion wider. Beides hat zur Folge, dass die Literatur zum Thema Anglizismen im Deutschen über die Jahre beträchtlich angewachsen ist. Wenn man die einschlägigen Arbeiten zum Sprachkontakt allgemein und zum Einfluss des Englischen auf die deutsche Sprache verfolgt, so stellt man fest, dass die Definition des Terminus *Anglizismus* beziehungsweise *Amerikanismus* sehr unterschiedlich gehandhabt wird.

Häufig dient dabei einer der beiden Begriffe als Oberbegriff, unter dem dann jegliche Form tatsächlicher oder vermeintlicher Beeinflussung durch das Englische zusammengefasst und in weitere Untergruppen aufgeteilt wird (so z.B. in der Nachfolge von Zindler (1959), über die Arbeiten von Carstensen (1965, 1968) bis zum Anglizismen-Wörterbuch (1993-96)). Auf der anderen Seite wird der Begriff jedoch auch restriktiver verwendet, siehe z.B. Kirkness/Woolford (2002), die bei morphologisch komplexen Bildungen wie Zusammensetzungen und Ableitungen Entlehnung und Lehnwortbildung voneinander trennen und nur aus dem Englischen entlehnte Wortschatzeinheiten als Anglizismen betrachten.

Darüber hinaus ist es aufschlussreich, die den unterschiedlichen Definitionen zugrundeliegenden Kategorien und Kriterien näher zu beleuchten, das heißt, wird beispielsweise die Herkunft – also die Etymologie – zum Kriterium erhoben, was als Anglizismus gelten soll oder nicht, oder wird formal, z.B. anhand graphischer/phonologischer bzw. morphologischer Merkmale bestimmt, was ein Anglizismus ist. Hierbei spielen durch mögliche Assimilationsprozesse sowohl synchrone als auch diachrone Aspekte eine Rolle. Allerdings wird zunehmend in neueren Untersuchungen festgestellt (so z.B. Onysko 2007), dass Anglizismen kaum noch, zumindest was ihre Schreibung anbelangt, „eingedeutscht“ werden.

Auch wenn es bereits zahlreiche Versuche gibt, Anglizismen zu klassifizieren, lohnt es dennoch, im Lichte neuerer Arbeiten und Theorien, dieses Feld neu zu bestellen.

Carstensen, Broder (1965): *Englische Einflüsse auf die deutsche Sprache nach 1945*. Heidelberg: Winter.

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- Kirkness, Alan / Woolford, Melanie (2002): Zur Herkunft der Anglizismen im Deutschen: Beobachtungen und Vorschläge anhand des Anglizismen-Wörterbuchs. In: Hoberg, R. (Hg.). *Deutsch – Englisch – Europäisch: Impulse für eine neue Fremdsprachenpolitik*. Mannheim: Dudenverlag, 199-219.
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Horst Haider Munske

Universität Erlangen Nürnberg

**O. K. [o'ke:] und K.O. [ka'o:]: Zur lautlichen und graphischen Integration von Anglizismen im Deutschen**

Mi 15.00-15.30, Raum: H/201 (West)

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Warum folgen wir in der Aussprache von *O.K.* dem englischen Vorbild, unter Ersatz des engl. Diphthongs /ei/ durch den im Deutschen nächstverwandten Monophthong /e:/, während wir die umgekehrte Zeichenfolge *K.O.* in sog. 'Leseaussprache', also entsprechend den indigenen Laut-Buchstaben-Beziehungen, wiedergeben? Entsprechend integrieren wir *Bungalow* und *Bunker*, folgen aber in *Rugby* und *Rush-hour* dem englischen Vorbild. So auch in *Tanker*, während das ältere *Tank* integriert wurde. Die *VIPs*, very important persons, erscheinen im Deutschen als [vips] oder [vi:ai'pi:s]. Wann, so frage ich weiter, erfolgt eine syntagmatische Integration nach den phonotaktischen Regeln des Deutschen wie in *Sport*, *Streik*, *Standard*, wann unterbleibt sie wie in *Spoiler*, *Steward*, *Stuntman*? Wann brach die Praxis graphischer Integration wie in *Streik* aus engl. *strike* im Deutschen ab? Diesem Fragenkreis möchte ich anhand der Angaben des Anglizismenwörterbuchs sowie eigener Beobachtungen nachgehen.

Ich beginne mit einer Übersicht möglicher lautlicher (d.h. phonetischer, phonologischer und prosodischer) sowie verschiedener graphischer Formen der Integration und Transferenz. Aufgenommen wird dabei auch die Integration durch Teilhabe am Sprachwandel der aufnehmenden Sprache, wie sie für Latinismen charakteristisch ist. Einen interessanten Sonderfall stellt die lautliche Integration in das periphere System der Latinismen im Deutschen dar, wie in *Campus*, *Cafeteria*, *Caravan*, im Gegensatz zu *Camp* oder *Vamp*. Weitere Beobachtungen gelten dem Wandel der Anglizismenintegration (Vergleich zwischen Entlehnungen vor und nach dem II. Weltkrieg).

Abschließend gebe ich eine Übersicht über die Folgen der englischen Entlehnungen für das deutsche Laut- und Schreibsystem und versuche eine Bewertung der

Tranzferenz und Integration von Anglizismen vor dem Hintergrund der heutigen Anglizismendebatte.

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*Martin Neef*

Universität Braunschweig

**Die Schreibung nicht-nativer Einheiten in einer Schriftsystemtheorie mit einem mehrschichtigen Wortschatzmodell**

Mi 15.30-16.00, Raum: H/201 (West)

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Bei der theoretischen Modellierung des Datenbereichs geschriebene Sprache stellt sich unweigerlich die Frage, inwieweit Wörter oder Wortbestandteile, die eine fremde Herkunft haben, mit zu berücksichtigen sind. Für einen Ansatz, der auf die Unterrichtung von Kindern im Grundschulalter abzielt, ist es angemessen, den zu modellierenden Ausschnitt des Wortschatzes relativ frei von nicht-nativen Einheiten zu halten. Eine generelle theoretische Analyse des Schriftsystems einer Sprache hat dagegen einen größeren Ausschnitt von Wörtern als Basis zu nehmen. Gleichwohl sind auch hier Grenzen zu ziehen, da beispielsweise Namenwörter aus fremden Sprachen nicht notwendigerweise in den Regelbereich des angezielten Schriftsystems fallen

In theoretischen Analysen zum Schriftsystem des Deutschen finden sich gelegentlich spezielle Regelsätze, die nur für nicht-native Einheiten gelten sollen. Allerdings verhalten sich nicht-native Einheiten nicht notwendigerweise anders als native Einheiten, wie die Fälle Dress oder Drink aus dem Englischen belegen. Hier wird die sprachliche Integration nicht von einer Schreibungsänderung begleitet. Schreibungsänderungen ergeben sich nur, wenn die nicht-native Schreibung nicht schon von sich aus den Regularitäten des deutschen Schriftsystems entspricht. Dabei müssen die Änderungen aber nicht so weit gehen, dass die Schreibungen aussehen wie native Fälle. Wie weit sie gehen können oder müssen, ist eine zentrale Forschungsfrage. Obligatorisch ist eine Schreibungsänderung nur bei der Übernahme von Schreibungen aus Sprachen, die nicht das lateinische Alphabet benutzen.

Neben Schreibungsänderungen sind auch Lautungsänderungen zu beobachten. Die Hauptstadt Englands wird im Deutschen geschrieben wie im Englischen, aber sie muss nicht wie im Englischen [lʌn.dən] ausgesprochen werden, sondern kann auch eingedeutscht ['lɔn.dɔn] lauten. Diese Art der Integration wird als Schriftaussprache bezeichnet unter der Vermutung, die Lautung passe sich dergestalt an, dass die nativen Korrespondenzregeln von der Schreibung zur Lautung aktiviert werden. Andererseits sind natürlich auch Fälle dokumentiert, bei denen sich die Schreibung in einer Weise ändert, dass die Lautung gegenüber der Quellsprache prinzipiell konstant gehalten wird und wiederum die einschlägigen Korrespondenzregeln gelten (z.B. dribbeln zu Englisch dribble).

Diese Daten verlangen einerseits nach einem Schriftsystemmodell, das sowohl die Korrespondenzen von der Schreibung zur Lautung als auch umgekehrt erfasst, das andererseits aber verschiedene Integrationsstufen für nicht-native Einheiten vorsieht. In diesem Vortrag will ich ein Modell skizzieren, das diesen Anforderungen mit einer Scheidung von Graphematik und Orthographie einerseits und einer Gliederung des Wortschatzes in distinkte Ebenen, die von den Regularitäten der Orthographie unterschiedlich behandelt werden, gerecht wird.

Neef, Martin (2005): *Die Graphematik des Deutschen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

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*Evan Cohen*

Tel Aviv University

**Predicting adaptation patterns: multiple sources of Hebrew vowels in English loanwords**

Mi 16.30-17.00, Raum: H/201 (West)

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The paper presents a formal perceptually-based phonological model accounting for adaptational patterns of vowels in loanwords as seen in experimental and corpus-based data. I will show how Hebrew outputs can be reliably predicted on the basis of this model, despite massive variation and apparent mismatches (e.g. Hebrew [ɛ] has 9 possible English sources; English [æ] has two possible Hebrew adaptations, each accounting for approximately 50% of the data: [ʌ] and [ɛ]).

The basic problem in adapting English vowels into Hebrew: a 12-22 vowel system (depending on the dialect/analysis) has to be crunched into a 5 vowel system ([iʔeʔʌʔoʔu]). The result is that identical English vowels may have different Hebrew adaptations, and identical Hebrew outputs may stem from different English sources.

The solution is twofold.

A. Multi-sourcing: recognising that adaptation patterns are determined by multiple sources: perception (e.g. Eng.[ɛvən] 'Evan' → Heb.[evən]), orthography (e.g. Eng.[kɛvən] 'Kevin' → Heb.[kevin]), native phonological rules/constraints (we perceive what we think we hear rather than a pure auditory signal – Dupoux et al., 1999, Boersma and Hamann, 2007 – e.g. Eng.[fɪlm] 'film' → Heb.[filim]), and universals (Shinohara, 2004 – e.g. CV harmony, Eng.[lɪʔ] 'Lil(ian)' → Heb.[lul]). Pre-determining which particular adaptation strategy is selected may be impossible. However, once the strategy has been determined, the output can be predicted with remarkable accuracy.

B. Formal model: I will adopt a formal perceptual phonological model accounting for perception-based adaptation (Cohen and Escudero, 2007). Approximately 70% of the adaptations in the corpus are perception-based.

In this talk, I will clarify the notion of multi-sourcing and provide an analysis of the perceptual source, couched within a stochastic model (Boersma 1998) of Optimality

Theory (Prince and Smolensky 1993). The analysis can enable us to predict how non-native productions are assigned a phonological representation in a language.

- Boersma, Paul / Hamann, Silke (2007): *Phonological perception in loanword adaptation*. Paper presented at the 2007 Old World Conference in Phonology. Univ. of the Aegean.
- Boersma, Paul (1998): *Functional phonology: Formalizing the interaction between articulatory and perceptual drives*. PhD thesis, Univ. Amsterdam.
- Cohen, Evan / Escudero, Paola (2007): *Predicting Adaptation Patterns: A JND-based model for similarity in loanwords*. Paper presented at Univ. of Amsterdam.
- Dupoux, E. / Kakehi, Paola / Hirose, Y. / C. Pallier / Mehler, J. (1999): Epenthetic vowels in Japanese. A perceptual illusion? In: *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Perception and Performance* 25, 1568-1579.
- Prince, A. / Smolensky, P. (1993): *Optimality Theory: Constraint interaction in generative grammar*. Technical report RuCCSTR-2. Rutgers Center for Cognitive Science.
- Shinohara, Shigeko (2004): Emergence of Universal Grammar in foreign word adaptations. In: Kager, Rene et al. (eds.): *Constraints in Phonological Acquisition*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

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*Marcus Callies, Eva Ogiermann & Konrad Szcześniak*

Philipps-Universität Marburg, Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg &  
Uniwersytet Śląski Sosnowiec

**A cross-linguistic comparison of variation in gender assignment to English  
loanwords in German and Polish**

Mi 17.00-17.30, Raum: H/201 (West)

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Previous research has found that gender assignment in lexical borrowing is governed by a set of factors that are subject to formal (spelling, pronunciation, homonymy, morphology) and semantic criteria (biological gender, semantic analogies, and most importantly, lexical equivalence). Variation in gender assignment to loanwords is assumed to be due to the competition of two or more of these factors, but little is known about the exact mechanisms leading to the preference of one gender over another.

There is also disagreement as to the extent of intra- and inter-speaker variation in language-contact situations. Understandably, analyses of spoken data collected from bilingual speakers (cf. e.g. Baran 2003, Budzhak-Jones & Poplak 1997) show significantly more variation than studies using written material and thus focusing on loanwords that have already been established in the borrowing language (e.g. Nettmann-Multanowska 2003, Onysko 2007). Moreover, it is unclear how the factors determining gender assignment to loanwords play out cross-linguistically.

This paper examines the extent of and reasons for variation in gender assignment to English loanwords in German and Polish based on data from internet corpora and native speaker informants. What is of particular interest to our study is that both languages borrow so heavily from English that many words are used without having

been established yet, thus increasing the probability of variation and allowing an insight into the factors influencing gender assignment.

These factors are weighed differently in the two examined languages: In Polish, and in Slavic languages generally, morpho-phonological factors are ranked highest, variation being attributed to the competition between the gender of the Polish equivalent or near-equivalent, and the phonological shape of the loanword (Baran 2003). German, in contrast, relies much more on semantic factors, providing more room for variability and idiosyncracies (Onysko 2007).

Baran, Dominika (2003), English loanwords in Polish and the question of gender assignment. In: *Penn Working Papers in Linguistics* 8/1, 15-28.

Budzhak-Jones, Svitlana / Poplak, Shana (1997), Two generations, two strategies: The fate of bare English-origin nouns in Ukrainian. In: *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 1/2, 225-258.

Nettmann-Multanowska, Kinga (2003), *English Loanwords in Polish and German after 1945: Orthography and Morphology*. Frankfurt/Main: Lang.

Onysko, Alexander (2007), *Anglicisms in German. Borrowing, Lexical Productivity, and Written Codeswitching*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

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*Jeanine Ntahirageza*

Northeastern Illinois University, Chicago

**Variability in multilingual grammars. Class reassignment of loan nouns**

Mi 17.30-18.00, Raum: H/201 (West)

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This paper examines noun class reassignment due to sound approximation in Kirundi loanwords data from multiple languages. Data indicate that loanword adaptation results from attempts to match the non-native input to the native grammar. Recent studies on loanword adaptation can be categorized into three major groups: perceptual, phonological and a combination of the two. Whereas perception plays an important role in accounting for loanword structure, this study shows that an effective analysis of loanwords takes into account both the phonetic and phonological levels of the donor as well as the borrowing languages. This study analyzes Kirundi loanword adaptation from French, English and Swahili with focus on class assignment of non native nouns into Kirundi nominal class system. Nouns in Kirundi belong to grammatical classes. Most of them appear in pairs of singular and plural forms. The vast majority of foreign nouns in Kirundi are borrowed into noun classes 5 (singular) and 6 (plural). The class marker is in a form of CV after the augment (initial vowel). For example, the noun *shirt* is /i-šaati/ in Kirundi, *shirts* is /a-**ma**-šaati/. The French word *pantalon* /*pantalɔ̃*/ is /ipaantaro/ in singular and /a-**ma**-paantaro/ in plural '*pants*'. However, some nouns, due to auditory similarity among phonological structures, are reclassified into different classes. Thus English *cupboard* is borrowed into Kirundi as /a-**ka**-βaati/, class 12; the French noun *bière* is realized as /i-**βi**-yeeri/ , class 8, 'beer'. It is borrowed as a plural noun since the 'false prefix'- **βi**- is a plural marker. Kirundi then back forms a singular form for class 7. On the other hand, the French word



*examen* /egzamẽ/ is borrowed into Kirundi as /i-ki-zaame/, class 7 and i-βi-zaame/, class 8. I argue that only a combined effort of perceptual and grammatical accounts can elucidate the facts of this noun class reassignment.

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*Eric A. Anchimbe*

University of Bayreuth

**Accounting for Cameroon-based elements in English in Cameroon**

Mi, 18.00-18.30, Raum: H/201 (West)

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This illustrative paper accounts for the sources, motivations, and degrees of spread of certain Cameroon-based non-native elements in English. The analysis is based on a questionnaire administered to 300 respondents in 2003 in three towns in Cameroon: Bamenda, Buea and Yaounde. Three major sources contribute elements to English in Cameroon (also Cameroon English). These are the (over 270) indigenous languages, the French language and Cameroon Pidgin English. A fourth source, speakers' innovative usages, also supplies several elements to Cameroon English, but these are generally English-based and cannot always be clearly traced to their source languages.

A distinction is made here between additive and replacive non-native elements. The additives easily find places in the target language since they represent concepts and things that exist in the new ecology of the language but lack original elements in the native language. The replacives have similar, *false*, and often descriptive counterparts in the language or ones created through loan translations in the new ecology. Both types may end up as integrated forms in the standard of the language through spread and constant usage. This indicates that when languages move into new environments, they get adapted to those environments in order to reflect them properly. However, not all new, non-native elements succeed to enter the standard of the language or variety. Some are rejected as well. To explain how the acceptance and rejection of elements take place two approaches have been adopted: Mufwene's (1996) competition-selection hypothesis and Anchimbe's (2006) filtration processes.

Anchimbe, Eric A. (2006): *Cameroon English: Authenticity, ecology and evolution*. Frankfurt/Main: Lang.

Mufwene, S. S. (1996): Creole genesis: a population genetics perspective. In: Christie, P. (ed.) *Caribbean language issues: old and new*. Kingston, Jamaica: Univ. of the West Indies Press, 168-209.

*Maria Gabriela Schmidt*

Universität Tsukuba

**Adaption und Koordination nicht-nativer Einheiten am Beispiel des Japanischen**

Do 9.00-9.30, Raum: H/201 (West)

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Bei der Beschreibung nicht-nativer sprachlicher Einheiten im Japanischen scheinen „Adaption und Koordination“ die sprachlichen Strategien zu bezeichnen. Folgende Punkte sind zu beobachten: Integration durch phonographische Adaption an das japanische Silbensystem, d. h. Aussprache und Notierung entsprechen der japanischen Silbenstruktur, häufig Kürzung auf 2-4 silbige Kurzwörter, Isolation durch morphologische Markierung z. B. durch das Verb „suru“ (*machen*) sowie Koordination im Lexikon und im Gebrauch, der Japanisches und Nicht-japanisches semantisch differenziert und dann nebeneinander stellt. Zwei ursprünglich bedeutungsähnliche Ausdrücke werden parallel mit unterschiedlichem Denotat verwendet: z. B. „gyu-nyu“ („Kuhmilch“) für Milch vs. „mi-ru-ku“ (engl. „milk“) für Trockenmilchpulver (Babynahrung oder Kaffeemilchpulver).

Alle vier im Japanischen verwendeten Schriftweisen können nicht-native Elemente notieren: „ta-ba-ko“ („Tabak“) wird meist in Hiragana geschrieben. Die zur besonderen Markierung verwendeten *Katagana* haben einen großen Anteil an nicht-nativen Lexemen: jap. „a-ru-ba-i-to“, gekürzt zu „ba-i-to“ in der Bedeutung „Gelegenheitsarbeit, Teilzeitarbeit, Job“, entlehnt aus dem Deutschen „Arbeit“. Jedoch nicht alle in *Katagana* geschriebenen Wörter sind per se Fremdwörter. Ebenfalls die chinesischen Schriftzeichen *Kanji* enthalten viel nicht-nativ Japanisches, z. B. Entlehnungen aus dem Chinesischen, aber auch zahlreiche Lehnbildungen wie „tai-iku“ aus dem Deutschen „Leibes-erziehung“, „Sport“. Das Lateinalphabet (*Romaji*, in englischer Aussprache) wird für lexikalisierte Abkürzungen wie „CD“ oder „DVD“ verwendet.

Nicht-native Einheiten lassen sich im Japanischen nicht immer auf den ersten Blick erkennen. Sie sind sehr vielschichtig. Im Deutschen kann häufig eine gewisse Konkurrenz durch nicht-native Elemente festgestellt werden, wie es sich an dem Gebrauch der Wörter „Job“/ „jobben“ im Verhältnis zu „Arbeit“/ „arbeiten“ zeigen lässt. Dieses Phänomen ist im Japanischen nicht so stark ausgeprägt.

Miyajima, Tatsuo (1999): Loanwords in Japanese and German. In: Nitta, H. et al. (Hg.): *Kontrastive Studien zur Beschreibung des Japanischen und des Deutschen*. München, 249-256.

Suzuki, Takao (1990): *Eine verschlossene Sprache: die Welt des Japanischen*. Aus dem Japanischen von I. Hijiya-Kirschner. München.

*Heide Wegener*

Universität Potsdam

**Vom Nutzen fremder Wörter und fremder Strukturen für die entlehrende Sprache**

Do 9.30-10.00, Raum: H/201 (West)

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Fremdwörter werden häufig als Fremdkörper in einer Sprache angesehen, deren einziger Nutzen darin bestehe, lexikalische Lücken zu füllen. An zwei Beispielen aus dem Deutschen soll gezeigt werden, dass Fremdwörter mit ihren fremden Strukturen mehr als eine lexikalische Bereicherung für die entlehrende Sprache sein können.

In der Flexionsmorphologie hat das Deutsche mit dem s-Plural, der mit Entlehnungen aus dem Französischen und Englischen ins Deutsche kam, ein Pluralsuffix gewonnen, das es erlaubt, besonders strukturbewahrende Pluralformen zu schaffen. Denn während mit den nativen silbischen Pluralsuffixen Stammveränderungen einhergehen wie Resyllabierung, Alternation zwischen stimmlosem und stimmhaftem Auslautkonsonanten und eventuell Umlautung des Stammvokals (*Burg* [bʊrk]- *Bur.gen* [bʊr.gən], *Hand* [hant]- *Hän.de* [hɛn.də]), tritt keine solche Veränderung mit dem nicht-silbischen s-Suffix auf, das in den Stamm integriert wird (*Park* - *Parks*). Dies erweist sich für markierte Wortklassen, die auf strukturbewahrende Flexionsformen angewiesen sind, als Vorteil, und erklärt, warum der s-Plural im heutigen Deutsch auch für Fremdwörter aus anderen Sprachen (*die Pizzas*) und sogar für native Wörter derart markierter Wortklassen gebraucht wird, und zwar für Onomatopoetika, Eigennamen und Hypokoristika (*die Kuckucks und Uhus, die Manns, die Muttis*). Hier hat der „fremde“ s-Plural sogar die nativen Pluralformen verdrängt (*Uhue* > *Uhus, Marien* > *Marias, Ottonen* > *Ottos*).

In der Wortbildung stellen die Ableitungen auf -i (seltener auf -o) eine Neuerung dar, die durch Fremdwörter wie *Baby, Spagetti, Konto...* gestützt und heute auch zu nativen Stämmen gebildet werden (*Mutti, Schlafli, Grufti, Schupo*), ebenso Wortkürzungen wie *Kita*. Hier erfolgt unter dem Einfluss von Fremdwörtern eine Änderung der deutschen Wortstruktur: Mit den vollvokalischen Suffixen und den Kürzungsverfahren bildet das Deutsche Wörter, die nach Ronneberger-Sibold (1995) und Féry (1997) zu besonders wohlgeformten Wortstrukturen führen, ja eine "Optimierung von Lautgestalten" darstellen im Gegensatz zur unmarkierten Struktur von nativen Zweisilbern, deren unbetonte Silbe stets ein Schwa enthält. Denn mit der seit dem Ahd. erfolgten Reduktion sämtlicher Endsilbenvokale zu Schwa verschenkt das Deutsche ja die Möglichkeit, in der Endsilbe der Wörter mehr als grammatische Information zu übermitteln. Dieser Mangel wird durch die Neubildungen mit finalem Vollvokal behoben, was die Behauptung rechtfertigt, diese stellten nicht nur eine lexikalische, sondern auch eine strukturelle Bereicherung dar.

Im Vortrag soll für beide Bereiche dargelegt werden, welche Funktionen die Neuerungen für die deutsche Grammatik und Wortbildung haben und welchen

Beitrag fremde Wörter und fremde Strukturen also zur Erneuerung und Bereicherung des Deutschen leisten.

Féry, Caroline (1997): *Uni und Studis*: die besten Wörter des Deutschen. In: *Linguistische Berichte* 172, 461-489.

Ronneberger-Sibold, Elke (1995): Die Optimierung von Lautgestalten durch Wortkürzung und durch langfristigen Sprachwandel. In: Boretzky, N. et al.: *Beiträge zum internationalen Symposium über Natürlichkeitstheorie und Sprachwandel*. Bochum: Brockmeyer, 31-44.

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*Rüdiger Harnisch*

Universität Passau

**Isolation und Integration von ‚suffixverdächtigen‘ Fremdwörtern im Deutschen  
– typologisch betrachtet**

Do 10.00-10.30, Raum: H/201 (West)

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Es soll geklärt werden, nach welchen Prinzipien das Deutsche ‚suffixverdächtige‘ Fremdwörter (wie *Torero*) in seine Flexions- und Derivationsmorphologie integriert und nach welchen sprachbautypologischen Parametern die jeweiligen Integrationsergebnisse zu bewerten sind. Diese Parameter sollen sein:

- De-Analyse
- Analyse
- Re-Analyse

Eine entscheidende Rolle für den Umgang mit solchen Fremdwörtern scheint der Faktor zu spielen, ob die gebersprachlichen Basislexeme nehmerseitig als intern strukturiert oder nicht strukturiert aufgefasst und als kategorialsemantisch wie stark eventuelle Suffixe eingeschätzt werden.

- So scheint *Torero* als nicht strukturiert aufgefasst (de-analysiert) zu werden, wenn dazu eine Pluralform *Torero-s* gebildet wird. Das *-o* ist reine phonologische Substanz des Wortausgangs.
- So scheint *Torero* strukturiert als *Torer-o* aufgefasst (analysiert) zu werden, wenn dazu eine Pluralform *Torer-en* gebildet wird. Das *-o* ist Klassenmarker / Anzeiger des Deklinationstyps o.ä., jedenfalls schwach kategorialsemantisch belegt.
- So scheint *Torero* strukturiert als *Torer-o* und das *-o* als Sexusmarker aufgefasst (re-analysiert) zu werden, wenn dazu eine movierte Form *Torer-a* gebildet wird. Als Sexusmarker ist das *-o* kategorialsemantisch schon stärker belegt.

Um den Leitaspekt der Arbeitsgruppe aufzugreifen, könnte man postulieren: Je höher Strukturiertheits- und Bedeutungsgrad sind, desto besser wird ein Fremdwort „integriert“, je niedriger sie sind, desto „isolierter“ bleibt es. In diesem Beitrag geht es

darum, diese Hypothese zu überprüfen und die Frage zu beantworten, welche ‚suffixverdächtigen‘ Einheiten, womöglich in Verbindung mit andern grammatischen Merkmalen wie Genus, strukturierungs- und semantisierungsfähiger sind und welche widerständiger.

Harnisch, Rüdiger (2002): Tendenzen der morphologischen Integration von Fremdwörtern ins Deutsche. In: Wiesinger, Peter et al. (Hg.): *Akten des X. Internationalen Germanistenkongresses Wien 2000. Band 2, Teil 1: Entwicklungstendenzen der deutschen Gegenwartssprache*. Bern: Lang, 74-79.

Wegener, Heide (2004): *Pizzas* und *Pizzen* – die Pluralformen (un)assimilierter Fremdwörter im Deutschen. In: *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 23, 47-112.

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*Sabina Ulsamer & Lothar Lemnitzer*

Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen

**Empirische Analyse von Neologismen im Hinblick auf Wortbildungsmuster  
mit nicht-nativen Wortbildungselementen**

Do 10.30-11.00, Raum: H/201 (West)

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Einflüsse anderer Sprachen auf die eigene und Übernahmen von „fremdem“ Wortgut sind kein neues Phänomen. Mit dem stetig zunehmenden weltweiten Kommunikationsaustausch jedoch sind viele Menschen um eine Verfremdung oder gar Verfälschung der Sprache besorgt.

Mit der Integration solcher „Fremdwörter“ und Verknüpfung mit nativem Material entstehen nach der deutschen Wortbildung völlig regulär gebildete Einheiten aus nativen und nicht-nativen Elementen, beispielsweise Komposita mit deutschem Erstglied und englischem Zweitglied wie *Butterbrot-User* oder umgekehrt *Crashforscher*. Auch in der Derivation zeigen sich viele nicht-native Elemente, z.B. die Präfixe *mega-* und *giga-* (*megascharf*, *gigapotent*). Als Affixoid, weil reihenbildend, ist *-tool* zu nennen. Es erscheint sowohl alleine als auch in Kombination mit anderen nicht-nativen wie nativen Elementen (*Voice-Tool*, *Schnüffel-Tool*). Konfixstatus haben *bio* und *cyber* wie in *Biothek* und *Cybernarium*.

Im Vortrag soll dargestellt werden, wie produktiv, d.h. regelhaft und wiederholend, die Verwendung von nicht-nativen Elementen in der Wortbildung ist. Dazu wurden ausgewählte Elemente der „Wortwarte“ ([www.wortwarte.de](http://www.wortwarte.de)) aus den Jahren 2000 bis 2006 hinsichtlich ihrer Frequenz untersucht. Mit statistischen Methoden nach Baayen (2001) sollen Tendenzen in der Verwendung der Wortbildungselemente festgestellt werden. Mit Wachstumskurven für diese Elemente, anhand derer die Entwicklung über diesen Zeitraum deutlich wird, können Aussagen dazu gemacht werden, wie produktiv ein bestimmtes Muster ist, an welche Basen die nicht-nativen Elemente affigieren bzw. für welche nativen Affixe sie selbst als Basen fungieren. Etwaige semantische Veränderungen, die mit dem produktiveren Gebrauch einhergehen, wer-

den erkennbar. Diese Ergebnisse bieten interessante Informationen nicht nur für die Lexikographie, sondern auch für andere Sprachtechnologien.

Baayen, R.H. (2001): *Word Frequency Distributions*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Bauer, Laurie (2001): *Morphological Productivity*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Lüdeling, A. / Evert, S. / Heid, U. (2000): On Measuring Morphological Productivity. In: *Proceedings of the KONVENS 2000 – Sprachkommunikation*. Ilmenau, 57 – 61.

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*Luise Kempf*

Universität Mainz

**(Wie) Unterscheiden sich Fremdwortbildung und native Wortbildung im Deutschen?**

Do 11.30-12.00, Raum: H/201 (West)

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Der Frage nach dem Unterschied zwischen neoklassischer und nativer Wortbildung widmen sich Lüdeling et al. (2002). Darin wird eine Unterscheidung beider Teilsysteme in Frage gestellt und die Auffassung vertreten, neoklassische Wortbildung unterscheidet sich nicht oder nicht grundlegend von nativer.

Um diese Aussage zu überprüfen habe ich verschiedenartige Phänomene zusammengestellt und ausgewertet. Sie stammen aus den Bereichen Akzentverhalten, Allomorphie, Morphemart, Morphemgrenzen, Kombinierbarkeit u.a. Im Vortrag werde ich an einigen dieser Phänomene zeigen, dass eine Unterscheidung keineswegs hinfällig ist: Z.B. das abweichende Akzentverhalten von Fremdsuffixen lässt sich nicht so entkräften, wie Lüdeling et al. es vorschlagen. Ähnliches gilt für das Problem der Segmentierung von Fremdsuffixen. Hier werde ich zeigen, dass bisherige Ansätze keine befriedigende Lösung bieten, schon gar nicht im Rahmen des für die native Wortbildung üblichen Beschreibungsinventars. Für Fremdwortbildung charakteristisches findet sich auch im Phänomen Konfixe: Sie sind hier nicht nur häufiger, sondern zeigen auch Eigenschaften, die in der nativen Wortbildung selten bis gar nicht vorkommen.

Gemeinsamkeiten zeigen sich hingegen im Bereich Kompositions- und Fugenverhalten. Sie ermöglichen eine große Kombinationsfreiheit nativer und fremder Elemente. Stärker restringiert – aber dennoch vorhanden – sind die Kombinationsmöglichkeiten in der Derivation (vgl. *\*les+abel* aber *definier+bar*).

Neben der Erörterung von Einzelfällen soll im Vortrag auch ein Überblick über die Phänomene gegeben werden. Dieser liefert Unterstützung für die Ansicht, wie sie etwa in Bergmann (1998) vertreten wird: Die beiden Teilsysteme sind weder grundsätzlich gleich, noch völlig verschieden, sondern geprägt von Gemeinsamkeiten UND Unterschieden, von Einflüssen UND Isolation.

Bergmann, Rolf (1998): Autonomie und Isonomie der beiden Wortbildungssysteme im Deutschen. In: *Sprachwissenschaft* 23/2, 167-183.

Lüdeling, Anke / Schmid, Tanja / Kiokpasoglou, Sawwas (2002): Neoclassical word formation in German. In: *Yearbook of Morphology* 2001, 253-283.

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Gisela Zifonun

Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Mannheim

**Von *Bush administration* zu *Kohl-Regierung*: Englische Einflüsse auf deutsche Nominalkonstruktionen?**

Do 12.00-12.30, Raum: H/201 (West)

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Das Englische verfügt in der nominalen Syntax über ein breites Spektrum der „Prämodifikation“ durch nicht-flektierte (und ggf. ihrerseits prämodifizierte) nominale (adjektivische, partizipiale oder substantivische) Konstituenten:

many [(very) *angry*] farmers, her [(recently) *published*] article, those [(*Egyptian*) *cotton*] shirts (vgl. Huddleston/Pullum 2002, S. 444)

Marginaler ist die Prämodifikation durch „adverb and other phrases“ sowie durch Sätze:

many *far-away* places, an *away* match, *round-the-clock* service, their *day-after-day* complaints; his *what-do-you-call-it* cottage (vgl. Quirk et al. 1985, S. 1336 f.)

Das Deutsche kennt nur äußerst beschränkt eine vergleichbare Möglichkeit der syntaktischen Prämodifikation durch nicht-flektierte Ausdrücke: standardsprachlich vor allem detoponymische Adjektive (*Mannheimer*, *Thüringer*) sowie aus morphophonologischen Gründen nicht flektierbare Adjektive (*rosa*, *lila*, *orange*). Im Standardfall erfolgt im Deutschen syntaktische Prämodifikation durch flektierte, mit dem Kopfsubstantiv kongruierende Adjektive. Andere Formen von „Prämodifikation“ führen zu Kompositumbildung wie (in Entsprechung zu einigen der englischen Beispiele):

diese *Baumwollhemden* (\*[*ägyptische-Baumwolle*]-Hemden), ein *Auswärts-spiel*, *Rund-um-die-Uhr-Service*

Unstrittig ist, dass in nachlässiger Sprache bzw. „Schreibe“ (z.B. in der Werbung, im IT-Bereich) unter englischem Einfluss dieser Verpflichtung zur orthografisch korrekt (durch Zusammenschreibung bzw. Bindestrich) repräsentierten Kompositumbildung häufig nicht nachgekommen wird, vgl. *ein online Betrieb*, *Intensiv Crash Kurs* usw. Interessanter ist aber die Frage, ob die sprachsystematischen Restriktionen des Deutschen (in Bezug auf nominale Syntax und Komposition) dabei grundsätzlich verletzt bzw. verändert werden.

Besonderes Augenmerk soll einer möglichen Verschiebung zwischen – traditionell bevorzugter – Postmodifikation und modernerer Prämodifikation gelten, wie sie zu beobachten ist an:

*die Kohl-Regierung versus die Regierung Kohl*

Dabei wird unter Berücksichtigung historischer und gegenwartsbezogener Textkorpora der Frage eines möglichen englischen Einflusses (vgl. *Bush administration*) nachgegangen, ebenso dem Verhältnis dieser Konstruktionen zu insbesondere genitivischen Konkurrenzkonstruktionen (*Bush's administration – Kohls Regierung*), vgl. Koptjevskaja-Tamm/Rosenbach (2006).

Huddleston, Rodney / Pullum, Geoffrey K. (2002): *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Maria / Rosenbach, Anette (2006): *On the Fuzziness of Nominal Determination*. Ms., Universität Stockholm & Universität Düsseldorf.

Quirk, Randolph et al. (Hg.) (1985): *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.

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*Agnes Kolmer*

Universität Zürich

**Grammatische Entlehnung im Cimbrio von Luserna (Trentino)**

Do 12.30-13.00, Raum: H/201 (West)

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Gerade in jüngerer Zeit wird innerhalb der Sprachkontaktforschung auch dem kontaktinduzierten grammatischen Wandel vermehrt Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt (vgl. King 2000, Heine / Kuteva 2005). Der Vortrag stellt Ergebnisse einer größeren empirischen Untersuchung zum grammatischen Wandel im Cimbrio, einer deutschen Minderheitensprache in romanischer Umgebung, vor. Cimbrio ist der südbairische Sprachinseldialekt, der in dem Dorf Luserna im Trentino (Italien) von ca. 200 Personen gesprochen wird. Der seit Generationen bestehende stabile Bilingualismus (Deutsch - Italienisch) der Sprecher einerseits und die Abgetrenntheit der Sprachgemeinschaft vom Kontinuum des geschlossenen deutschen Sprachgebiets andererseits haben dazu geführt, dass nicht nur das Lexikon, sondern auch die grammatische Struktur des Cimbrio (als Replikasprache) in vielen Aspekten von dem Bild abweicht, das man vom Konstruktionspektrum der deutschen Varietäten in bestimmten grammatischen Domänen hat. Insbesondere innerhalb von formalen Ansätzen der Grammatikbeschreibung stößt man immer wieder auf die Ansicht, Reanalyse sei der einzige Mechanismus (morpho)syntaktischen Wandels. Einige Typen (morpho)syntaktischen Wandels, die die Replikasprache innerhalb eines Sprachwandelzenarios bietet, das von einer Situation totalen Sprachkontakts geprägt ist, zeigen auf, dass das Konzept der syntaktischen Reanalyse weder für die Beschreibung noch für die Erklärung aller syntaktischer Sprachwandelphänomene geeignet ist. In dem Vortrag



werden drei verschiedene Typen der grammatischen Entlehnung vorgestellt: 1) Die Entlehnung und (Nicht)Integration von Funktionswörtern, 2) die Lehnübersetzung von Konstruktionsmustern, wie z.B. die Existenzialkonstruktion oder ein Verfahren der Subjektfokussierung und 3) die Veränderung der Hilfsverbselektion bei Reflexivkonstruktionen im Perfekt.

Es wird dafür plädiert, sich bei der Entwicklung eines umfassenden Ansatzes zur Beschreibung und Erklärung kontaktinduzierten grammatischen Wandels verschiedener Konzepte zu bedienen, die zusammengenommen die Mechanismen der Integration fremder Strukturen und die allmähliche Angleichung der Replika- an die Modellsprache auf morphosyntaktischer Ebene modellieren können.

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*Takashi Nakajima*

Toyama Prefectural University

**Loan words get-by with little help from *do***

Fr 9.00-9.30, Raum: H/201 (West)

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This paper analyzes the light verb construction (LVC) in Japanese, Korean and Turkish under Distributed Morphology (Halel & Maranz; 1993) and syntax of aspect. It argues that LVC directly projects its arguments in the tri-partite  $\nu$ P syntax (Arad, 2003; Travis, to appear) in much the same way as conventional verbs do. What is unique in LVC is that the verbal and semantic features are independently realized in two morphologically distinctive constituents: the former is realized as the light verb *do* and the latter as verbal nouns (VNs). This separation is due to the basic characteristics of VNs that they are loan words and are registered as categorically underspecified roots (Nakajima, 2007).

According to the subject-VP-internal hypothesis and the phase based derivation in the Minimalist Program the arguments of a verb are licensed within  $\nu$ P projection, and this phase is mapped onto TP and further to CP.  $\nu$ P embodies the semantic core of the predicate while the TP and CP place the event embodied in the  $\nu$ P in spacio-temporal axes and discourse. Verbs enter numeration fully inflected; however, there are cases in which T and V features appear separately. See (1).

(1)  $[_{IP} \text{John}_i [_I^0 \text{did} [_{\nu P} t_i \text{study math}]]]$

Interestingly, the mirror image of (1) is LVC.

(2)  $[\text{John-ga}_i [[t_i \text{suugaku-o GAKUSYUU}_{\nu P}] \text{si-ta}_I^0]_{IP}]$   
 NOM math.-ACC study do-PAST

In English *do* is considered ‘dummy’, but the features it contains are interpreted together with the main verb at LF since they include Tense. In the ‘incorporated’ version of LCV, this is exactly what happens. LVC, however, allows variety of

expressions in addition to (2) due to the interactions among categorical underspecification of VNs, zero derivation and different types of vP projection that mirror the semantic properties of VNs.

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*Elizabeth M. Neuerburg Addison*

Louisiana State University

**An investigation into linguistic relativity and the significance of French.  
Linguistic influences on the use of the lexical term “warm” in Louisiana  
English**

Fr 9.30-10.00, Raum: H/201 (West)

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While French is no longer dominant in Louisiana, it has nonetheless left its mark on the English language spoken in southern Louisiana today. This study addresses cognitive aspects of English grammar and vocabulary that are unique to the speech habits of native Louisianans, focusing on the lexical term “warm”. Identifying literal translations for the various lexical entries of “warm” in French is problematic, and an examination of this phenomenon through the lens of linguistic relativity has revealed differing conceptualizations of temperature for native French versus native American English speakers. The French conceptualization of temperature has been borrowed by native speakers of Louisiana English who have shown a reluctance to use the adjective “warm”, even when other speakers of American English would find the use of this term appropriate. Instead, the lexical term “hot” has been preferred, and its definition has been broadened so it more closely matches the French definition of “*chaud*”.

Both oral and written data is collected for this study; participants are both interviewed on tape and fill out a written questionnaire. Native French speakers are from various regions of France, Belgium, Switzerland, Québec, Africa, and South Louisiana. Native Louisiana English speakers are from various regions in the southern half of Louisiana.

The results of this study will reveal those situations in which native English speakers of Louisiana will inadvertently avoid the use of the lexical term “warm” and in what situations, if any, they will choose to say “warm”. Analysis of the results should coincide with native French speakers’ typical use of the temperature terms, which supports the theory of linguistic relativity through an apparent difference in the conceptualization of temperature. In the case of native speakers of Louisiana English, they are aware of the existence and the meaning of the lexical term “warm”; however, it does not seem to occur to them to use “warm” even when appropriate to certain situations. This linguistic phenomenon is evidence of the integration of structures of French temperature conceptualization into Louisiana English. The scope of this study is limited to the adjectival use of the lexical term “warm”.

Beatrice Alex & Alexander Onysko

University of Edinburgh & Universität Innsbruck

**Detecting English loan-influences in German:  
contrasting the effectiveness of automatic detection with human performance**

Fr 10.00-10.30, Raum: H/201 (West)

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The influence of English on German has developed into a perennial issue of language contact research as a plethora of studies and major lexicographic works in the last few decades have shown (cf., among others, Carstensen 1965, Busse 1993, Carstensen and Busse 1993, 1994, 1996, Glahn 2002, Görlach 2001, 2002, Spitzmüller 2005, and Yang 1990). So far, however, the results of research have remained tied to human capacity of manually detecting anglicisms in German discourse. To overcome this limitation of research and to allow examining substantial amounts of electronic language data, automatic detection of non-native entities and structures appears as a promising method for investigating the amount and usage of anglicisms in German. This paper explores the issue of automatically recognizing English loan-influences in German by discussing the performance of a specifically designed type of software, the English Inclusion Classifier (Alex 2005), on a corpus of the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* (cf. Onysko 2007). The classifier detects English inclusions based on a combined lexicon and web search algorithm and post-processing. Guided by the theoretical framework of anglicisms in Onysko (2007), a comparison of the results of automatic detection with human analysis shows the potential and limitations of utilizing the English Inclusion Classifier. Particularly problematic areas are non-hyphenated hybrid compounds, (e.g. *Fahrradguide*), morphologically integrated anglicisms (e.g. *jobben*), assimilated historical borrowings (*Streik*), and the exclusion or integration of English proper nouns and direct quotations. The difference in the results between automatic and manual detection in *Der Spiegel 2000* is indicative of an average deviation between machine and human performance. This value can serve as a basis for diachronic comparisons with other issues of the German newsmagazine and paves the way for large scale corpus analyses demonstrating the impact of English on German and, possibly, on other languages.

Alex, Beatrice (2005): An unsupervised system for identifying English inclusions in German text. In: *Proceedings of the 43rd Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics (ACL 2005), Student Research Workshop*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA, 133–138.

Busse, Ulrich (1993): *Anglizismen im Duden*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Carstensen, Broder (1965): *Englische Einflüsse auf die deutsche Sprache nach 1945*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Carstensen Broder / Busse, Ulrich (1993-1996): *Anglizismen Wörterbuch*. 3 Vols. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Glahn, Richard (2002): *Der Einfluss des Englischen auf gesprochene deutsche Gegenwartsprache*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Görlach, Manfred (2001): *A Dictionary of European Anglicisms*. Oxford, New York: OUP.

- Görlach, Manfred (2002): *English in Europe*. Oxford, New York: OUP.
- Onysko, Alexander (2007): *Anglicisms in German: Borrowing, lexical productivity, and written codeswitching*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Spitzmüller, Jürgen (2005): *Metasprachdiskurse: Einstellungen zu Anglizismen und ihre wissenschaftliche Rezeption*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Yang, Wenliang (1990): *Anglizismen im Deutschen: am Beispiel des Nachrichtenmagazines Der Spiegel*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

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Sabine Ziegler

Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig & Universität Jena  
**Adaption und Integration lateinischer Wörter in deutschen Dialekten und  
Soziolekten**

Fr 11.00-11.30, Raum: H/201 (West)

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Der Anteil lateinischer Wörter am Fremdwörterbestand der deutschen Schriftsprache beträgt rund 75%. Dieser lateinische Wortschatz ist entweder direkt aus dem Lateinischen entlehnt (z.B. *Pfalz*, *Pelle*) oder über verschiedene Mittlersprachen (z.B. frz. *Palais*, engl. *global* in *global player*) in das Deutsche übernommen worden. Im allgemeinen herrscht die Meinung vor, dass vor allem die Hochsprache sich des fremden Wortguts bedient hat. Wenig bekannt ist hingegen, dass sich auch in deutschen Dialekten und sogar in bäuerlich-ländlichen Soziolekten lateinische Wörter zu allen Zeiten eingebürgert haben. Die älteren Entlehnungen haben an den dialektalen lautlichen und morphologischen Veränderungen teil, sind also echte Lehnwörter und in die jeweilige Mundart integriert. Manche können von ererbtem Wortschatz oft nur schwer unterschieden werden. Genaue lautliche, morphologische und semantische Untersuchungen können in solchen Problemfällen Klarheit schaffen:

So ist z.B. mitteldt. *Mauke*, niederdt. *M ke*, oberdt. *Mauche* (Bedeutungen: 1. Krankheit von Pferden und anderen Huftieren, die sich in harten, heißen Geschwulsten mit starker, übelriechender Schleimabsonderung an den Fesseln und den Hufen äußert; 2. Erkältung, Schnupfen, Rotzfluss; 3. grüner, schleimiger Ungezieferbefall an Pflanzen; 4. Krankheit an Weinstöcken, die sich in Geschwulsten mit Harzfluss äußert; und 5. (nur norddt.) *Mauken* ‚stinkende, ungewaschene Füße‘, auch im verdeutlichenden Kompositum *Käsemauken*) kein ererbtes Wort, sondern schon früh aus lat. *m cus* ‚Schleim, Rotz‘, *m cor* ‚Krankheit an Weinstöcken; Schnupfen, Rotzkrankheit‘ entlehnt. Das semantische Merkmal, das alle diese Bedeutungen vereint, ist die Schleimabsonderung, die meist mit einem unangenehmen Geruch verbunden ist.

Andere Wörter sind später entlehnt und noch als Fremdwörter erkennbar: So stammt z.B. das scherzhaft-abfällig verwendete jenaische feminine Substantiv *Orbe* mit der Bedeutung ‚arme, verwaiste Frau ohne Mitgift (und daher auf dem Heiratsmarkt chancenlos)‘ über studentensprachliche Vermittlung aus dem Femininum des lat. Adjektivs *orbus*, *-a*, *-um* ‚verwaist, arm‘.

In dem Beitrag werden Fälle von Entlehnungen lateinischer Wörter aus verschiedenen Jahrhunderten in deutsche Dialekte und Soziolekte vorgestellt und systematisiert, die hauptsächlich in dem von der DFG geförderten Projekt „Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Dialekte“ (2004–2006) und teilweise dem von der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften geförderten Projekt „Deutsche Wortfeldetymologie in europäischem Kontext“ (seit April 2007) untersucht werden konnten. Dabei sollen vor allem die morphologischen und semantischen Entwicklungstendenzen aufgezeigt werden.

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*Carmen Scherer & Anke Holler*

Joh. Gutenberg-Universität Mainz & Georg-August-Universität Göttingen

**Zur Argumentstruktur entlehnter Verben**

Fr 11.30-12.00, Raum: H/201 (West)

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In der Erforschung nicht-nativer Einheiten und Strukturen lassen sich im deutschsprachigen Raum deutliche Schwerpunkte erkennen. Diese liegen insbesondere in den Bereichen Lexikon, Aussprache, Flexion, Wortbildung und Schreibung. Weitaus weniger erforscht sind semantische oder gar syntaktische Formen und Aspekte der Entlehnung. Zudem konzentriert sich die Forschung in der Regel auf Substantive, wohl auch, weil diese über 80% der Fremdwörter im Deutschen ausmachen. Trotz der Dominanz nominaler Fremdwörter ist die Anzahl entlehnter Verben im Deutschen nicht unerheblich: Allein im aktuellen großen Fremdwörterduden sind rund 4.000 Verben verzeichnet. Sie reichen von A wie *abaissieren* bis Z wie *zoomen* und lassen sich grob in zwei Gruppen gliedern: Verben wie *abaissieren* und *chauffieren* mit *-ier-* Suffix (und dessen Varianten *-isier-* bzw. *-ifizier-*) und solche ohne (*checken*, *zoomen*).

Trotz ihrer großen Zahl haben Lehnverben und ihre grammatischen Eigenschaften in der Forschung bislang kaum Beachtung gefunden. Dies ist umso erstaunlicher, als Verben aufgrund ihrer Rektions- und Selektionseigenschaften sowohl die Struktur als auch die Bedeutung von Sätzen entscheidend prägen. Das Verb legt nicht nur kategoriale Eigenschaften und syntaktische Funktionen seiner Argumente fest, sondern restringiert diese auch in semantischer Hinsicht durch die Zuweisung von Theta-Rollen. Sind die in einem Satz realisierten Ausdrücke nicht mit der Argumentstruktur des prädicierenden Verbs vereinbar, so führt dies zur Ungrammatikalität des Satzes. Die Argumentstruktur ist im Bereich der nativen Verben inzwischen ein etabliertes Forschungsgebiet (z.B. Ágel et al. 2003, Dowty 1991, Grimshaw 1990), zur Argumentstruktur entlehnter Verben liegen unseres Wissens bislang jedoch keine systematischen Untersuchungen vor.

Ziel unseres Vortrages ist es, anhand von Fallbeispielen die syntaktische und semantische Struktur entlehnter suffigierter und nicht-suffigierter Verben zu analysieren.

Geklärt werden soll, ob sich entlehnte Verben in ihrer Argumentstruktur von nativen Verben unterscheiden, und wenn ja, auf welche Weise.

Ágel, Vilmos et al. (Hgg.) (2003): *Dependenz und Valenz. Ein internationales Handbuch der zeitgenössischen Forschung*. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.

Dowty, David R. (1991): Thematic proto-roles and argument selection. In: *Language* 67, 547-619.

Grimshaw, Jane (1990): *Argument structure*. Cambridge/Mass.: MIT Press.

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## Abstracts AG 11

### Gestures: a comparison of signed and spoken languages

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*Konrad Ehlich*

München / Berlin, Germany

**Nonverbal – international? Oder von der vermeintlichen Universalität der Gestik und ihren universal-theoretischen Gründen**

Mi 14.00-14.30, Raum: U5/217

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Zu den „Dauerbrennern“ bei der interpretativen Arbeit mit gesprochener Kommunikation wie in der interkulturellen common-sense-Welt gehört die Auffassung, wo Worte fehlen, stelle sich eine Geste allemal verständnisfördernd, wenn nicht gar verständnissichernd kulturübergreifend ein.

Diese Auffassung wird durch unterschiedliche universalistische Theoriebildungen mit einem scheinbar verlässlichen Fundament versehen. Sie gehen einerseits auf eine gattungsfundierte Theorie des Ausdrucksgeschehens vermittelt menschlicher Körper zurück, andererseits auf deren anthropologisch-biologistische Reinterpretation und Akkomodierung durch Darwin und weiter zumindest auf einen gewissen naiven Universalismus vor allem us-amerikanischer Provenienz, der große Teile der neueren Theoriebildung zur NVK bestimmt und in den angeschlossenen Wissenschaftsräumen einzelsprachlich exemplifiziert wird.

Das Papier hat das Ziel, diese Konzeptualisierungslinien näher zu untersuchen, ihren kognitiven und präkognitiven Hintergründen nachzugehen und so einen Beitrag zur Grundlegung einer pragmatischen Theorie der NVK zu leisten.

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*Adam Kendon*

Philadelphia, Neapel, USA/ Italy

**Some reflections on ‘gesture’ and ‘sign’**

Mi 14.30-15.00, Raum: U5/217

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Discussions of the relationship between ‘gesture’ and ‘sign’ often presuppose their opposition. The historical and ideological reasons for this opposition are briefly explored and the uses of the terms ‘gesture’ and ‘sign’ in current discussions are examined. It is argued that many features of so-called ‘gesture’ as used by speaker hearers have much in common with features of kinesic expression commonly referred to as ‘sign’ in signers and, likewise, there are also features of so-called ‘sign’ that are found widely in the gesturing of speakers. ‘Gesture’ and ‘sign’, thus, manifest shared features, differing from one another in how these are emphasized or elaborated. Freed from the ideological burdens of the recent past, which both disparaged and misunderstood the nature of ‘gesture’, we may arrive at a unified view in which the

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multimodal character of expression both in signed and spoken languages are seen as variant manifestations of the process of utterance or ‘linguaging action’, as it is undertaken in the context of co-present interaction.

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*Christian Rathmann*

University of Bristol, England

**Iconicity, lexicalization and grammaticization: implications for sign vs. gesture**

Mi 15.00-15.30, Raum: U5/217

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Defining the boundary between ‘sign’ and ‘gesture’ is complex. There are three cases in which the answer to defining the boundary is different. First, the sign always has a gestural quality, such that there is no boundary between signs and gestures. Second, the sign becomes disassociated from gesture and gets conventionalized in the process, so that there is a clear boundary between signs and gestures. Third, the sign emerges independently of the corresponding gesture in the speech community, so there is no relationship between signs and gestures in spite of sharing iconic qualities. In light of the complex picture that emerges, Kendon’s continuum as introduced by McNeill (2000) will be revisited.

From the perspective of iconicity, the question is whether iconic roots lead to gestures which in turn lead to signs, or do iconic roots lead to gesture and signs independently. I raise three points that bear on this issue. First, neologisms of signs are relatively productive and rapid compared to neologisms of emblems. Second, the mapping between iconic elements and grammatical elements in signed languages is linguistically motivated. Such mapping in spoken languages is not common (e.g. a rolling gesture that co-occurs with the utterance “and the cat went down the pipe”). In these cases, the gesture rather mediates the speaker’s conceptual coherence and organization. Third, signs in emerging sign languages tend to be ego-oriented.

From the perspective of lexicalization and grammaticization, signs become conventionalized from emblematic gestures, e.g. CAN or FINISH, (Wilcox 2004). Signs become fully disassociated from gestures or can emerge independently of gestures. In addition, there are cases where there is “semi-disassociation” between gesture and sign. Some plain verbs become verbs that take on the ability to show agreement by combining with a deictic gesture and they continue to do so in their synchronic form.



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*Jennie Pyers, Pamela Perniss & Karen Emmorey*

Wellesley College, Boston, USA & MPI for Psycholinguistics and Radboud  
University Nijmegen, The Netherlands & San Diego State University, San Diego,  
USA

**Viewpoint in the visual-spatial modality**

Mi 15.30-16.00, Raum: U5/217

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In both signed and spoken languages, communication about spatial relationships – whether it be giving directions to the train station or describing the layout of a room – depends crucially on the viewpoint or perspective from which the description is given (Emmorey and Falgier 1999; Emmorey, Tversky, and Taylor 2000; Levelt 1996; Taylor and Tversky 1996). In the visual-spatial modality of signed language, the fact that spatial relationships are encoded spatially affords the issue of viewpoint a particularly unique status. For example, an addressee, facing the signer, observes on the left side of sign space what has been articulated on the right side, and vice versa. This means that the addressee must effectively rotate the spatial representation in sign space in order to correctly understand the description (Emmorey 1996).

In this study, we use a spatial description task to investigate viewpoint strategies in the visual-spatial modality through a comparison of deaf signers using sign language and hearing non-signers using gestures *without* speech. We ask first whether sign languages share a common strategy for the representation and interpretation of left-right spatial relationships in sign space. Data was collected from signer-addressee pairs in a total of 9 different sign languages. Signers described simple spatial scenes depicting a man and a tree to addressees seated across from them. For each description, addressees were asked to select, from a set of pictures, the picture that matched the description. Across the sign languages, we found that signers have a strong preference for giving spatial descriptions from their own viewpoint, and that addressees predominantly interpret the spatial information they see in space from the signer's point of view (i.e., rotating the locations of the director's signs).

We then asked whether the convention of presenting a spatial description from the signer's own viewpoint derives from gesture, as an iconically-driven property of using space to describe space. Hearing non-signers performed the same task without speech, using pre-designed gestures for the man and the tree. In addition, we investigated the hearing addressees' interpretation behavior. We found that while the gesturers similarly preferred giving descriptions from their own viewpoint, they differed markedly from the signers in interpretation. Hearing addressees interpreted the spatial information they perceived in space from their own point of view, and did not perform a mental rotation of the space as the signers did.

The contrast between the two groups reveals a clear difference between linguistic and non-linguistic spatial representation in the visual-spatial modality. In particular, the results show that correct comprehension of spatial relationships is dependent on the conventionalization of viewpoint within the linguistic system of a sign language. In

general, the findings provide important insight into linguistic and non-linguistic spatial representation in the visual-spatial modality.

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*Pamela Perniss & Asli Özyürek*

MPI for Psycholinguistics and Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands

**A cross-linguistic comparison of co-speech gesture and sign: constraints on the visual-spatial modality in representations of motion events**

Mi 16.30-17.00, Raum: U5/217

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Recently, sign language researchers have argued that certain sign language forms contain both linguistic and gestural elements (e.g. Liddell 2003; Schembri 2002). However, the co-existence of linguistic and gestural elements in signed language, that is, in a rule-governed language system as a whole, is not well understood. There has been very little systematic comparison of signed language and co-speech gesture, and thus we know little about the similarities and differences between them (cf. Senghas and Littmann 2004; Senghas et al. 2004). Here, we extend the comparison cross-linguistically to two different sign languages and the co-speech gestures accompanying speech in two typologically different spoken languages. This extended level of comparison is important to understanding the role of gesture in sign language because research has shown that co-speech gestures differ depending on the linguistic structure of the accompanying spoken language (Kita and Özyürek 2003).

The paper looks at the representation of referent location, motion, and action. The focus of analysis is on the use of classifier predicates to encode two different event components: manner of handling and path. On the basis of data collected from short cartoon stimulus films, we compare the representation of manner of handling and path in motion events between German Sign Language (*Deutsche Gebärdensprache*, DGS) and Turkish Sign Language (*Türk İaret Dili*, TİD), as well as the co-speech gestures of German and Turkish event narratives. We find that the sign languages pattern similarly, systematically segmenting the manner and path components, while the manual co-speech gesture representations reflect both imagistic and linguistic structure of the accompanying spoken language. Differences between the signed and gestural representations are discussed in terms of possible linguistic and iconicity constraints in the two sign languages.

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*Franz Dotter, Marlene Hilzensauer, Elisabeth Bergmeister, Silke Bornholdt,  
Christian Hausch, Klaudia Krammer, Anita Pirker, Andrea Skant & Natalie  
Unterberger*

Research centre for sign language and deaf communication Klagenfurt University,  
Austria

**Comparison of the use of spatial gestures during speaking or signing**

Mi 17.00-17.30, Raum: U5/217

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Research question

There are elements with spatial significance in all languages (in the status of signs or of accompanying elements). Assuming that cognitive maps exist, it is very likely that gestures which represent 'natural' directions or spatial relations in some way also show a relatively direct connection to these cognitive maps (iconicity). Taking these facts into account, there arises the question whether groups of people with widely differing signing skills, i.e. hearing people without any exposure to sign language, people with good signing skills and hearing people with exposure to sign language will react differently when asked to give directions or to describe spatial relations.

Main hypothesis

At least directional gestures will be used also by hearing people when giving directions in a natural situation. We assume that the directional and relational gestures used by the hearing test persons will show some similarity to the respective signs of Austrian Sign Language (at least the correct direction). It is possible that the same element may be used either as a gesture which accompanies spoken language or as a sign. It will have to be checked whether gestures - which have usually a supporting function - will actually attain element status within the spoken language, thereby replacing a word.

Expected results

We expect that hearing people will use more gestures with deaf people than with other hearing people (with the hearing, they will use gestures mostly unconsciously), while deaf people will probably simplify their gestures when communicating with hearing people who do not know any sign language at all (or just a little bit), also using a kind of "foreigner speech".

*David Quinto-Pozos & Fey Parrill*

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA & Case Western Reserve  
University, USA

**Enactment as a communicative strategy: A comparison between English co-  
speech gesture and American Sign Language**

Mi 17.30-18.00, Raum: U5/217

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There are some commonalities in communicative behavior across speech and sign. One example is the use of the hands and body to represent events by *enacting* a character's behavior (sometimes called *character viewpoint* in gesture and *constructed action* in sign). An assessment of enactment (a cover term employed here for character viewpoint and constructed action) in speakers and signers can reveal shared communicative strategies across these linguistic systems – providing insight into shared cognitive mechanisms for representation. However, because the manual modality has a very different grammatical status in signed and spoken languages, it is also fruitful to examine the ways in which enactment is constrained by the language system within which it operates.

In these studies, English speakers and ASL signers described a series of video stimuli varying in degree of animacy (inanimate objects, anthropomorphic objects, animals, humans). English speakers produced descriptions in two conditions: normal language use or gesture alone. ASL signers also produced two kinds of description: one with no restrictions, and a second where signers were asked to eliminate a key communicative device employed in the initial description.

Results of the normal condition show that both groups were more likely to produce enactment for human-like entities than for inanimate entities. The modalities have this in common. For the second condition, preliminary results show that hearing non-signers produced significantly more enactment when denied the use of speech, which was not the case with the signers. We suggest that this pattern arises because the manual modality has a different status in the two language systems. For English speakers there are no grammatical constraints on how the hands and body may be used, thus making enactment available for depictions of inanimate objects. For ASL signers, however, the robust classifier system for object depiction may inhibit the use of enactment.

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*Renate Fischer & Simon Kollien*

University of Hamburg, Germany

**Sound symbolism in GSL?**

Mi 18.00-18.30, Raum: U5/217

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As for mouth gestures in sign languages, one form has been characterized by several authors as sound symbolism. In GSL, for instance, the slamming of a door can be

verbalized by accompanying the manual articulator (in the form of a classifier construction) by a mouth-gestural "pam". Additionally, constructed action (CA) which is said to have the body as articulator, is another option to combine with mouth gesture. In our work on CA in GSL we have discovered that mouth gesture can be part of one particular subtype of CA we called "parallelized" and which is particularly complex. Within a project seminar we developed filmed stimuli and applied them to elicit data both in German and GSL. We would like to present our results and discuss attempts to interpret this type of mouth gesture in relation to non-lexical referring and predication.

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*Sherman Wilcox*

University of New Mexico, USA

**Two routes from gesture to language**

Do 9.00-9.30, Raum: U5/217

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In this presentation I will explore the role of gesture in the development of signed languages. Using data from American Sign Language, Catalan Sign Language, French Sign Language, and Italian Sign Language, as well as historical sources describing gesture in the Mediterranean region, I demonstrate that gesture enters the linguistic system via two distinct routes. In the first (Type I) route, manual gestures serve as a source of lexical morphemes in signed languages. Grammaticalization transforms these lexical morphemes into grammatical forms. For example, a gesture in common use in the Mediterranean region meaning 'to depart' appears to be the source gesture for a set of lexical words in signed languages in that region meaning 'to depart'. This lexical form is the source for the more grammaticalized future marker. In the second (Type II) route, certain gestural elements such as manner of articulatory motion and facial expressions enter the linguistic system through prosody and intonation, bypassing the lexical stage entirely and developing directly into grammatical forms. For example, producing a (Type I) manual gesture with a (Type II) forceful motion intensifies the gesture's meaning: a gesture meaning 'no', made with a forceful movement, means 'definitely not!'. This forceful articulation may then grammaticalize, eventually signalling distinctions such as that between deontic and epistemic modals and different aspectual verb forms. Facial expressions which commonly signal a speaker's attitude or emotional state, such as curiosity or surprise, transform into intonational elements of signed languages, which may eventually signal grammatical distinctions such as marking interrogatives.

*Ronnie B. Wilbur & Evguenia Malaia*

Purdue University, Sign Language Linguistics Research Laboratory, USA

**From encyclopedic semantics to grammatical aspects: converging evidence  
from ASL and co-speech gestures**

Do 9.30-10.00, Raum: U5/217

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This paper discusses the hand movements in gestures and American Sign Language signs with respect to two types of verb aspect. Duncan (*Gesture* 2002) demonstrated that co-speech gestures produced by speakers of English and Mandarin Chinese varied in duration and complexity according to the imperfective-perfective aspect in the spoken expressions. Duncan suggested that gestures “may derive from an abstract level of representation, perhaps linked to aspectual view itself.”

From our perspective, the type of (im-)perfect aspect investigated by Duncan is ‘higher’ or ‘outside’ the event itself, whereas the *Aktionsart* aspect is ‘lower’ or ‘inside’ the event itself. Specifically, following event theorists (Ramchand 2004; Pustejovsky 2000; Vendler 1957), we suggest that telic events (Transitions: Achievements and Accomplishments) contain a lowest Resultant State, whereas atelic events (States and Processes/Activities) do not. The present experiment tests Wilbur’s (*CLS* 39) Event Visibility Hypothesis: “the semantics of event structure is visible in the phonological form of predicate signs.” If true, we should see more rapid deceleration to a stop in telics than in atelics, reflecting the marking of the telic end-state.

We provide empirical support from motion-capture equipment to show that the semantic telic-atelic distinction is visible in ASL verb signs. In our experiment, 29 telic and 21 atelic signs were presented randomly to a native ASL signer, who reproduced them while wearing a motion capture suit and datagloves. The slope from the peak velocity to the first trough after the peak (deceleration to a stop) was measured.

Analysis of variance indicates that in isolation telic event signs have steeper descending slopes of 1.46 times that of atelic event signs ( $p < .05$ ). In a carrier phrase, the difference increases to a telic/atelic ratio of 1.97. These measures support the hypothesis that there is a production difference reflecting the semantic distinction.

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*Cornelia Müller*

European University Viadrina, Germany

**Creating gestures and signs: gestural modes of representation and classifiers in  
sign-languages**

Do 10.00-10.30, Raum: U5/217

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Hands only occasionally turn into gesturing hands and in order to become gestures, they undergo a transformation from practical to symbolic action (Müller & Haferland 1997). The talk spells out the techniques underlying gesture creation, termed gestural

modes of representation (GMR) (Müller 1998a,b). We distinguish four basic modes of representation: *the hand acts*, *the hand models*, *the hand draws*, *the hand embodies*. It will be argued that speakers use their hands in a specific way when they model transient 'sculptures' of objects such as a picture frame, or a bowl, or when they draw oval or square shapes of objects. It makes a big difference whether the hands refer to an object via its shape only (modeling, drawing) or through shape, motion, orientation, position in space (embodying). Embodying gestures can represent far more complex information than modeling and drawing gestures: we can outline or model the shape of a window, but when we embody it, we can show features of its shape *and* of its position and orientation in space, *and* of its manner and path movement. An example is a window falling down from the 5th floor which is gesturally embodied with a flat, vertically oriented hand, positioned high up in the gesture space, slowly moving down and changing orientation from vertical to horizontal.

We will relate these modes of representations to classifier constructions (cf. also Kendon 2004) in Sign Languages (Allan 1977, Emmorey 2002, Liddell 1980, Taub 2001). More specifically we will connect them with the four classifiers proposed by Emmorey (2002): *Whole Entity*, *Handling Instrument*, *Limb*, *Extension and Surface* classifiers. It will be concluded that while classifiers are based on the same set of techniques – , it seems that they do underly certain restrictions – a tendency to 'lexicalization', which we do not find in co-verbal gestures.

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*Dorothea Cogill-Koez*

Language and Cognition Research Centre University of New England, Australia

**Reanalysing gesture in terms of channel, representational principle, and structural level: a common ground beneath signed and spoken communication systems?**

Do 10.30-11.00, Raum: U5/217

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Gesture, defined as communication in the manual channel, subsumes a surprising diversity of representational behaviours even within speech-based communication systems. Yet in such systems gesture appears to some degree a natural class. When the term is extended to signed languages, 'gesture' in these largely manual-channel systems threatens to broaden to the point of losing a contrastive identity, and with it a useful theoretical role. How best, then, to productively analyse gesture across signed and spoken languages?

This paper seeks the answer in potential unifying parameters present in both signed and speech-based systems. Turning to signed languages, it considers three known subsystems; the regular lexicon, the classifier predicate system, and the deictic system. These reasonably distinct 'ways of gesturing' may be usefully analysed as contrasting sets of realisations of three parameters; channel (the physical mode in which a subsystem's representations are embodied), principle of representation (the cognitive

strategy by which a communicative act is associated, in online use, with its referent), and structure (degree of discrete and discrete-combinatorial forms). Each of these three parameters possesses a range of possible realisations; each such realisation possesses its own limiting and enabling features; these in turn can be seen to significantly shape the individual signed subsystems into which they enter.

The same parameter analysis is equally applicable to speech-based systems, including the gesture of speaker/hearers. While also able to model much of its diversity, the approach reveals many unifying, apparently natural features of speakers' gesture to be the surprisingly contingent developmental products of a communication system that exploits both oral-aural and manual channels. Thus, by identifying a range of common factors in the shared parameters entering into many individual subsystems across both signing and speech-based systems, the approach apparently enables multiple potentially-informative comparisons and contrasts both within and between signed and speech-based communication systems.

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*Gisela Fehrmann*

University of Cologne, Germany

**Shifters: the gestural dimension of symbolic reference in German Sign Language**

Do 11.30-12.00, Raum: U5/217

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Communication always oscillates between the gestural and the linguistic use of signs; and the content of linguistic signs is supported by the simultaneous use of gestures. Like linguistic signs, gestures can be performed in different media (Kendon 2004) and may be symbolic, iconic and indexical, respectively. Although the subdivision of signs into icons, indexes and symbols is frequently mistaken as an exclusive categorization, semiotic qualities overlap and symbols often are to some extent iconic and to some extent indexical (Peirce EP 2). Jakobson (1971) has shown that for deictic signs in spoken languages. Indexical symbols, which he calls "Shifters", integrate symbolic meaning and indexical dimensions (e.g. pointing) within one hybrid sign. Referring to the directional aspect of some classes of signs, Liddell (2003) offers a similar hybrid and states that sign languages "allow the gestural component to combine with the linguistically specified features of some classes of signs".

Following this line of argumentation three suggestions are made: Firstly, it is assumed that certain signs grammaticalize a gestural gap that has to be filled contextually. Secondly, when pointing gestures combine with linguistic signs indexicals still identify an object by indicating direction but diminish their attention-directing function. Finally, indexical symbols are often iconic in sign languages because topographical locations and relational aspects are mapped isomorphically onto linguistic signs.

Jakobson, Roman (1971). Shifters, Verbal Categories, and the Russian Verb. In: Selected Writings 2, Mouton, 130-147.

Kendon, Adam (2004). *Gesture: Visible Action as Utterance*. Cambridge University Press.

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- Liddell, Scott K. (2003). Blended Spaces and Deixis in Sign Language. In: David McNeill (ed.): *Language and Gesture*. Cambridge University Press, 331-354.
- Peirce, Charles S. (1998). *The Essential Peirce*, Vol. 2. Indiana University Press.

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*Jana Bressems & Silva Ladewig*

VW-Project "Towards a Grammar of Gesture" European University Viadrina,  
Germany

**Discovering structures in gestures on the basis of the four parameters of Sign  
Language**

Do 12.00-12.30, Raum: U5/217

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In this talk we will argue that a description of coverbal gestures based on the four parameters "hand shape", "orientation", "movement" and "position in gesture space" first introduced for the notation of Sign Language (Battison 1972; Stokoe 1960, 1972) can be fruitful for characterizing the physical appearance of gestures. Combined with a description of coverbal gestures irrespective of speech, the method argued for in this presentation allows for a systematic description of co-verbal gestures and offers a flexible analytical procedure. The goal is to show that an analysis of gestures based on this description procedure can a) uncover new and unknown structures of the medium "gesture" and b) refine and specify already-known phenomena.

This will be shown by means of two studies which are based on (altogether) eight hours of video-recorded German conversations in naturalistic settings. Using the methodological framework proposed, it was possible to show that "a) German speakers dispose of standardized gestural forms which they use recurrently" (Bressems subm.) and b) "that speakers seem to dispose of clusters which depend on particular hand shapes and their co-occurrence with other specific gestural forms" (Bressems subm.). Furthermore it could be shown that one parameter which is often neglected in the depiction of gestures, the position in gesture space, differentiates variants of a recurrent gesture (Ladewig subm.; see also Müller 2004). According to that, variation of form comes with variation of meaning.

The method argued for in this presentation, namely to describe the four parameters independent of speech, cannot only be applied for a systematic description of co-verbal gestures (Becker 2004, Webb 1996) but also as a procedure of discovery. Furthermore, the inclusion of all four parameters provides for the opportunity to uncover clusters of form features and a systematic variation of form and meaning.

Bressems, Jana (submitted). Characterizing gestural form features – Suggestions for a form based notational system of coverbal gestures.

Battison, Robin (1974). Phonological deletion in American Sign Language. *Sign language studies* 5, 1-19.

Becker, Karin (2004). *Zur Morphologie redebegleitender Gesten*. Unpublished MA thesis, Freie Universität Berlin.

- Calbris, Genevieve (1990). *The semiotics of French gesture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Ladewig, Silva (submitted). *The crank gesture – systematic variation of form and context*.
- Kendon, Adam (2004). *Gesture: Visible Action as Utterance*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Müller, Cornelia (1998). *Redebegleitende Gesten: Kulturgeschichte – Theorie – Sprachvergleich*. Arno Spitz Verlag.
- Müller, Cornelia (2004). *Forms and uses of the Palm Up Open Hand: A case of gesture family?* In: Müller, Cornelia & Roland Posner (eds.) *The semantics and pragmatics of everyday gestures* (pp. 233-356). Berlin: Weidler Verlag.
- Stokoe, William C. (1960). *Sign Language Structure*. Buffalo, NY: Buffalo Univ. Press.
- Stokoe, William C. (1972). *Semiotics and human sign languages*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Teßendorf, Sedinha (2005). *Pragmatische Funktionen spanischer Gesten am Beispiel des "Gestos de Barrer"*. Unpublished MA thesis, Freie Universität Berlin.
- Webb, Rebecca (1996). *Linguistic Features of Metaphoric Gestures*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Rochester.

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*Gaurav Mathur*

Gallaudet University Washington D.C., USA

**Does gesture have phonology? Insights from signed languages**

Do 12.30-13.00, Raum: U5/217

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The general assumption is that language displays duality of patterning in syntax and phonology, while gesture lacks both (McNeill 2000). The presence of duality in signed languages seems to be challenged by Aronoff's (2006) claim that Abu-Shara Sign Language (ABSL) does not have a phonological system, while the absence of duality in gesture is challenged by Goldin-Meadow's (2000) claim that homesign has language-like properties. This paper maintains the general assumption by taking into account the type of gesture (representational gesture, emblem) and the way it occurs in speech and sign. With regard to representational gestures, although their handshape and movement are identifiable, they do not constitute phonological content on the grounds that they do not appear independently and consistently in other gestures. Co-sign representational gestures differ from co-speech representational gestures only in that their interaction with a certain set of signs is conventionalized, specifically pronouns, verbs that show agreement and classifier constructions (Rathmann and Mathur 2004). With regard to emblems, while they are conventionalized to a greater degree than representational gestures, they still do not involve phonological content, since they are not divisible into meaningless parts that appear in other emblems nor undergo morphological processes that apply to the phonological form of the word. The distinction between representational gestures and emblems on the one hand and lexical items on the other hand is supported by the fact that representational gestures and emblems express conceptual structure while lexical items carry a language-specific meaning. Aronoff's claim can be reconciled with the general assumption by assimilating signs in ABSL to emblems that have not been lexicalized. Likewise, Goldin-Meadow's claim can be reconciled by assimilating homesign to lexicalized signs,

including those that combine with representational gesture. The discussion here serves to illustrate the complexity of the language-gesture boundary, if one exists.

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*Susanne Tag*

VW-Project "Towards a Grammar of Gesture", European University Viadrina,  
Germany

**Simultaneity in co-speech gestures**

Fr 9.00-9.30, Raum: U5/217

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From the beginning of its study, signed language has always been characterized as a manual means of communication exploiting simultaneity within a single sign. More recently, the simultaneous production of different signs has come into focus (Vermeerbergen et al. 2007). Furthermore, modern gesture research has pointed out that the manual modality is an integrated part of spoken language, too (cf. Müller 1998), and from this point of view, the concept of simultaneity also plays a crucial role in the description of concurrent speech and gesture. However, no extensive research has been done on simultaneous constructions in co-speech gestures themselves.

The qualitative study presented in my talk aims to take a step into this direction. Like signers, speakers can use both hands independently of each other to convey different manual information at the same time. Based on a detailed micro-analysis of a video-recorded everyday narrative of a German speaker (Tag 2006) three formal patterns of simultaneity between co-speech gestures will be reconstructed. In addition, examples will be presented that illustrate usage functions of simultaneous constructions with respect to complex visual representations of objects or facts, perspectives and coherencies in the narrated story.

These findings may add a new contribution to the nascent discussion about simultaneity as a means of expression in signed and spoken language. More specifically, they may help to pave the way for a further exploration of possible parallels and differences between simultaneous constructions in signed language and in co-speech gestures.

Müller, C. (1998). *Redebegleitende Gesten. Kulturgeschichte – Theorie – Sprachvergleich*. Berlin: Berlin Verlag.

Tag, S. (2006). *Formen und Funktionen von Gestenkomplexen – Lineare und simultane Verknüpfungen redebegleitender Gesten*. Unpublished Master Thesis, Free University Berlin.

Vermeerbergen, M., L. Leeson, O. Crasborn (Eds.) (2007).

*Simultaneity in Signed Languages: Form and Function*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

*Paula Marentette & Elena Nicoladis*

University of Alberta, Canada

**Iconicity and simultaneity in the gesture-language link: a comparison of ASL signers and English speakers**

Fr 9.30-10.00, Raum: U5/217

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This paper intends to explore the significance of simultaneity and the role of iconicity in gesture production. This study will compare the gestures produced during a narrative retelling across four groups of participants: Deaf native ASL signers, Deaf childhood learners of ASL, hearing ASL/English bilinguals, and monolingual English speakers. We will then present a comparative analysis of gestures produced by each language group to express four scenes. This analysis focuses on two signs (SWIM, PADDLE) that are mimetic representations of action and two signs (RUN, SLEEP) that are not.

We predict that differences in the form of gesture and its configuration with language (simultaneous or sequential) will be associated with differences in narrative function. We predict two differences. First, speakers will use shorter and less embodied gestures than signers. This results from the gesture needing to remain in synchrony with the accompanying speech, a pressure that does not occur for sequentially produced gestures accompanying sign. Second, iconically-based signs will have a much more gradient presentation than non-iconic signs.

Early results support the predicted difference. The gestures of speakers are clearly less embodied than those of signers. Signs based on a mimetic representation of an action are often difficult to distinguish from gesture, they are produced at many points along a continuum from lexical to gestural. Signs that are not based on a mimetic representation are lexical in production but may be accompanied by iconic sequential gestures.

These data suggest that the modality of language has an important influence on the form and function of gesture. The simultaneity of co-speech gesture limits the iconicity of the gesture itself. In contrast, the independence of gesture produced by signers permits highly iconic and even mimetic productions. How these gestures are coordinated with signs depends upon the iconicity of the lexical sign itself.

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*Myriam Vermeerbergen & Eline Demey*

Fund for Scientific Research-Flanders/ Universiteit van Amsterdam/ University of the Free State, Belgium/ The Netherlands & Ghent University, Belgium

**Sign + Gesture = Speech + Gesture? Comparing aspects of simultaneity in Flemish Sign Language to instances of concurrent speech and gesture**

Fr 10.00-10.30, Raum: U5/217

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This presentation explores the possible parallels between different forms of manual simultaneous constructions in sign languages and concurrent speech and gesture in spoken languages. One example is the use of pointing signs/gestures: a signer producing a pointing sign with one hand while the other hand articulates a series of other signs as compared to a speaker using co-speech pointing gestures.

From the gesture research it becomes clear that gestures are an integral part of linguistic communication. Apparently, speakers must gesture when they speak and they primarily use the manual channel to do so. In sign languages, 'speech' moves from the mouth to the hands. In theory four possibilities arise from this: (1) gesture disappears, (2) gesture and 'speech' trade places, resulting in the manual articulators producing the linguistic component and the mouth producing the gestural component of a message, (3) gesture and sign become integrated, (4) gesture and sign co-exist in the manual modality.

Both in the gesture literature and the sign linguistics literature, the general idea seems to be that in sign languages, gesture either moves away from the manual channel and/or (partly) loses its true gestural character and becomes part of or integrated in the linguistic system. Both options are discussed in this presentation. However, we also explore the possible presence of ('non-integrated') gesture in the manual production of signers. This issue is approached by a comparison of (1) simultaneous constructions in signed languages, as exemplified by Flemish Sign Language, with (2) various, possibly comparable, types of speech combined with gesture. This comparison reveals many more similarities than we had expected, both in form and function, and invites to re-examine gesture in sign languages.

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*Phylliss Wilcox*

University of New Mexico, USA

**Substantiation of metonymy in American Sign Language**

Fr 11.00-11.30, Raum: U5/217

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This paper focuses on metonymic (and metaphorical) extension in American Sign Language (ASL) by analyzing specific gestural verbs as they shift semantically from literal to cognitive experience. Iconic motivations and their complex interrelationships in ASL are often initially instantiated by an inchoate form of synecdoche. This propensity will be documented in metonymic forms, such as GRASP and TAP-

SHOULDER. However, iconic mental blends also motivate contiguity and association, cognitive processes that are found in signs such as REMEMBER and ARM-movements (reference points). The conceptual schematization of *attention*, as found in a sign such as REMIND, loses the meaning of a literal tap on the shoulder and extends to abstraction. The conceptual mapping extends from the literal hand with its metonymic source connection to the metaphorical extension of drawing attention or 'reminding' someone. Chafe's (1994) 'focus of consciousness' and Langacker's 'schematic specification' drive the theoretical assumptions underlying this analysis. In addition, signed predicate verb stems provide the pattern of shared systematicity that Searle (1986) found to be vital to the comprehension and communicability of metaphors. The metonymic pliability and physical maneuverability of an object represented in ASL in a constrained manner demonstrates the strengthening of the demarcation between metonymy and metaphor. Instantiations gathered from semi-ethnographic interviews with native signers include IDEAS ARE OBJECTS TO BE MANIPULATED OR PLACED, IDEAS ARE OBJECTS TO BE GRASPED, IDEAS ARE OBJECTS TO BE CAREFULLY DISCRIMINATED. The interacting metonymic and metaphorical entailments found in these signed examples lead us to a deeper understanding of human cognition.

Chafe, W. 1994. *Discourse, consciousness, and time: The flow and displacement of conscious experience in speaking and writing*. Chicago-London: The University of Chicago Press.

Langacker, R. 1987. *Foundations of cognitive grammar: Theoretical prerequisites*. Vol. 1. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Searle, John R. 1986. *Minds, Brains and Science*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

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*Irene Mittelberg*

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, The Netherlands

**Contiguity relationships within and across semiotic modes: a Jakobsonian perspective on metonymy in co-verbal gestures**

Fr 11.30-12.00, Raum: U5/217

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Previous gesture research has shown that metonymy may motivate not only the formation of gestural signs (Bouvet 2001; Gibbs 1994; Müller 1998), but also crossmodal principles of indirect reference and contextualization (Mittelberg 2006; Mittelberg & Waugh *fc.*). Combining cognitivist approaches (Langacker 1993; Panther & Thornburg 2004; Radden 2000; P. Wilcox 2004) and traditional semiotic frameworks (Jakobson 1956, 1963; Peirce 1960), this paper suggests that metonymy underlies the diagrammatic, composite structure of language, as well as its reflections in metaphorical gestures accompanying meta-linguistic discourse. Here, Jakobson's distinction between internal metonymy (synecdoche) and external metonymy (adjacency, contact, contexture; Jakobson & Pomorska 1983) will be central, as well as his article

“Parts and wholes in language” (1963), in which he stresses metonymy as one of the contiguity relationships holding between linguistic units of lesser and greater complexity. Based on videotaped linguistics lectures by American college professors, the paper presents a set of metonymic modes that assume distinct functions in gestural representations of language and grammar.





**Abstracts AG 12****Methodische Aspekte der Intonationsforschung**

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*Jörg Peters*

Radboud University Nijmegen

**Rare pitch patterns –****What frequency can tell us about intonational meaning**Mi 14.00-14.30, Raum: U11/016

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For those working on prosodic features of spontaneous speech the following will sound familiar. On the one hand, speakers use pitch patterns which are well known, frequently occurring, and highly systematic. On the other hand, speakers use pitch patterns which are less known, infrequent, and usually are regarded as an unwanted source of intra- and interspeaker variation. Those infrequent pitch patterns are often ignored or reported as marginal cases which are irrelevant to the research question.

This paper show that rare pitch patterns can be a valuable source for both developing and evaluating compositional theories of intonational meaning. In free conversational speech, rare pitch patterns can be expected to occur in more restricted contexts than more frequent patterns. In our view, any well-designed compositional theory of intonational meaning must characterize phonologically distinct pitch patterns by sets of abstract semantic features which account for their usage in more or less restricted contexts. In this way, the theory will predict relative frequency distributions of pitch patterns. We illustrate this view with the help of German conversational speech data and propose a compositional theory of intonational meaning which accounts for the frequency distribution found in our corpus. Our analysis shows that spontaneous speech is important for research on intonational meaning not only by providing the necessary contextual information to understand intonational functions. It also provides valuable frequency information, which may reflect semantic complexity.

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*Beat Siebenhaar*

Universität Bern

**Methodological aspects of separating systematic and individual prosodic features**Mi 14.30-15.00, Raum: U11/016

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Prosody has proved to be a highly variable system, influenced by stylistic, emotional and dialectal effects. Descriptions of 'the' system of a specific language, a specific style or a specific dialect are necessarily reductions of this variability. However, idiosyncratic peculiarities of the individual speakers can – in the best case – blur the systematic variation or they can – in the worst case – bias and distort the description. On the other hand, these characteristic features allow for an identification of the

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individual. This singling out of individuals is used for forensic purposes where the methods on the segmental level are developed and continually improved. As the linguistic description of the prosody is not yet as refined as that of the segmental level, this identification cannot yet be very accurate. A description of the prosody that takes into account individual features right from the beginning can alter both aims: the linguistic description and the forensic recognition. However, the methodological aspects have hardly been addressed.

The paper will present a method of clustering speakers and singling out individuals on the basis of prosodic features. The discussion is based on a database for a description of Swiss-German prosody. Accordingly, the main goal of this clustering can be viewed within a variationist approach. It is a) to give an extraction of data that best represent the prosodic features of a variety, b) to document the variation possible within that variety, and c) to separate related varieties. Identifying systematic and individual differing traits is therefore a must. The paper focuses on the methodological implications of this approach for research on prosody.

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*Bernd Möbius & Matthias Jilka*

University of Stuttgart

**Corpus-based analysis of prosodic and segmental features influencing F<sub>0</sub> peak alignment**

Mi 15.00-15.30, Raum: U11/016

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We present an approach specifically oriented towards determining phonetic detail in an effective manner. The speech database of the IMS German Festival synthesis system (1 male speaker, 160 minutes of speech, prosodically labeled using GToBI) serves as a corpus for an investigation of the alignment of peaks in H\*L pitch accents in German (2681 instances in the corpus). The procedure allows the detection of correlations between the phonetic implementation of a tonal category and virtually all levels of the prosodic hierarchy (from phrasing to accent distribution to syllable structure) and segmental environment. Festival parameters provide the descriptive framework. Peak measurement is achieved by automatically locating the F<sub>0</sub> peak in a syllable labeled with a H\*L pitch accent.

Despite the fact that this broad approach lacks a strictly controlled tonal, segmental or syllabic environment and is based on a corpus provided by just one speaker our results confirm established insights from earlier studies dealing with languages other than German. This concerns for example the special status of nuclear pitch accents, as peak alignment in such accents is shown to occur significantly earlier than in non-nuclear accents (mean: 38% vs. 53% of syllable duration) as well as the effect of tonal repulsion, corroborated by the fact that a nuclear pitch accent in the last syllable of the intonation phrase is aligned significantly earlier in the syllable (mean: 21%) than a non-final nuclear pitch accent (mean: 44%).

Similarly, the influence of syllable structure investigated on the basis of the Van Santen/Hirschberg classification (sonorant, voiced obstruent, voiceless obstruent) is shown to be significant both for onsets and codas, sonorant codas leading to later peaks, while peaks are earliest for voiceless obstruents. For onsets the effect is the exact opposite (peaks occur earliest with sonorant onsets).

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*Trudel Meisenburg & Christoph Gabriel*

University of Osnabrück & University of Hamburg

**Exploring variation and change in Romance intonation: Occitan and French in Southern France, Spanish and Italian in Argentina**

Mi 15.30-16.00, Raum: U11/016

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Though all deriving from Latin, Romance languages display a fair amount of variation in their accent and intonation systems, which seems at least partly due to the more or less consistent contact between different vernaculars. Such contact situations persist since centuries between French and Occitan in Southern France, and since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century between Spanish and Italian in Argentina. While the Italian influence on Argentinean intonation is largely uncontested but still requires intensive research, a possible influence of Occitan, which could contribute to explain the highly divergent nature of French prosody, has not yet been sufficiently discussed. In a pilot study Hualde (2003) signals an important parallel between Occitan and French: In addition to metrically strong syllables the Occitan speakers he examined made use of other positions for intonational structuring. Like the phrase-initial pitch movements known from French (Jun/Fougeron 2002), these additional pitch events mainly hit the first syllable of content words. The Italian influence on Argentinean intonation, on the other hand, is characterized by the realization of pre-nuclear pitch accents as H\* (instead of standard Spanish L\*H, Colantoni/Gurlekian 2004) and a descending final contour usually labeled as ‘long fall’ (Kaisse 2001), both typical Italian features absent from other Spanish dialects.

Our contribution will focus on the methodological problems encountered when studying intonation in speech situations that partly result from language contact. As for Argentinean Spanish, the main concern will be to conceive the gradation within Argentinean intonation and to isolate different subgroups of speakers according their age and socio-cultural affiliation. For Occitan on the other hand, a major problem lies in the recruitment of adequate subjects: As the rare primary speakers of this highly endangered language are neither used to speak Occitan with any one they are not very well acquainted with nor are commonly familiar with the written form of their language, a special experimental design has to be developed.

*Klaus J. Kohler*

University of Kiel

**Analysing speech rhythm in different languages - A new research paradigm**

Mi 16.30-17.00, Raum: U11/016

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The languages of the world are frequently allocated to *stress timing* or *syllable timing* rhythm. Phoneticians have collected acoustic data from text readings and measured feet or syllable durations, which they have assumed to form isochronous patterns. But the degree of variability in articulatory sequencing, tolerated for maintaining rhythmicity, or responsible for destroying it, cannot be established in this way. Rhythmic grouping needs perceptual testing by systematic variation of  $f_0$ , duration and acoustic energy in elementary syllable chains. This is the first part of the new paradigm.

This approach follows from looking at rhythm as a feature of speech communication, which a priori includes the listener. It has a guiding function: the temporal recurrence of similar signal stretches helps listeners to decode speech more efficiently because incoming signals can be projected onto an ongoing pattern. Rhythm is a dynamic bodily action that transmits varying degrees of regularity in pitch, time and intensity for a listener, not isochrony of static units (mora, syllable, foot). Rhythm is phonetic performance operating on prosodic structures set by the language. They may be highlighted or overruled in performance; there are good rhythmical speakers and bad ones. In the second part, data from trained and untrained speakers reading a standard text provide an intuitive spread along a scale from good to bad rhythmicity, and are experimentally evaluated by listeners. The resulting clustering of the data is analysed in terms of syllabic timing, pitch and energy patterns, and related to the results from the perceptual experiments in the first part of the paradigm, leading to hypotheses about margins of regularity for rhythmic speech. They enter systematic parameter manipulation in speech synthesis for perceptual assessment of the degradation or improvement of examples originally classified as good or bad rhythmic speech, respectively. The third part of the paradigm involves the parallel investigation in two languages that are diametrically opposed as to their intuitively perceived rhythmicity: German and French.

The paper will outline the research paradigm on the basis of some performance data.

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*Rebecca Hughes & Beatrice Szczepk Reed*

University of Nottingham

**Interpretation of prosodic cues in read-aloud vs spontaneous speech data**

Mi 17.00-17.30, Raum: U11/016

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The gating paradigm has been used by Grosjean (1983) and Grosjean and Hirt (1996) to investigate whether listeners who hear increasing lengths of a read-aloud sentence can predict whether that sentence is complete after reaching its first syntactic com-

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pletion point, or whether it will continue, and if so, for how many words. Their findings suggest that subjects accurately predict the length of a read-aloud sentence-in-progress, and that those predictions are based on prosodic cues within the potentially last word.

This paper reports on an attempt to recreate Grosjean's experiments with recordings of spontaneous, rather than pre-scripted data. Three data sets were used: spontaneous dinner conversations, radio phone-in programmes and read-aloud sentences. None of the experiments could replicate Grosjean's findings. Instead, our results illuminate the differences between laboratory data and those recorded from real-life conversations. The very process of adapting both the methodological setting and the data in order to achieve a meaningful comparison raised questions concerning comparability of results gained from different data sets. The findings also raised issues surrounding the interpretation of intonational cues in real time: while the laboratory setting manages to stabilize all parameters and focus on intonation alone, the nature of naturally-occurring language as locally emerging and context dependent means that the status of utterances as complete or incomplete is under constant interactional negotiation, and intonation works alongside a cluster of cues which signal potential completion.

Grosjean, F. (1983) 'How long is the sentence? Prediction and prosody in the on-line processing of language' *Linguistics*, 21, 501-29.

Grosjean, F. and Hirt, C. (1996) 'Using prosody to predict the end of sentences in English and French: Normal and brain-damaged subjects, *Language and Cognitive Processes*, 11, 107-134.

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*Kai Alter*

Newcastle University

**Differences between single sentence and dialogue processing:**

**Evidence from Evoked Potentials**

Mi 17.30-18.00, Raum: U11/016

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Speech contains prosodic cues that are associated with linguistic (e.g. lexical, semantic, syntactic and phonological) information. Acoustic analyses of a multitude of speech stimuli in speech production studies have shown that these cues consist of systematic variation in pitch, duration, and loudness. Surprisingly little research has addressed the question of how the human brain uses prosodic information in sentential processing. We investigated two aspects of this question:

- 1<sup>st</sup>: The brain's reaction to phrase markers in speech and music, and
- 2<sup>nd</sup>: The brain's reaction to accented/prominent constituents.

Electrophysiological data were used to explore the brain basis of the processing of prosodic information. Initial studies on the processing of sentences (Steinhauer, Alter & Friederici 1999) have revealed a positive-going shift in the Event Related Brain

Potentials at phrase boundary positions – the Closure Positive Shift (CPS). These studies demonstrate the strong influence of prosodic information on syntactic parsing. Further studies examined the processing of boundary markers dependent on syntactic and segmental information contained in the speech signals. In these studies, naturally spoken sentences were compared to meaningless jaberwocky sentences containing morpho-syntactic information, and hummed sentences only preserving the original intonation contour. The CPS was observed at phrase boundaries for meaningful sentences as well as for meaningless (jabberwocky) and hummed sentences.

We also investigated the effects of accentuation and prominence on the processing of incoming speech material in dialogues to gain insight into the brain reactions to the processing of accents/prominence. We observed a CPS-like component at positions in sentences that are highlighted by means of prominence.

The data indicate that prosody has an important supportive in auditory sentence processing.

Steinhauer, K., Alter, K. & Friederici, A.D. (1999). Brain potentials indicate immediate use of prosodic cues in natural speech processing. *Nature Neuroscience*, 2, 191-196.

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*Adrian Leemann*

Universität Bern

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**Intonation in contrast: spontaneous speech elicited by 4 different techniques**

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Prosody varies according to discourse setting, therefore one needs to be in elicitation techniques selection. The goal of our Swiss National Science Foundation Project is to study the prosody of 4 Swiss German dialects. We used 3 different techniques of eliciting spontaneous speech. During the recording sessions, the subjects, gymnasium students, performed a spontaneous interview with the researcher, a game description, and the description of a picture.

In the interview, the speaker is able to realize comparatively long passages without interruption. The disadvantage is the varying emotional content of the elicited speech, which in turn affects pitch representation. The game description task is sensible in that lengthy passages of spontaneous speech are elicited – the drawback being the interviewee's error awareness of explaining the game, which, again, affects pitch. As for the final elicitation technique, there is one major downside: speech produced by a picture description is often list-like in character, i.e. the acoustic correlate of F0 being a final rise in declarative sentences.

It is evident how each of these techniques bears advantages and disadvantages. The question rises whether data elicited by the spontaneous interview, for example, can be compared with data elicited by the picture description. By means of the Fujisaki model (Fujisaki 1988), the typically resulting intonation contours of the 4 elicitation techniques will be contrasted. A direct link will be established as to the repercussions

of these findings on our project and how we tackled the problem of intonational variation due to differing elicitation techniques.

Fujisaki, Hiroya. (1988). A note on the physiological and physical basis for the phrase and accent components in the voice fundamental frequency contour. In Fujimura, O. (ed.), *Vocal physiology: voice production, mechanisms and functions*. New York: Raven. 347-355.

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*Sandra Döring*

University of Leipzig

**On prosodic aspects of parenthetical constructions in modern German**

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This paper will focus on prosodic aspects of parenthetical constructions in modern German, particularly on the transition zone between the first part of the anchor clause and the parenthetical construction, and the related question of intonational phrasing.

In the phonetic-prosodic part of the investigation, the main focus will be on how the transition from the first part of the anchor clause to the parenthetical construction is prosodically realised. The phonological-prosodic research interest, however, will lie in the problem of prosodic domains: Which prosodic domain precedes the parenthetical construction, and which prosodic domain follows the construction? Which prosodic domains constitute parenthetical constructions?

The analysis will be restricted to not-integrated parenthetical constructions (non-integratable and integratable phrases) and will be based on spoken examples taken from the debates held in the German House of Parliament.

Döring, Sandra (2007). "Quieter, faster, lower, and set off by pauses? Reflections on prosodic aspects of parenthetical constructions in modern German". In Dehé, N. & Y. Kavalova (eds). *Parentheticals*. Amsterdam. Benjamins.

Nespor, Marina & Irene Vogel (1986). *Prosodic Phonology*. Dordrecht. Foris.

Selkirk, Elizabeth O. (1984). *Phonology and Syntax*. MIT.





**Abstracts AG 13****Welche Rolle spielt die Phonologie beim Leseerwerb?**

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*Anke Treutlein, Isabelle Zöller, Jeanette Roos & Hermann Schöler*

Pädagogische Hochschule Heidelberg

**Auswirkungen eines Trainings zur phonologischen Bewusstheit auf die  
Leseleistungen**

Do 9.30-10.00, Raum: U11/016

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Phonologische Bewusstheit gilt als eine wesentliche Voraussetzung für den erfolgreichen Erwerb von Schriftsprache. Kinder, mit denen im Vorschulalter die phonologische Bewusstheit trainiert wurde, verfügen in der Grundschule nicht nur über eine verbesserte phonologische Bewusstheit. Wie in entsprechenden Vergleichsstudien wiederholt festgestellt werden konnte, erzielen sie auch im Rechtschreiben und Lesen bessere Leistungen als untrainierte Kinder.

Im Rahmen des Projektes EVES (Evaluation eines Vorschultrainings zur Prävention von Schriftspracherwerbsproblemen sowie Verlauf und Entwicklung des Schriftspracherwerbs in der Grundschule) wurden die Lese- und Rechtschreibleistungen von 1.520 Kindern über die gesamte Grundschulzeit hinweg untersucht. Insgesamt 232 der teilnehmenden Kinder hatten vor Schuleintritt an einem Training der phonologischen Bewusstheit teilgenommen.

Der Vergleich der Schriftsprachleistungen einer parallelisierten Stichprobe von je 107 trainierten und untrainierten Kindern zeigt, dass eine positive Wirkung des Trainingsprogramms erkennbar wird, wenn die Leistungen der trainierten Kinder mit den Leistungen untrainierter Kinder aus derselben Schulklasse verglichen werden. Insbesondere trainierte Mädchen erzielen innerhalb ihrer Klasse deutlich bessere Leistungen als untrainierte Mädchen. Jungen scheinen hingegen erst gegen Ende der Grundschulzeit von einem vorschulischen Training der phonologischen Bewusstheit zu profitieren. Besonders positive Auswirkungen zeigt das Training in Bezug auf die Lesegeschwindigkeit. Diese fällt bei trainierten Mädchen bis ans Ende der Grundschulzeit besser aus als bei untrainierten Mädchen. Bezüglich der Vorläuferfertigkeiten des verstehenden Lesens und des Leseverstehens weisen trainierte Mädchen zwar in den ersten Jahren der Grundschule einen Vorsprung auf, die untrainierten Mädchen können diesen jedoch bis ans Ende der Grundschulzeit ausgleichen. Ein Training der phonologischen Bewusstheit in der Vorschule kann demnach den Leselernprozess erleichtern, die Trainingseffekte fallen jedoch deutlich geringer aus als die Effekte anderer Einflussgrößen (z.B. Klassenkontext).

*Silke Fricke<sup>1,2</sup>, Annette Fox<sup>2</sup>, Joy Stackhouse<sup>1</sup> & Marcin Szczerbinski<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1</sup>The University of Sheffield (UK), Department of Human Communication Sciences

<sup>2</sup>University of Applied Sciences Fresenius Idstein (D), Department of Speech & Language Therapy

**Factors influencing early reading acquisition in German-speaking children**

Do 10.00-11.00, Raum: U11/016

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The study aims at exploring preschool language predictors for literacy outcome in, amongst others, monolingual German-speaking children aged 5;2-6;8 (at T1). The significant role of language skills such as Phonological Awareness (PA), Rapid Automated Naming (RAN) or vocabulary for successful literacy acquisition has been continuously confirmed by international research findings over the last decades. However, at present it has not yet been finally clarified which of these measures are most predictive for early literacy success generally and, more specifically, for early reading development in German-speaking children. Answers to these questions could have crucial implications for the practice of reading instruction in German and the identification of children at risk for dyslexia as well as their support.

Different longitudinal studies are currently conducted to investigate the above-mentioned research questions and the paper reports data from a longitudinal study with 79 children growing up monolingual German. The participating children are followed up 3 times over a period of 2 years and the paper presents data from the first two waves of data collection (T1 = a few months before children entered school; T2 = Grade 1). The following assessments were administered:

- Developed PA test battery (Fricke & Schäfer, in process)
- Developed RAN test (cf. Fricke, 2007)
- Letter knowledge test (cf. Fricke, 2007)
- Speech assessment (PLAKSS-Screening; Fox, 2005)
- Test for the reception of grammar (TROG-D; Fox, 2006)
- Vocabulary test (36 nouns + 36 verbs; Kauschke, 2007)
- Nonverbal reasoning (CPM; Raven, 2001)
- Literacy tests (HSP 1+ (writing); May, 2003 / SLRT (reading accuracy + reading speed + writing); Landerl et al., 2001 / ELFE (reading comprehension); Lenhard & Schneider, 2006)
- Questionnaires for parents, nurseries and teachers.

The paper discusses the following analyses and findings:

- Average speech and language skills at T1 and T2
- Correlations between the general speech and language skills, PA, RAN, letter knowledge and the reading measures
- Multiple regressions and factor analyses concerning the relationship between the general speech and language skills, PA, RAN, letter knowledge and the assessed reading components.

To conclude, the paper highlights the implications of the findings for the practice of teaching reading in German and the identification of children at risk for dyslexia.

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*Christa Röber*

PH Freiburg

**Die Ignoranz der orthographischen Muster deutscher Wörter beim  
Leseunterricht und ihre Folgen**

Do 11.30-12.30, Raum: U11/016

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Analysen der Lesekompetenz von Schülern berücksichtigen in unzureichendem Maße die Vermittlung der Lesestrategien im Schriffterwerbsunterricht. So zeigen laut-schriftliche Transkriptionen von Lesungen von Schülern unterschiedlicher Altersstufen, dass ein wesentlicher Teil der Probleme schlechter Leser daher rührt, dass sie den Instruktionen der Lehrgänge in starkem Maße folgen: Lehrgänge für das Lesenlernen präsentieren Wörter als lineare Kette von Lauten analog den Buchstaben. Erfolgreiche Lerner lösen sich von dieser Darstellung und entdecken die leseorientierte Funktion der orthographischen Muster in den Wörtern. Damit missachten sie die Darstellung der prosodischen Funktion der Buchstaben, auf die die neuere Schriftlinguistik (Maas, Eisenberg) mit Nachdruck hinweist (z.B. die Funktion von <e> in der Reduktionssilbe als Markierung von deren Unbetontheit, s. <Schu.le, Schü.ler, schu.len>). Das Erkennen der Orthographie als Zeichensystem auch für die prosodische Artikulation von Texten ist gerade für Zweitsprachlerner von großer Bedeutung.

In meinem Vortrag werde ich anhand von Lesenotaten von Schülern ab dem 2. Schuljahr die Problematik der Buchstaben isolierenden Lehrgänge für das Lesenlernen darstellen. Sie besteht vor allem darin, dass schlechte Leser es nicht gelernt haben, Silbengrenzen in den Buchstabenketten, die Akzentuierung der einzelnen Silben sowie die Lautung der Reimvarianten zu erkennen (<Hü.te> vs. <Hüf.te> vs. <Hütte>). Diese Unfähigkeiten haben sich als zentrales Problem für das schnelle Lesen einzelner Wörter, damit für die Möglichkeit, sich sofort der Aussage des Textes zuzuwenden, erwiesen. In einem letzten Teil werde ich eine orthographieorientierte Lesestrategie darstellen, die die Funktion der Schrift, Lesern ohne „Suchen im mentalen Lexikon“ die Artikulation deutscher Wörter zu ermöglichen, beschreibt. Sie wurde sowohl mit deutschen Muttersprachlern als auch mit anderen Schülern vielfach erfolgreich erprobt.

Maas, Utz. Phonologie. Opladen: Westdt. Verlag 2006 (2. Aufl.).

Röber, Christa. Spiralen und Lassos: Sprachwissenschaft – Sprachdidaktik – Pädagogik. In: M. Bommes u. a. (Hrsg.). Sprache als Form. FS für Utz Maas. Opladen: Westdt. Verlag 2002.

Röber, Christa. Schriffterwerb als Grammatikerwerb. Die orthographische Funktion des „silbentrennenden <h>’s“ für das Lesen- und Schreibenlernen. <http://home.ph-freiburg.de/roeberfr>

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Guido Nottbusch

Universität Bielefeld

**Augenbewegungen beim Lesen von Wörtern mit vertauschten Buchstaben**

Do 12.30-13.00, Raum: U11/016

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Seit September 2003 kursiert der folgende Text in vielen Sprachen und unterschiedlichen Varianten (vor allem) im Internet: "Auch nach einer Studie der Cambridge University ist es egal in welcher Reihenfolge die Buchstaben in Wörtern vorkommen. Es ist nur wichtig, dass der erste und letzte Buchstabe an der richtigen Stelle sind. [...]" Tatsächlich handelt es sich um ein Hoax wie auf der Internetseite von Matt Davis (Cognition and Brain Sciences Unit, Cambridge, U.K.) nachzulesen ist. Die ursprüngliche Quelle ist vermutlich die unveröffentlichte Dissertation von Graham Rawlinson (1976), nach der vor allem Transpositionen in der Wortmitte ohne größere Probleme gelesen werden können. Dieses Ergebnis wurde auch durch die Untersuchung von Rayner et al. (2006) bestätigt, in der Transpositionen in der Wortmitte zu einer Verlangsamung der Lesegeschwindigkeit um ca. 11% führten. Vertauschungen am Wortende und am Wortanfang zogen stärkere Verlangsamungen nach sich (26% bzw. 36%). Des Weiteren wirken sich Vertauschungen über Morphemgrenzen negativ auf die Lesegeschwindigkeit aus (Christianson et al., 2005).

In diesem Zusammenhang stellt sich die Frage nach dem Einfluss der silbenphonologischen Eigenschaften der Wörter auf die Lesegeschwindigkeit (vgl. Wentink et al., 1997): Führt die Transposition über Silbengrenzen hinweg zu stärkeren Verlangsamungen der Lesegeschwindigkeit als innerhalb von Silben? Gibt es unterschiedliche Effekte bezüglich der Position innerhalb der Silbe bzw. verschiedener Silbentypen? Um diesen Fragen nachzugehen, wurden die genannten silbenphonologischen Faktoren sowie die Wortlänge und die Unter- bzw. Oberlängen der transponierten Buchstaben in einem Leseexperiment mit Messung der Augenbewegungen systematisch variiert. Die Ergebnisse des Experiments sowie die Konsequenzen der gewonnenen Erkenntnisse für die Vermittlung im Leseerwerb sollen diskutiert werden.

<http://www.mrc-cbu.cam.ac.uk/~matt/Cmabridge/index.html>

Rawlinson, G. E. (1976). *The significance of letter position in word recognition*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Psychology Department, University of Nottingham, Nottingham UK.

Rayner, K., White, S.J., Johnson, R.L. & Liversedge, S.P. (2006). Reading Words With Jumbled Letters. There Is a Cost. *Psychological Science*, 17, 192-193.

Christianson, K., Johnson, R.L., & Rayner, K. (2005). Letter transpositions within and across morphemes. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition*, 31, 1327-1339.

Wentink, H.W.M.J., van Bon, W.H.J. & Schreuder, R. (1997). Training of poor readers' phonological decoding skills: Evidence of syllable-bound processing. *Reading and Writing*, 9, 163-192.

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*Nathalie Bedoin & Christophe Dos Santos*

Université Lyon & Radboud University Nijmegen

**Sub-phonemic influence of voicing feature in a reading task**

Fr 9.30-10.00, Raum: U11/016

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Our goal is to investigate the influence of sub-phonemic information in reading. While research on reading acquisition typically considers segments as unanalyzable wholes, psycholinguistic studies on lexical access in speech have found patterns that can only be explained by referring to sub-phonemic units such as features (Connine et al., 1993; Marslen-Wilson et al., 1996). For example, high featural overlap between a prime and target impairs processing of the target (Goldinger et al., 1989, 1992). This negative priming effect has been replicated in silent reading among adult skilled readers and third-graders, but second-graders and dyslexic children show an opposite facilitatory effect of sub-phonemic similarity (Kifri, Bedoin, & Merigot 2003). Bedoin (2003) explained this as the result of lateral inhibitory relations, which emerge during reading acquisition, between phonemes that share many sub-phonemic features.

The experiments reported here tried to recreate a facilitative sub-phonemic priming effect (typical of immature readers) in skilled adult readers, using a demanding task that should allow only the earliest steps of print processing and preclude the involvement of sophisticated lateral inhibitory mechanisms. A printed  $C_1VC_2V$  target was displayed for 33 ms (i.e., near the perception threshold), then masked, and readers had to pronounce either  $C_1V$  or  $C_2V$ . The consonants could share voicing, manner of articulation, or both. Participants made more errors on the voicing of  $C_2$  (but not  $C_1$ ) when  $C_1$  and  $C_2$  disagreed in voicing than when they agreed, a pattern reminiscent of progressive voicing harmony. A similar trend was found for manner similarity. This study confirms that sub-phonemic information about voicing is extracted rapidly in reading and can cause early phonetic priming. The elaboration of lateral inhibitory relations between phoneme detectors during reading acquisition can serve to counter such errors of the lower-level mechanisms.

- Bedoin, N. (2003). Sensitivity to voicing similarity in printed stimuli: Effect of a training programme in dyslexic children. *Journal of Phonetics*, 31(3/4), 541-546.
- Connine, C. M., Blasko, D. M., & Titone, D. A. (1993). Do the beginnings of spoken words have a special status in auditory word recognition? *Journal of Memory and Language*, 32, 193-210.
- Goldinger, S. D., Luce, P. A., & Pisoni, D. B. (1989). Priming lexical neighbors of spoken words: Effects of competition and inhibition. *Journal of Memory and Language*, 28, 501-518.
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Marslen-Wilson, W. D., Moss, H. E., & van Halen, S. (1996). Perceptual distance and competition in lexical access. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Perception and Performance*, 22, 1376-1392.

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Catherine Dickie<sup>1</sup>, Ann Clark<sup>2</sup>, Mitsuhiro Ota<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>University of Edinburgh & <sup>2</sup>Queen Margaret University

**Phonology in dyslexia: the role of phonological representations in dyslexia**

Fr 10.00-10.30, Raum: U11/016

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One mainstream theory of dyslexia suggests that the reading difficulties experienced by dyslexic individuals are caused by poor underlying phonological representations, which impair their ability to make the necessary links between graphemes and phonemes.

However, this suggestion is usually based on evidence from tasks which do not assess phonological representations directly, but rather by means of metalinguistic tasks which involve manipulating phonological units such as phonemes. Since such tasks can at best provide only equivocal and inconclusive evidence about implicit representations, there is a need to investigate representations while eliminating as many metalinguistic factors as possible. Additionally, since the ability to perform metalinguistic tasks involving segments can be enhanced by the individual's competence in alphabetic literacy, it is also important to test phonological representations in a way that does not confound segments with alphabeticism.

This study tested a group of 21 dyslexic university students on a range of tasks which addressed both their representation and manipulation skills. To escape the overlap between segments and alphabetic letters, the representations of conventional segmental contrasts (eg /k/ vs /g/) were compared with the representation of suprasegmental contrasts (as seen in minimal pairs such as *to actor* and *toy actor*), which have no orthographic counterpart. Phonological manipulation skills were also tested, by means of Pig Latin and Spoonerism tasks which required participants to manipulate both segmental and suprasegmental units (eg extracting the segment /b/ from consonant clusters and the main stress from SWW or WSW stress patterns).

The results showed that although the dyslexics were impaired relative to controls when they were required to manipulate both segmental and suprasegmental components of words, no evidence was found for a suprasegmental deficit in the representation tasks. Since the suprasegmental tasks were as closely analogous to the segmental tasks as possible, this finding suggests that in cases where phonological contrasts can exist in mental representations independently of orthography, dyslexics may be impaired more in the ability to manipulate these contrasts rather than in the representation of them per se.

The implications of this suggestion for typical literacy acquisition are discussed in the context of the argument that rather than considering the literacy acquisition process as one of mapping phonemes to graphemes, phonemes themselves must be acquired

through a process of metalinguistic analysis which is driven by the acquisition of literacy.

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*Kathrin Schrader*

Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf

**Die Rolle der Phonologie für die visuelle Worterkennung im Verlauf des Leseerwerbs**

Fr 11.00-11.30, Raum: U11/016

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Zu Beginn des Lesenlernens verläuft die visuelle Worterkennung über die serielle Umwandlung von Graphemen in Phoneme. Der Leseanfänger gelangt somit von der geschriebenen Wortform zur phonetischen Form, die dann den Lexikoneintrag aktiviert. Im späteren Verlauf des Erwerbs wird die Worterkennung zunehmend automatisiert und immer mehr Wörter können auf einen Blick erkannt und mit dem korrespondierenden Eintrag im mentalen Lexikon in Verbindung gebracht werden, ohne dass der Umweg über die serielle Dekodierung der einzelnen Buchstaben erforderlich ist.

Eine innerhalb der Leseforschung nach wie vor kontrovers diskutierte Frage ist, inwiefern die phonologischen Eigenschaften von Wörtern auch weiterhin eine Bedeutung für die Worterkennung haben. Während einerseits möglich ist, dass die automatische, geübte Worterkennung auf einer direkten Verbindung zwischen der orthographischen Form eines Wortes und dessen Bedeutung basiert – der so genannten visuellen Route –, gibt es auf der anderen Seite Gründe, anzunehmen, dass das phonologische Kodieren – die indirekte Route – ein wesentlicher und grundlegender Teil der visuellen Worterkennung bleibt, dass also die Phonologie auch nach abgeschlossenem Schriftspracherwerb eine Bedeutung hat.

Im Zusammenhang mit der visuellen Route wird im Allgemeinen ein orthographisches Lexikon angenommen. Eine Studie von Chéreau et al. (2006) legt nahe, dass die dort gespeicherte orthographische Form von Wörtern sogar bei der Verarbeitung von gesprochener Sprache aktiviert wird. Dies untermauert zusätzlich die Annahme, dass laut- und schriftsprachliche Repräsentationen eng miteinander interagieren.

In den hier vorgestellten Studien wird der Leseerwerb im Hinblick auf die Veränderung der Rolle der Phonologie für die visuelle Worterkennung untersucht. In drei Querschnittsuntersuchungen sollen die Entwicklung der beiden möglichen Leserouten sowie die Entwicklung des orthographischen Lexikons im Verlauf des Leseerwerbs beleuchtet werden.

Chéreau, C., Gaskell, M.G. & Dumay, N. (2007): Reading spoken words: Orthographic effects in auditory priming. *Cognition* 102, 341-60.





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## Abstracts Studentische AG

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*Thomas Hanke*

Freie Universität Berlin

***Einander, each other and co. in their own rights***

Mi 14.30-15.00, Raum: U5/218

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This talk presents a central issue of my typological PhD thesis. Bipartite reciprocal markers (*BRMs*) like *einander* and *each other* have often been considered as essentially behaving like other coreferential nominals, e.g. in terms of  $\phi$ -feature agreement. I will argue that explanations of the formal variation within and across languages lie outside the scope of language-internal synchronic reasoning (cf. Dryer 2006). Rather a functional-historical perspective needs to be taken: As means for mutual relations, selective BRMs are complex constructions involved in ongoing use and change. The examples stem from a worldwide sample, collected for the Berlin Utrecht Reciprocals Survey.

The term BRM covers all reciprocal markers derived from two nominals, regardless of their source, morphosyntactic behavior or argument status (cf. the preference for the adverb in the same French structure *ils s'aident l'un l'autre / mutuellement*). According to source, there are two major types of BRMs:

1. those derived from two holistic nominals like plural pronouns and reflexives.
2. those with selective sources like 'one', 'other', 'friend' or demonstratives. *Each other* is an instance of a less common mixed type with a universal distributive quantifier.

BRMs of both types may of course share properties with each other and coreferential NPs. This talk elaborates on BRMs of the second type with peculiar features like: case agreement across NP boundaries, mixed-gender forms ('one:M other:F:ACC') which conflict both with resolution rules and semantic analyses of reciprocity, and plural forms ('one:PL other:PL:ACC') not as agreement but for interactions of larger groups or generic situations.

Rather expectedly, generalizations based on few languages do not necessarily hold for larger samples, as exemplified by the invariable BRMs of most Germanic languages. Not the least, there is a remarkable concentration of BRMs in Eurasia between the Atlantic Ocean and the Himalayas. With such an areal bias, BRMs should be handled with care by any theory with universal scope.

Dryer, Matthew. 2006. Descriptive Theories, Explanatory Theories, and Basic Linguistic Theory. [pre-final draft, to appear in Felix Ameka, Alan Dench, and Nicholas Evans: *Catching Language: Issues in Grammar Writing*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.]

*Florian Haas*

Freie Universität Berlin

**How symmetric are ‘symmetric verbs’?**

Mi 15.00-15.30, Raum: U5/218

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Traditionally, the class of ‘symmetric predicates’ is defined in the following way: (1) ‘if (aRb) then (bRa)’.

For example, the predicate ‘be similar’ is symmetric, since for all possible pairs of arguments the relation of being similar is bidirectional. In this talk I will argue that the class of predicates that conforms to this definition, especially if we focus on verbs, is much more restricted than commonly assumed.

Starting from Dowty’s (1987) observation that collective predicates can have ‘distributive subtailments’ and extending this to the class of ‘symmetric predicates’, it is argued that verbs such as *meet* and *marry*, commonly taken to be clear examples, qualify as ‘symmetric’ only in a very restricted sense. If we consider the distributive subtailments of these verbs, many turn out not to hold symmetrically in the sense of (1) if the verbs are used transitively. In their intransitive use they do display identical participation of both (or all) participants, but tend to acquire meaning components that make them conform to what Kemmer (1997) terms the ‘indirect bilateral’ situation type, a kind of situation in between pure collectivity and pure bidirectionality. In this way, neither the transitive nor the intransitive use of the verbs at issue corresponds to the strict type of symmetry required by (1).

It appears more plausible (and better compatible with experimental results reported in Gleitman et al. 1996) to view the class of allegedly symmetric verbs as adopting different intermediate positions on two independent scales, one describing the continuum between collectivity and bidirectionality, the other the one between identical participation of all participants and non-identical participation with respect to the relevant subtailments.

Dowty, David R. (1987). Collective predicates, distributive predicates, and all. In: F. Marshall (ed.) *Proceedings of the 3rd ESCOL*, 97-115. Ohio: Ohio State University.

Gleitman, Lila R., Henry Gleitman, Carol Miller and Ruth Ostrin (1996). Similar, and similar concepts. *Cognition* 58: 321-376.

Kemmer, Suzanne (1997). Collective and distributive marking, or: where unity meets multiplicity. In: Alan K. Melby (ed.) *The Twenty-third LACUS Forum 1996*, 231-250. Chapel Hill, NC: Linguistic Association of Canada and the United States.

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*Cornelia Loos*

Universität Leipzig

**Switching back and forth: Two theories of constraints  
on code switching revisited**

Mi 15.30-16.00, Raum: U5/218

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Among the central questions that occupy linguists who work on bilingualism are: How do bilinguals combine their two languages when communicating? Do they keep them apart at all times or do they mix them? And if so, are there constraints on where switches between languages are possible? This talk examines two opposed generative theories on code-switching (CS) by looking at constraints on CS within the DP of French-English bilinguals.

I will look at Carol Meyer-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame model (1999, 2002, 2005) which claims that the morpho-syntactic framework of all mixed utterances stems from only one of the two interacting languages. This matrix language determines word order and functional elements of the mixed CP (complementiser phrase). Meyers-Scotton et al. will be juxtaposed to Jeff MacSwan's proposal (2000, 2005a, b) that CS is constrained by "[n]othing [...] apart from the requirements of the mixed grammars" (2000). In a Minimalist framework that means that the same grammatical relations and operations that govern monolingual derivations also determine the grammaticality of mixed derivations and there are no CS-specific rules or constraints. To test these two claims I will look at the following switches:

English Det + French N	French Det + English N
a) embedded in: English Matrix Language	c) embedded in: French Matrix Language
b) embedded in: French Matrix Language	d) embedded in: English Matrix Language

Whereas for Meyers-Scotton, a) and c) are acceptable code-switches since the functional element Determiner is taken from the Matrix Language, MacSwan predicts only *French Det. + N* combinations (c + d) to be acceptable (irrespective of the Matrix Language), for reasons of feature-checking. I will show that both theories fail to fully explain my findings and need revision.

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*Franziska Maria Hack*

Universität Konstanz

**Das Bündnerromanische und der Nullsubjektparameter**

Mi 16.30-17.00, Raum: U5/218

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Die im Schweizer Kanton Graubünden gesprochenen Varietäten des 'Rätoromanischen' verhalten sich hinsichtlich der Realisierung der Subjektspronomina nicht wie die meisten anderen romanischen Sprachen.

Während im Italienischen, Spanischen oder Portugiesischen das Subjektspronomen eines finiten Satzes normalerweise ausgelassen und nur in Fällen besonderer Betonung gesetzt wird (sog. 'Nullsubjektsprachen'), muss das Subjektspronomen im Französischen und Rätoromanischen obligatorisch realisiert werden ('Nicht-Nullsubjektsprachen').

Laut den deskriptiven Grammatiken des Bündnerromanischen (u.a. Spescha 1989) sowie mehrerer Forschungsarbeiten (u.a. Linder 1987) werden sowohl in der gesprochenen als auch in der geschriebenen Sprache die Subjektspronomina der 2. Person Singular und Plural vor allem in postverbaler Position sehr oft ausgelassen.

Es verwundert also, dass eine Nicht-Nullsubjektsprache wie das Bündnerromanische nun doch in gewissen Kontexten die Auslassung des Subjektspronomens erlaubt. Um mehr über die Natur dieser Nullsubjekte und die Kontexte, in denen sie auftreten können, zu erfahren, habe ich im Rahmen meiner Bachelor-Arbeit eine Felduntersuchung in drei Sprachgebieten des Bündnerromanischen durchgeführt. Ziel war es, mithilfe eines speziell entwickelten Questionnaires zu erfassen, ob das Subjektspronomen in den drei untersuchten Varietäten des Bündnerromanischen overt realisiert wird oder nicht.

In meinem Vortrag möchte ich nach einer kurzen Einführung in die sprachlichen Verhältnisse des Bündnerromanischen die Ergebnisse dieser Felduntersuchung vorstellen. Basierend auf einem Vergleich mit ähnlichen Studien zur Realisierung der Subjektspronomina in angrenzenden romanischen Varietäten möchte ich dann einige typologische Schlussfolgerungen zum Bündnerromanischen ziehen und versuchen, eine Erklärung dafür zu liefern, warum die Auslassung der Subjektspronomina in gewissen Kontexten im Bündnerromanischen möglich ist.

Arquint, Jachen Curdin (1981): *Vierv ladin. Grammatica elementara dal rumantsch d'Engiadina bassa*. 3. ediziun. Cuira: Lia Rumantscha.

Haiman, John & Paola Benincà (1992): *The Rhaeto-Romance Languages*. London: Routledge.

Heap, David (2000): *La variation grammaticale en géolinguistique: Les pronoms sujet en roman central*. München: Lincom Europa.

Linder, Karl Peter (1987): *Grammatische Untersuchungen zur Charakteristik des Rätoromanischen in Graubünden*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.

Liver, Ricarda (1999): *Rätoromanisch – Eine Einführung in das Bündnerromanische*. Tübingen: Narr.

Renzi, Lorenzo & Laura Vanelli (1983): *I pronomi soggetto in alcune varietà romanze*. In: Benincà, Paola et al. (eds.): *Scritti linguistici in onore di Giovan Battista Pellegrini*. 2. Vol. Pisa: Pacini, 121-145.

Spescha, Arnold (1989): *Grammatica Sursilvana*. Cuera: Casa editura per mieds d'instrucziun.

*Diana Schackow*

Universität Leipzig

**Satzverbindung im Puma**

Mi 17.00-17.30, Raum: U5/218

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Puma gehört zu den Kirantisprachen und wird in Ostnepal gesprochen. Derzeit wird es vom Chintang and Puma Documentation Project (Universität Leipzig, Tribhuvan Universität Kathmandu) dokumentiert und analysiert.

In meiner Magisterarbeit beschäftige ich mich mit den Arten der Satzverbindung und ihren morphosyntaktischen Eigenschaften im Puma. Meine Vorgehensweise orientiert sich an Bickel (2006). Anstelle der Verwendung der Labels 'Subordination', 'Koordination' usw. werden für jede Konstruktion einzelne Variablen untersucht, wie z.B. die Markierung und das Skopus von Illokutions-, Evidential-, Status- und TAM-Kategorien, die Verschiebbarkeit der untergeordneten Sätze, der Grad ihrer Finitheit, und die Frage, welche Argumente geteilt werden können. Die Morphosyntax der Satzverbindungen steht im Mittelpunkt meines Interesses. Eine weitere Frage ist die nach dem Zusammenhang zwischen semantischer und formaler Enge der Verknüpfungen und die Verteilung der verschiedenen Konstruktionen im Diskurs.

Die Daten für die Untersuchung stammen aus Texten, die mir im Rahmen des oben genannten Projektes zur Verfügung stehen, und aus Befragungen von Muttersprachlern. Die Präsentation wird 'Work in Progress'-Charakter haben.

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*Tobias Weber*

Universität Zürich

**Conjunct/disjunct marking in crosslinguistic perspective**

Mi 17.30-18.00, Raum: U5/218

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In some languages, the first person in statements is marked in the same way as the second person in questions, while another form covers second or third person in statements and first or third person in questions. The term 'conjunct' refers to first person in a statement and second person in a question, 'disjunct' refers to the other persons.

However, in many languages which make use of such a system, other values also determine the use of the two forms, i.e. there are deviations from the pattern defined above. The relevant categories are mirativity, evidentiality, and volitionality. But, naturally, these categories are of different importance in different languages. Furthermore, conjunct/disjunct marking languages vary as to how the conjunct person is involved in a situation: he or she can be the subject, the actor, or another argument. In some instances, the conjunct person is not an argument, but rather an implicit goal, a possessor, or another person who is somehow connected with the situation.

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The present paper aims at shedding light on how semantic categories influence conjunct/disjunct marking and what the role of the conjunct person is, thereby discovering the differences of conjunct/disjunct marking patterns both within and between languages.

The data for this study come mainly from Tibeto-Burman, East Caucasian, and Barbacoan languages.

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*Philipp von Samson-Himmelstjerna*

Hogeschool Utrecht

**Different languages – one norm**

Mi 18.00-18.30, Raum: U5/218

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If we think about nobility in society we usually think about it and its function in history. There seems to be no place for aristocracy in a modern democratic society. Even though we all know the Queen of the Netherlands or Queen Elizabeth II. and other royal people and if we want to we can read a lot of gossip about European nobles in many newspapers every day and every week. Nevertheless it is still a group with a high prestige, and according to Hezewijk (1987, 1988) and to Demel (2005) we can rank the members of the European nobility among the elite.

Not regarding Ross' essays about U and Non-U (1954, 1956) elite has not been quite a topic in sociolinguistic research for a long time. Just since a couple of years researchers such as Voortman (1994) and Spranz-Fogasy (1999, 2002) had a closer look at how elite uses language and communicates. But still the gentry as an own social unit was no component in these studies, although you can expect the aristocracy still having quite an influence on other people and groups in society.

In this reading I will focus on advertisings of marriage written by German and Dutch nobles. I will show that we have texts written in different languages being affected and determined by similar social and linguistic norms. The used patterns of text production are nearly the same so we can talk about one textual norm in two languages. Supplementing the analyzing of these texts by more linguistic data of German and Dutch people we can discuss if there can be a speech community using more than one language.

*Christina Unger*

UiL Utrecht

**Minimalistische Syntax aus komputationeller Sicht**

Do 9.30-10.00, Raum: U5/218

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Seit Stabler (1997) steht eine Formalisierung Minimalistischer Syntax zur Verfügung, die eine komputationelle Herangehensweise an deren Ideen ermöglicht. Ich möchte anhand einer spezifischen Implementierung basierend auf Stabler & Keenan (2003) diese Sicht auf das Minimalistische Programm vorstellen und darauf eingehen, welche Perspektive sich in Hinblick auf Bewegung ergibt. Dabei soll es v.a. darum gehen, ob bzw. inwiefern Inseln, Lokalität, sukzessiv-zyklische Bewegung, Freezing-Effekte, Restbewegung, die Minimal Link Condition u.a. schon allein aus der Grammatikarchitektur ableitbar sind.

Stabler, E.: Derivational Minimalism. In: C. Retoré (ed.): Logical Aspects of Computational Linguistics, vol. 1328 of Lecture Notes in Computer Science, pp. 68-95. Berlin: Springer, 1997.

Stabler, E. & Keenan, E.: Structural similarity within and among languages. Theoretical Computer Science, 293: 345-363, 2003.

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*Malgorzata Mas*

Universität Bielefeld

**Principles of code-switching in English and German with Polish substrates**

Do 10.00-10.30, Raum: U5/218

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This talk is devoted to the principles of code-switching (CS) by Polish immigrants living in the USA and Germany. Special attention is paid to intra-sentential / -clause CS. It is argued that this particular kind of CS is not a borrowing, as some scholars claim. Distinguishing criteria between CS and borrowing, such as, for example, degree of predictability, are provided.

The type of CS which I have investigated involves insertion of elements from American English / German into the morphosyntactic (and phonemic) frame of Polish. The aim is to determine the grammatical and phonological outcome of the language contact between the language pairs: Polish-American English and Polish-German. The talk concentrates on the morphosyntactic and phonemic properties of the phenomenon in comparison to such features of Polish, within the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model (Myers-Scotton 1993) in order to provide an explanation of the phenomenon.

In the analysis of the principles of CS, generation differences in the nature of CS are investigated additionally. My "Immigrant Generations Thesis" argues that such generation discrepancies in the architecture of CS exist. The results of my study show that while the first generation inserts grammatically and phonologically modified lexical elements from the embedded language (EL) (American English / German) into

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the morphosyntactic frame of the matrix language (ML) (Polish) according to the MLF Model, the second generation does the same but without modifying pronunciation and tends to insert 'islands' (morphemes or phrases) incorporated from the EL more than the first generation but still according to the MLF Model.

- Myers-Scotton, C. (1993). *Dueling Language: Grammatical Structure in Code-Switching*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1998). *Codes and Consequences: Choosing Linguistic Varieties*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (2002). *Contact Linguistics: Bilingual Encounters and Grammatical Outcomes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Poplack, S. (1981). "Syntactic Structure and Social Function of Code-Switching". In: R. Duran (ed.). *Latino Language and Communicative Behavior*. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex, p. 169-84.

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*Sa'da Bader*

Universität Bielefeld

**Phonological disorders of Arabic-speaking Jordanian children  
with speech and language impairments**

Do 10.30-11.00, Raum: U5/218

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This study is an analysis of the speech of a sample of Arabic-speaking Jordanian children who exhibit speech-language phonological disorders that are obvious in their sound production and perception.

This study aims at assessing the developmental status of the phonological processes in the child's disordered speech. It describes the natural phonological processes in the speech of children with SLI compared with their age-matched normally developing children to characterize their phonological disability. This study aims at providing a diagnostic test, assessment procedures and the criteria to detect the phonological developmental deviances. The efficiency of this diagnostic test in differentiating the delayed from the deviant phonological developments will be tested in this study.

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*Hagen Pitsch*

Universität Leipzig

**Zur Suche nach einer Motivation für die Kasusvariation in russischen  
Kopulasätzen**

Fr 9.30-10.00, Raum: U5/218

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Das Russische weist, neben weiteren slavischen Sprachen, die folgende Kasusvariation (Nominativ vs. Instrumental) in Kopulasätzen auf, vgl.:



- (1) Puškin byl [velikij poët]<sub>NOM</sub>.  
 Puschkin war [großer Dichter]<sub>NOM</sub>  
 (2) Puškin byl [velikim poëtom]<sub>INS</sub>.  
 Puschkin war [großer Dichter]<sub>INS</sub>  
*beide, Puschkin war ein großer Dichter'.*

Es stellen sich u.a. die Fragen, in welchem Teilbereich der Grammatik (Semantik, Syntax, Pragmatik etc.) die Motivation für diese Kasusvariation zu verorten ist, und worin genau der deskriptive Unterschied zwischen einer Aussage mit Nominativ gegenüber einer solchen mit Instrumental liegt.

In der slavistischen Forschung wurden bisher drei grundlegende Erklärungsmuster verfolgt, die die Ursache der Kasusselektion (a) in der (Satz)Semantik, (b) in der Syntax (strukturelle Determinierung) bzw. (c) in der Pragmatik (Sprecherperspektive) suchen.

Nach einer kurzen Einführung in die Problematik stellt die Präsentation zunächst diese drei Erklärungsmuster detailliert vor, um im Anschluss auf je einen Vertreter dieser Richtungen einzugehen. Dabei werden die Vor- und Nachteile der verschiedenen Standpunkte herausgearbeitet, um deren Potenzial für eine umfassende Erklärung ermitteln zu können.

Die diskutierten Ansätze gehören sowohl der traditionellen als auch der generativen Grammatikschreibung an. Aus Zeitgründen werden nur die in der Forschung vertretenden Vorschläge zur Klärung der (wie auch immer gearteten) *Motivation* der Kasuswahl vorgestellt; auf die *Mechanismen der Kasuszuweisung* kann nicht eingegangen werden.

Der Vortrag soll so einen Beitrag dazu leisten, den wahrscheinlichsten Lösungsweg für diese Problematik ausfindig machen zu können.

Die Präsentation geht aus Teilen der Magisterarbeit des Referenten („Die Nominativ/Instrumental-Alternation in russischen Kopulasätzen: Eine vergleichende Analyse zu deren Genese, Motivation und Verortung im grammatischen System mit dem Vorschlag für eine Synthese ausgewählter Ansätze“) hervor.

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Corinna Handschuh

MPI EVA, Leipzig

**Typical and less-typical instances of case-marking studied in a rare alignment system**

Fr 10.00-10.30, Raum: U5/218

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Most well-studied case languages (i.e. languages having a nominal case system) mark syntactic relations (among other grammatical functions) with a set of inflectional suffixes sometimes accompanied by some minor stem alternations. Other morphological instantiations such as adpositional marking, tonal change and other morphophonemic alternations although they serve the same function (i.e. the disambiguation

of arguments) are only reluctantly (if at all) considered to be case-marking by a number of linguists.

Those less-typical instances of case-marking constitute a large fraction of the rare alignment-type of Marked-S languages. As Marked-S languages I consider those which use overt case-marking on the sole argument of intransitive verbs while one of the two arguments of transitive verbs is left zero-coded. The Marked-S pattern is quite common in East-Africa where a majority of languages mark case-relations only through tonal changes, a morpho-phonemic manifestation of case hardly ever discussed in the literature on case. Yet, languages of the Marked-S type can also be found in the Pacific quite often if one broadens one's research scope to less-typical expressive means of case-relations.

In this talk I will present data from Marked-S languages employing less-typical means of case-marking and compare these with languages with the same alignment-system of the suffixing case-marking type.

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*Sabine Littig*

Universität Mainz

**Grammatikalisierung von Adpositionen im Mande**

Fr 11.00-11.30, Raum: U5/218

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In meinem Vortrag beschäftigte ich mich der Grammatikalisierung von Adpositionen im Mande. Das Mande ist eine Sprachfamilie des Niger-Kongo. Es wird in mehrere kleine Sprachen untergliedert, von denen ich bis zu zehn im Raum Westafrikas gesprochene hinsichtlich der Entwicklung lokativisch verwendeter Adpositionen untersucht habe.

Innerhalb des Vortrags soll zum einen der Begriff Adposition vorgestellt werden, dabei konzentriere ich mich insbesondere auf lokativisch verwendete Adpositionen. Weiterhin sollen die Grammatikalisierungsprozesse dargestellt werden, denen Adpositionen unterliegen können. Im Zusammenhang lokativischer Adpositionen darf ein Exkurs über die Räumliche Orientierung und verschiedene kognitive Konzepte ihrer Entstehung nicht fehlen. Nach dem kurzen einleitenden Teil zum Verständnis werde ich meine Untersuchungen, die sich aus der Analyse von Muttersprachentexten ergeben, hinsichtlich der Mandesprachen ausführen.

*Falko Berthold*

Universität Leipzig

**Melpa-Verbmorphologie: Erkenntnisse aus einer alten Missionarsgrammatik  
neu betrachtet**

Fr 11.30-12.00, Raum: U5/218

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Melpa ist eine Trans-Neuguinea-Sprache im westlichen Hochland von Papua-Neuguinea und stellt mit ca. 130.000 Sprechern eine der größten Sprechergruppen Neuguineas dar. Bisher liegt lediglich ein unveröffentlichtes Manuskript einer Grammatik zu Melpa vor. Dieses wurde Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts von einem deutschen Missionar erstellt (Strauß o.J.). Obwohl das Manuskript einen umfassenden Einblick in die Strukturen der Sprache bietet, fehlen jedoch genaue, tiefgehende grammatische Analysen. Weiterhin hat der Autor dieses Manuskripts weder eine eindeutige Notationsweise für die Sprachbeispiele verwendet, noch hat er Interlinearglossen angeführt, so dass diese Grammatik nur schwer zu erschließen ist. In der Fachliteratur hat Melpa bisher nur wenig Beachtung erfahren. Erwähnung findet Melpa unter anderem bei Ladefoged (z.B. 2006), welcher hier die Unterscheidung zwischen dentalen, alveolaren und velaren Lateralen in Melpa beschreibt. Weiterhin zu nennen ist A. Lang (1975), hier werden im Anhang klassifikatorische Verben in Melpa aufgeführt.

Dieser Vortrag soll eine kurze Einführung in die Strukturen von Melpa bieten und im weiteren Verlauf die Verbmorphologie dieser Sprache gründlich beleuchten. Neben der Darstellung des Tempus- und Aspektsystems der Sprache und einem kurzen Abriss zu *klassifikatorischen Verben* in Melpa soll besonders auf Satzverbindungen mit *Switch-Reference-Markierung* eingegangen werden. Melpa-Verben weisen in Abhängigkeit von ihrer Funktion als satzmediale oder satzfinale Verben unterschiedliche Sets von Kongruenzmorphemen auf. Die Flexionsmorpheme der satzfinalen Verben sind voll für Tempus/Aspekt/Modus. Des Weiteren lassen sich Numerus und Person des Subjektes spezifizieren. Flexionsendungen satzmedialer Verben kodieren hingegen nur Numerus und Person des Subjektes sowie "Gleichheit" oder "Verschiedenheit" des Subjektes des satzmedialen Verbs in Bezug auf das Subjekt des satzfinalen Verbs. Außerdem sind verschiedene Markierungen für die temporalen Beziehungen der Verben zueinander zu beobachten.

(1) ur	pe-k	rot	ne-k
sleep	go-3PL.SS	??	wake.up-3PL.SS
<sup>n</sup> dip	kal-k	oka	no-k
fire	light.up-3PL.SS	sweet-potatoes	eat-3PL.SS
kənan	ne-k	anteŋa	ro-k
song	say-3PL.SS	prayer	hit-3PL.SS
			outside go-3PL.FUT

“Waking up from sleep, they will light a fire, eat sweet-potatoes, sing, pray, and go out.” (Strauß o.J.)

Im Verlauf des Vortrages sollen die verschiedenen Konfigurationen der Satzverbindungen aufgezeigt und analysiert werden. Die Präsentation geht aus Teilen der Magisterarbeit des Referenten hervor ("*Melpa – Sketch Grammar*"), die auf dem o.g. Manuskript, sowie auf Daten, die bei einem kurzen Feldaufenthalt des Referenten im Sommer 2007 erhoben wurden, aufbaut.

Strauß, Hermann: *Grammatik der Medlpa-Sprache*. (unveröffentlichtes Manuskript)  
 Ladefoged, Peter (2006). *Vowels and Consonants: 2nd edition*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.  
 Lang, A. (1975). *The semantics of classificatory verbs in Enga (and other Papua New Guinea Languages)*. Pacific Linguistics, B39.

## Abstracts Sektion Computerlinguistik

### How much linguistics does computational linguistics need?

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*Victoria Anyango Oketch*

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**Multilingualität und Lernerkorpora**

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Bei meinem Poster geht es darum zu zeigen, inwieweit Lernerkorpora für die Erforschung der unterschiedlichen Einflüsse verschiedener bereits gelernter Sprachen auf die zu erlernende Fremdsprache Deutsch dienen können.

Lernerkorpora haben sich in den letzten Jahren als eine gute Datengrundlage für viele Fragen der Erforschung von Spracherwerbsverläufen etabliert. Dabei gibt es viele Studien zum Einfluss der jeweiligen Muttersprache auf den Erwerbsverlauf in der Fremdsprache. Viele Lerner sind allerdings nicht bilingual, sondern multilingual (wobei es unterschiedliche chronologische Verläufe der bisher gelernten Sprachen gibt), und die  $L_n$  haben jeweils Einflüsse auf die neu zu lernende Sprache  $L_{n+1}$ . Ich habe im Rahmen des Falko-Projekts (<http://www2.hu-berlin.de/korpling/projekte/falko/index.php>) in Kenia, einem Land mit hoher Mehrsprachigkeitsquote, ein Essaykorpus erhoben und diskutiere, wie die Einflüsse der jeweiligen  $L_n$  ermittelt werden können.

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*Tina Bögel*

Universität Konstanz

**Automatische Erkennung von Beziehungen innerhalb englischer Nomen-Komposita mit Hilfe von WordNet**

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Nomen innerhalb von Komposita bilden zahlreiche verschiedene Beziehungen zueinander. Diese Beziehungen werden meist nicht dargestellt, da sie sehr komplex sind. Wünschenswert wären jedoch spezifische Rollen, die die Beziehungen zwischen den Nomen genauer ausdrücken.

In dieser Demo wird ein Ansatz, der für die automatische Erkennung von Komposita-Beziehungen genutzt werden könnte, vorgestellt. Die Implementation erfolgte im Rahmen von Arbeiten an der englischen Pargram Grammatik, die mit Hilfe der XLE Plattform erstellt wurde (Butt et al. 1998).

Mangelnde lexikalische Ressourcen erschweren eine automatische Analyse von Komposita. Rückschlüsse über die Beziehungen innerhalb von Nomen-Komposita lassen sich jedoch basierend auf der frei zugänglichen, in WordNet (Fellbaum 1998) integrierten Hierarchie von Hyperonymen ziehen. WordNet ordnet Nomen übergeordneten abstrakten Begriffen zu. Im Komposita „wood box“ beispielsweise würde „wood“ der

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WordNet-Kategorie Material und „box“ der Kategorie Behälter, gleichzeitig jedoch auch der Kategorie Artefakt zugeteilt. Ein Artefakt kann aus Material gemacht sein; Behälter wiederum können Material beinhalten. Beide Beziehungen sind plausibel für das Komposita „wood box“ und sollten auch ausgedrückt werden: als *role(contain, box, wood)* und *role(made\_of, box, wood)*.

Ordnet man nun Nomen basierend auf ihren Hyperonymen Kategorien zu und definiert die Beziehungen, die die einzelnen Kategorien miteinander eingehen können, so kann man den Komposita spezifische Rollen zuteilen, die die Relationen der einzelnen Elemente zueinander zum Ausdruck bringen. Mit Hilfe von WordNet lässt sich so relativ einfach eine breite automatische Erkennung von Beziehungen zwischen Komposita-Mitgliedern erreichen.

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2 Siemens AG, Corporate Technology, User Interface Design, München; jetzt

Siemens Audiologische Technik GmbH, Erlangen

**Analyse von Logdateien automatischer Sprachdialogsysteme**

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In automatischen Sprachdialogsystemen findet ein mündlicher Dialog zwischen Mensch und Computer statt. Die Eingaben des Benutzers in gesprochener Sprache werden durch automatische Spracherkennung erfasst. Alternativ können bei manchen Systemen die Eingaben im Mehrfrequenz-Wahlverfahren per Tastendruck erfolgen (sog. „Touchtone“). Die Ausgaben des Systems werden entweder als Audio-Aufzeichnung abgespielt oder es wird aus einem geschriebenen Text synthetische Sprache generiert (sog. Text-to-Speech-Verfahren).

Sprachdialogsysteme finden zunehmend Anwendung als Telefonie-Applikationen. Sie automatisieren Anrufe, die in großer Anzahl stattfinden und in denen immer wieder die gleichen Informationen abgefragt oder die gleichen Transaktionen getätigt werden. Bekannte Beispiele sind Sprachdialogsysteme zu Fahrplanauskünften öffentlicher Verkehrsmittel oder zum Telefon-Banking.

Die automatische Spracherkennung hat seit einigen Jahren eine akzeptable Qualität erreicht und die Verbesserung der Dialogsysteme konzentriert sich auf eine benutzerfreundliche Gestaltung der Dialogsysteme. Da die Systeme für eine große Anzahl von Benutzern gestaltet werden müssen, ist es sinnvoll, dass sich die Systeme automatisch an den einzelnen Benutzer anpassen. Im Dialogdesign können dann Dialog-Architektur, Audiodesign, Grammatiken etc. auf den Benutzer abgestimmt werden.

Voraussetzung für eine solche Adaptivität der Systeme ist, dass Merkmale des Benutzers gewonnen werden, an die sich das System anpassen kann. Hierzu können Logdateien verwendet werden, die während eines Dialogs einzelne Ereignisse mit genauer Zeitangabe dokumentieren, zum Beispiel wann ein Benutzer einen bestimmten

Menupunkt wählt. So kann das Interaktionsverhalten eines Benutzers in Form messbarer, aussagekräftiger Daten erfasst werden.

Im vorgestellten Projekt wurde untersucht, welche Informationen über den Benutzer aus Logdateien automatisch gewonnen werden können und wie diese Informationen der Adaptivität der Sprachdialogsysteme dienen können. Die Daten wurden in einer Untersuchung erhoben, bei der die Teilnehmer ein prototypisches Sprachdialogsystem benutzt haben. Zusätzlich zu den Logdateien wurden Informationsquellen wie Fragebögen und Interviews herangezogen, um durch qualitative Daten die Einteilung der Benutzer nach deren Interaktionsverhalten zu unterstützen.

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Spoken Language Systems, Saarland University

**Named entity recognition for German web documents**

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Named Entity Recognition (NER) is a crucial technology in many NLP applications, such as Information Extraction and Question Answering. In recent years, various methods, both rule based and machine learning based, have been investigated to solve this task for English. However, there are only few NER systems for German corpora and no freely available system is able to cope with Web documents. In this work, we present our NER system, called Nada, which implements an AdaBoost algorithm (see Viola and Jones, 2001). We trained this system on CoNLL (Tjong Kim Sang and De Meulder, 2003) data and a sample of semi-automatically annotated Web data extracted from the WaCky corpus<sup>1</sup>. In addition to the well-established feature sets focussing on tokens and small context windows, we also integrated discourse features and exhaustive name lists extracted from WIKIPEDIA<sup>2</sup> among others. Since there exist various Named Entity definitions, we designed our system modularly in order to facilitate the fast and simple integration of new/alternative entity types<sup>3</sup>. We evaluated our system on CoNLL and Web data with very promising results. Our NER system and the annotation of the Web data will be freely available for download.

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<sup>1</sup> See <http://wacky.sslmit.unibo.it/doku.php> for more information about this interesting resource.

<sup>2</sup> We used the German WIKIPEDIA and the API implemented by Gleim et al. (see Gleim, Mehler, Dehmer, Pustynnikov, 2007: Aisles through the Category Forest - Utilising the Wikipedia Category System for Corpus Building in Machine Learning. Proceedings of the WEBIST '07) to extract the name lists used as feature in our system.

<sup>3</sup> To demonstrate the advantage of the modularity of our framework, we have already experimented with alternative types. These experiments are described in Cramer, Schacht, Merkel (2007): Classifying Number Expressions in German Corpora. Proceedings of the GFKI 2007.

Tjong Kim Sang, E. F. / De Meulder, F. (2003): Introduction to the CoNLL Shared Task: Language Independent Named Entity Recognition. *Proceedings of the Conference on Computational Natural Language Learning*.

Viola, P. / Jones, M. (2001): Rapid Object Detection Using a Boosted Cascade of Simple Features. *Proceedings of the IEEE Conference Computer Vision and Pattern Recognition, 2 001*.

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**Annotation von kanonischen und nichtkanonischen Äußerungen in Korpora**

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Das Poster stellt eine Methode dar, nach welcher sowohl kanonische als auch nichtkanonische Äußerungen in demselben Korpus annotiert werden können. Wir definieren 'kanonisch' als 'durch das gegebene Schema beschreibbar' und 'nichtkanonisch' als 'nicht durch das Schema beschreibbar'.

(Syntaktische) Annotationsschemata bauen meist auf einer Theorie auf, die für eine standardisierte (schriftsprachliche) Varietät entwickelt wurde. In vielen Korpora gibt es jedoch Äußerungen, die durch die gegebenen Schemata nicht befriedigend annotiert werden können.

In vielen linguistischen Fragestellungen ist es allerdings interessant, sowohl kanonische als auch nichtkanonische Äußerungen in einem Korpus zu finden (bzw. systematisch unterscheiden zu können) und gerade unterschiedliche Arten der Abweichung von dem gegebenen Schema suchen zu können.

Dabei können Abweichungen entweder Fehler sein (was unter anderem bei der Untersuchung von Lerner Sprache aufschlussreich ist) oder betrachtungsrelevante Eigenschaften einer Varietät (zum Beispiel gesprochene Sprache) darstellen.

Dies bezieht sich auf alle Arten von nichtkanonischen Äußerungen; exemplarisch wird auf dem Poster die Annotation von Wortstellung vorgestellt.

Die Annotation erfolgt in einem Mehrebenenverfahren, welches durch die Mehrebenenarchitektur des Korpus ermöglicht wird (siehe auch Hirschmann, Doolittle, Lüdeling 2007<sup>1</sup>).

Sätze mit kanonischer Wortstellung werden nach dem Stellungsfeldermodell (vgl. Höhle 1986<sup>2</sup>) annotiert.

Für die Sätze mit nichtkanonischer Wortstellung erfolgt eine Annotation in drei Schritten:

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1 Hirschmann, Hagen; Doolittle, Seanna & Lüdeling, Anke (2007): Syntactic annotation of non-canonical linguistic structures. In: Proceedings of Corpus Linguistics 2007, Birmingham.

2 Höhle, Tilman N. (1986): Der Begriff „Mittelfeld“. Anmerkungen über die Theorie der topologischen Felder. In: Walter Weiss et al. (Hrsg.): Akten des VII. Kongresses der Internationalen Vereinigung für germanische Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft. Bd. 3, S. 329-340. Tübingen: Niemeyer.



- (1) Sie werden als nicht annotierbar (gemäß dem Stellungsfeldermodell) gekennzeichnet.
- (2) Auf einer weiteren Annotationsebene erfolgt die Zuordnung einer entsprechenden kanonischen Struktur, welche nun nach dem Stellungsfeldermodell annotiert wird.
- (3) In einem dritten Schritt wird die Abweichung zwischen der nichtkanonischen und der kanonischen Struktur beschrieben (dies entspricht der Beschreibung von Wortstellungsfehlern bzw. einem Fehlertagging).

Zudem demonstrieren wir weitere Anwendungen dieser Methode anhand mehrerer Korpusbeispiele, die unterschiedlichen Varietäten entstammen.

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*Kurt Eberle*

Lingenio GmbH &

Universität Stuttgart, Institut für maschinelle Sprachverarbeitung

**Mehrdeutigkeitenbehandlung in *translate***

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Die am Markt befindlichen Versionen von *translate* weisen strukturell mehrdeutigen Sätzen entsprechend verschiedene syntaktische Analysen zu, auf Basis der *Slot Grammar*, einer Dependenz- und Unifikationsgrammatik die der *Logic based Machine Translation* Architektur (LMT) der IBM zugrunde liegt, aus der die Software entstanden ist (McCord 1989, McCord 1991). Aus den Ergebnissen der deklarativen Grammatik wird mit Hilfe von Evaluierungsregeln eine Analyse ausgewählt (bzw. mehrere bevorzugte bei entsprechender Einstellung des Systems) aus der (oder denen) mit den Informationen des bilingualen Lexikons eine Übersetzung konstruiert wird (oder mehrere), wobei bei der Wahl von Transferäquivalenten die strukturellen Gegebenheiten des Quellsatzes (und seines Kontexts) inspiziert und berücksichtigt werden.

Bei der neuen, im Oktober 2007 erschienenen Version 11 wird dieses Verfahren komplettiert durch eine Berechnung der Wahrscheinlichkeiten der Übersetzungsalternativen der Quellwörter auf der Grundlage des Kontextes und statistischer aus dem Europarl-Corpus mit den Analysewerkzeugen von *translate* gewonnener Übersetzungsinformation, sodass Übersetzungsalternativen entsprechend priorisiert im übersetzten Text angezeigt werden können.

Bei der Präsentation wird neben dem Produkt die Entwicklungsumgebung von *translate* vorgestellt, sodass Einblick in die Berechnung der Transferalternativen und in die Daten genommen werden kann.

*translate* weist syntaktischen Strukturen flache semantische Repräsentationen zu, die der eigentliche Input des Transferalgorithmus sind (Eberle 2001).

In der vorgeführten Entwicklungsumgebung ist diese Abbildung in der Weise erweitert, dass strukturell mehrdeutigen Sätzen unterspezifizierte Repräsentationen zugewiesen werden, die bei Vorliegen disambiguierender kontextueller Gegebenheiten

dynamisch entsprechend spezifiziert werden können. Diese Repräsentationen tragen Dekorationen zur Verwaltung der Diskursreferenten und deren Eigenschaften, die sich in ausgezeichneter Weise dafür eignen, Verfahren zur Berechnung der sortalen Eigenschaften von Diskursreferenten, wie das im Poster **Unterspezifizierte Repräsentation und Desambiguierung sortal ambiger Nominalisierungen auf -ung** beschriebene, zu integrieren.

In der Präsentation wird eine prototypische Implementierung dieses Verfahrens vorgestellt und an Beispielen demonstriert, wie einschlägige Kontextfaktoren unterschiedliche Ergebnisse bewirken und wie diese die Übersetzung beeinflussen.

Kurt Eberle. 2001. *FUDR-based MT, head switching and the lexicon*. In: Proceedings of the eighth Machine Translation Summit, Santiago de Compostela.

Michael McCord. 1989. *Design of LMT*. In: Computational Linguistics (15).

Michael McCord. 1991. *The Slot Grammar System*. In: Wedekind, J. & Rohrer, Ch. (eds.): Unification in Grammar, MIT-Press.

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**Unterspezifizierte Repräsentation und Desambiguierung**

**sortal ambiger Nominalisierungen auf -ung**

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Viele deutsche Nominalisierungen auf *-ung* (*Messung, Teilung, Fälschung*) sind bezüglich der Sorte ambig: *Messung* kann im Kontext eines Satzes einen Vorgang oder dessen Resultatsobjekt (*Messdaten*) bezeichnen; *Teilung* hat neben der Ereignislesart eine Lesart als Resultatzustand, usw.

Die sortale Desambiguierung solcher Nominalisierungen in Corpustexten beruht auf der Ausnutzung von Lesart-Indikatoren aus dem Satzkontext. Ähnlich wie in den von Ehrich/Rapp (2000) vorgeschlagenen Tests können z.B. Prädikate der Dauer dazu benutzt werden, Ereignislesarten zu identifizieren (*die Messung dauert 3 Stunden*); neben lexikalischen Indikatoren lassen auch bestimmte strukturelle Gegebenheiten nur den Schluss auf eine sortale Lesart zu (*das Geld verschaffte sie sich durch Fälschung von Schecks: durch + artikellose NP zeigt eine Ereignislesart an*).

Die Desambiguierung der Nominalisierungen setzt auf einer Dependenzanalyse der betreffenden Sätze auf (vgl. Kountz/Heid/Spranger 2007). Der Algorithmus geht von der zu analysierenden *-ung*-Nominalisierung aus, für die im allgemeinen Fall zunächst angenommen wird, dass alle sortalen Lesarten (Ereignis, Resultatzustand, Objekt) zugänglich sind. Sodann werden die von der Nominalisierungs-NP abhängigen Knoten der Dependenzstruktur darauf untersucht, ob sie Lesartindikatoren enthalten; liegen lexikalische oder strukturelle Indikatoren vor, so führen diese Constraints in den Desambiguierungsprozess ein, deren Anwendung zu lokalen Lesartpräferenzen führt. Sind die Abhängigkeiten abgearbeitet, wird im Dependenzbaum weiter nach oben gegangen, d.h. zunehmend größere Kontexte werden berücksichtigt.

Der Prozess wird wiederholt, bis der Hauptknoten des Satzes erreicht und die für den Satz gültige Lesart (oder Lesarten) ausgegeben wird (vgl. Spranger/Heid 2007).

Das Poster stellt die Prinzipien des Verfahrens dar und zeigt Beispiele. Die Demonstration einer prototypischen Implementierung im Rahmen der Grammatik der MÜ-Software *translate* (Lingenio GmbH, Heidelberg) zeigt Details einer möglichen Realisierung und gleichzeitig die Relevanz solcher Verfahren für Anwendungen wie die maschinelle Übersetzung.

Veronika Ehrich, Irene Rapp (2000): "Sortale Bedeutung und Argumentstruktur: -ung-Nominalisierungen im Deutschen", in: *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 19, 2000, SS. 245-303.

Kristina Spranger, Ulrich Heid (2007): "Applying Constraints derived from the Context in the process of Incremental Sortal Specification of German -ung-Nominalizations", in: Henning Christiansen, Jørgen Villadsen (Eds.): *Proceedings of the 4th International Workshop on Constraints and Language Processing, CSLP@Context 07*, Roskilde, Computer Science – Roskilde University, (Heidelberg: Springer), 2007, SS. 65-77, [= LNAI Series].

Manuel Kountz, Ulrich Heid, Kristina Spranger (2007): "Automatic sortal Interpretation of German Nominalisations with -ung. Towards using underspecified Representations in Corpora", erscheint in: *Proceedings of Corpus Linguistics 2007*, (Birmingham: University of Birmingham), Juli 2007, [CD-ROM, Website: <http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/publications/CL2007/>].

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Annette Hautli

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**Hybridization of the XLE pipeline.**

**Die Umwandlung von DCU F-Strukturen in PARC F-Strukturen**

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Die große ParGram-Grammatik des Englischen (Butt et al. 1999), die in PARC (Palo Alto Research Center) im Rahmen der Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG, Bresnan und Kaplan 1982) weiterentwickelt wird, basiert auf einem Regelsystem im Sinne einer generativen, kontextfreien Grammatik und umfasst unter anderem eine auf Transferregeln basierende Semantik. Input zu dieser Semantik ist die syntaktische Ebene der F(unktional)-Strukturen. Während PARC F-Strukturen aufgrund von Regeln generiert, kann die Dublin City University (DCU) wahrscheinlichkeitsbasierte F-Strukturen ermitteln, die zwar an Informationsgehalt deutlich hinter den F-Strukturen von PARC liegen, dafür aber wesentlich zeitsparender zu generieren sind.

Mit Hilfe eines Transfersystems wurde nun getestet, ob die wahrscheinlichkeitsbasierten F-Strukturen der DCU so zu modifizieren sind, dass sie als Input in die Semantik von PARC dienen können. Dabei ging es vor allem um die Konvertierung von fragmentierten Sätzen, die für die englische Grammatik prinzipiell schwerer zu analysieren sind. Mit Hilfe des Annotations-Algorithmus der DCU (Burke 2006) können diese Fragmente in relativ kurzer Zeit robust analysiert werden. Das Problem dabei war, wie oben schon angedeutet, der geringere Informationsgehalt der DCU F-Struk-

turen und der teilweise sehr unterschiedliche Aufbau der F-Strukturen. Dies ist insbesondere in Fragesätzen und Imperativsätzen der Fall, was aber auf die Struktur der Trainingsdaten zurückzuführen ist.

Die Ergebnisse des Matchings zwischen DCU- und PARC F-Strukturen sehen entgegen der Unterschiedlichkeit der Systeme vielversprechend aus. Indikativsätze weisen eine Ähnlichkeit von 72.13 Prozent auf. Bei Verwendung der probabilistischen Strukturen als Input in die PARC-Semantik kommt es zu einem Matching zwischen den semantischen PARC-Strukturen und den durch DCU-Input erzeugten Strukturen von 65 Prozent. In den noch folgenden Schritten sollen weitere Korpora verglichen und das Transfersystem weiter ausgebaut werden.

Burke, Michael (2006). Automatic Treebank Annotation for the Acquisition of LFG Resources, PhD thesis, Dublin City University.

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**Abstandsmaße zwischen Dialekten und Sprachen – Computerbasierte Methode  
und perzeptionelle Validierung**

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In zwei Forschungsprojekten entwickeln und nutzen wir an der Universität Groningen dialektometrische Methoden zur Messung von Sprachabständen. Neben einem Projekt zum niederländischen Dialektvergleich („Mutual intelligibility in the Lowlands“, vgl. <http://www.let.rug.nl/alfa/ovvt/>) werden diese Methoden in einem zweiten Projekt erstmals auch zum Vergleich mehrerer germanischer Sprachen verwendet („Mutual Intelligibility of Closely Related Languages“, vgl. <http://www.let.rug.nl/micrela/>). Ziel der Messungen ist der Gewinn objektiver sprachlicher Abstände. Diese werden mit den Ergebnissen von Perzeptionsexperimenten korreliert, um ein besseres Verständnis der linguistischen Grundlagen gegenseitiger Verständlichkeit sprachlicher Varietäten zu gewinnen.

Unter anderem wird für die Messung der Levenshtein-Abstand („String edit distance“) verwendet, der phonetische Abstände zwischen Sprachen auf Grundlage des Abgleichs von Lautfolgen bestimmt. Die Abstandsbemessung erfolgt durch Zählen der nötigen Austausch- oder Ergänzungsoperationen im Vergleich zur Gesamtzahl der verglichenen Laute: Vergleicht man z. B. die Lautketten dt. [bu:x] und nl. [bu:k], so ergibt sich beim dritten Laut, dass eine Substitution vorgenommen werden muss, um [x] und [k] aufeinander abzubilden, während für die ersten beiden Laute aufgrund ihrer Gleichförmigkeit keine Operationen nötig sind. Berechnet man den Aufwand für die Substitution mit 1, so liegt der Abstand bei 1/3, also 33,3 %. Auf Grundlage der Levenshtein-Abgleiche konnten weitere Messmethoden entwickelt werden, etwa eine Berechnung der Laut-zu-Laut-Korrespondenzen für große Parallelkorpora.

Aus der Korrelation mit den Ergebnissen von Perzeptionsexperimenten hat sich allerdings ergeben, dass Abstände zwischen Varietäten keineswegs immer so symmetrisch

sind, wie es durch den Levenshtein-Abstand suggeriert wird. Zum Beispiel ist beim Sprachenpaar Dänisch-Schwedisch ein weitaus höheres Verständnis des Schwedischen durch dänische Hörer zu verzeichnen als umgekehrt. Mit Hilfe des Maßes der konditionellen Entropie konnte auch für asymmetrische Abstände eine Berechnungsmethode gefunden werden, die den Ergebnissen von Perzeptionstests nahe kommt. Im Poster werden einige Messmethoden vorgestellt und bezüglich der Validierung anhand von Perzeptionsdaten diskutiert. Weiterhin soll ein Ausblick die Verwendung dialektometrischer Methoden für Dialekt- vs. Sprachvergleiche thematisieren.

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*Thomas Mayer*

Universität Konstanz

**Semi-automatische Glossierung am Beispiel des Wolof**

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Interlinearglossierungen geben Aufschluss über die Bedeutungen und grammatischen Eigenschaften einzelner Wörter und Teile von Wörtern und tragen zum besseren Verständnis von Beispielsätzen in weniger bekannten Sprachen bei. Das Erstellen einer solchen Interlinearglossierung ist allerdings für größere Textmengen eine mühevoll und aufwändige Arbeit, die sich zum großen Teil auf den Abgleich von Wortlisten und morphologischen Bildungsmustern beschränkt und gerade zu Beginn der Arbeit mit einer neuen Sprache sehr zeitraubend ist. Für den Feldforscher gibt es zu diesem Zweck spezielle Datenbank-Software (Toolbox<sup>1</sup>, ehemals Shoebox), die diese Arbeit erleichtert. Für den mit Originaltexten arbeitenden Typologen wäre es jedoch von Vorteil, wenn ein solches Hilfsmittel für unterschiedliche Sprachen online zur Verfügung stehen würde.

Die vorliegende Arbeit beschreibt den Prototyp eines solchen Tools, das auf der Grundlage der Finite-State-Technologie, insbesondere der xfst-Applikation (Beesley & Karttunen, 2003), aus dem Originaltext eine Interlinearglossierung erstellt, welche auf einer zugrundeliegenden Wortliste sowie zusätzlichen Informationen zur Morphologie der jeweiligen Sprache basiert. Da das System nur auf Wortebene arbeitet und daher auf keine Kontextinformationen im Satz zugreift, erhält der Benutzer die Möglichkeit, aus etwaigen Alternativen die gewünschte Morphemanalyse zu wählen, die danach wiederum die entsprechende Segmentierung des Ausgangswortes bewirkt. Die Anwendung<sup>2</sup> wird beispielhaft anhand der Niger-Kongo-Sprache Wolof illustriert. Zu diesem Zweck wurde für das Wolof eine Wortliste (ca. 2000 Wörter) sowie eine Finite-State-Morphologie erstellt. Die Morphologie des Wolof beschränkt sich auf wenige Suffigierungsregeln, die nur teilweise auf phonologischen Kontext Bezug nehmen und das volle Potenzial der zugrundeliegenden Finite-State-Technologie bei weitem nicht ausschöpfen.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.sil.org/computing/toolbox/>

<sup>2</sup> <http://typo.uni-konstanz.de/~mayer/gloss/>

Beesley, Kenneth R., and Lauri Karttunen. 2003. *Finite State Morphology*. CSLI Studies in computational linguistics. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

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*Rainer Osswald*

FernUniversität in Hagen

**The representation of verb meaning in large-scale lexical resources**

---

There are meanwhile a number of computational lexical semantic resources comprising several thousands of verb entries, especially but not exclusively for the English language. Examples are the lexicons of the WordNet and the FrameNet family, the VerbNet resource, the LCS database, and the OntoSem and the SIMPLE lexicons. These resources differ considerably in their underlying theoretical framework and thus in their representation of verb meanings. For example, they disagree with respect to using event structure decompositions, backbone ontologies, or semantic classes derived from lexico-grammatical patterns.

I will focus on the question as to what extent the verb semantic representations in the foregoing lexical resources satisfy the following two desiderata: (1) The representation is integrated into a full-fledged semantic formalism that allows inferential reasoning on the level of sentences and texts. (2) The representation serves as an explanatory basis for effects at the syntax-semantics interface, i.e., allows predictions on argument realization, adverbial modification, etc. Unsurprisingly, all resources show deficiencies in one way or another. For instance, although Fillmore and Atkins in their outline of a frame-based lexicon emphasize the relationship between lexical meanings and lexico-grammatical patterns, the definition of frames in FrameNet rests primarily on intuitive grounds without taking syntactic realizations into account. In contrast, I will argue for a careful stipulation of semantic primitives and decompositions based on a variety of lexico-grammatical patterns. The approach will be exemplified for the domain of psychological verbs in German and English. Moreover, I will address the tension between linguistically motivated and conceptually based semantic representations, which concerns the compatibility of (1) and (2).

---

*Sabine Schulte im Walde, Christian Hying & Helmut Schmid*  
Institut für Maschinelle Sprachverarbeitung, Universität Stuttgart  
**Representing underspecification by semantic verb classes.**  
**Incorporating selectional preferences**

---

Semantic verb classifications, i.e., groupings of verbs according to semantic properties, are of great interest to both theoretical and computational linguistics. In theoretical linguistics, verb classes are a useful means to organise verbs with respect to common properties, such as meaning components, or shared argument structure. In computational linguistics, semantic verb classifications represent a valuable source of

---

underspecification, by generalising over the verbs according to their shared properties.

Our poster presents a novel approach to a semantic classification of verbs, that incorporates selectional preferences as common verb properties. We rely on the Expectation-Maximisation (EM) Algorithm as a soft-clustering technique, and model verb classification by probabilistic class membership of verbs and their semantic properties. In contrast to earlier work, we choose a more complex set of semantic properties: rather than directly using bilexical head dependencies between verbs and (direct object) nouns as clustering dimensions, we abstract over the noun dimension by selectional preferences. Consequently, a semantic class generalises over verb senses (as one dimension), and selectional preferences (as a second dimension). The classification approach is introduced in some detail, by providing an overview of the parameters of the clustering technique, and a range of examples.

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*Kathrin Spreyer, Jonas Kuhn & Bettina Schrader*

Institut für Linguistik

Universität Potsdam

**Experiments in multi-parallel annotation projection**

---

We propose a methodology for explorative linguistic search on large corpora that does not presuppose any higher-level NLP tools for the language under consideration. Instead, it uses existing tools in additional languages and parallel corpora to bridge across the languages. For the initial experiments, the goal is to bootstrap an argument-head classifier for some language C lacking a parser, given a parallel corpus of languages A, B, C, where compatible parsers exist for A and B. We pretend that Dutch is a language of type C and use broad-coverage LFG parsers for English and German as languages A and B. The (lexical) heads and arguments are projected to C from the parses of languages A and B, via the word alignments.

Our data set comprises 154 sentence triples where i) the German verb has roughly 1,000 occurrences in the *Europarl* corpus, ii) it is aligned to both Dutch and English, iii) both grammars assign a parse, and iv) for which the projected classifications of the German and English grammars agreed. Manual assessment of these projections revealed that 28% of the projected data was erroneous because of misalignments. Divergencies and translation shifts caused errors in 21% of the data. On the remaining data, projection achieves 83.0% precision and 59.2% recall. A loglinear model trained directly from these projections achieved a precision of 81.8% and a recall of 57.5%.

Clearly, the amount of data underlying these experiments is too small to yield statistically significant results. However, it shows directions for improvement which we will explore on a larger scale.

*Maik Walter & Karin Schmidt*

Freie Universität Berlin

**Der Gebrauch von Kausalmarkern bei fortgeschrittenen Lernern des Deutschen als Fremdsprache – eine Lernerkorpusanalyse in Falko**

---

Für das Konzept der Kausalität stehen im Deutschen verschiedene lexiko-grammatische Mittel zur Verfügung (Blühdorn et al. 2004). Zu den wichtigsten Mitteln gehören Kausalmarker wie *weil*, *da*, *deshalb*. Der Gebrauch dieser Gruppe von Konnektoren bei fortgeschrittenen Lernern des Deutschen als Fremdsprache ist der Gegenstand unserer Untersuchung. Dies geschieht auf der Folie des Handbuchs der deutschen Konnektoren und der Untersuchung von Frohning (2007), in der Gebrauchspräferenzen einzelner Kausalmarker herausgearbeitet wurden.

Wir nutzen für die Analyse das fehlerannotierte Lernerkorpus Falko, das im Rahmen eines Kooperationsprojekts zwischen der Freien Universität Berlin und der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin sowie unter der Beteiligung der Georgetown University Washington, D.C. (<http://www2.hu-berlin.de/korpling/projekte/falko/index.php>) entstanden ist. Neben der Präsentation unserer Ergebnisse werden wir das Lernerkorpus Falko kurz vorstellen und dabei insbesondere auf die Design-Faktoren von Lernerkorpora eingehen.

Blühdorn, Hardarik et al. (Hrsg.) 2004. *Brücken schlagen. Grundlagen der Konnektorensemantik*. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Pasch, Renate et al. 2003. *Handbuch der deutschen Konnektoren. Linguistische Grundlagen der Beschreibung und syntaktische Merkmale der deutschen Satzverknüpfers (Konjunktionen, Satzadverbien und Partikeln)*. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Lüdeling, Anke et al. 2005. Multi-level error annotation in learner corpora. *Proceedings of the Corpus Linguistics 2005*, Birmingham.

Lüdeling, Anke et al. 2008. *Das Lernerkorpus Falko*. Erscheint in *Deutsch als Fremdsprache*.

Frohning, Dagmar 2007. *Kausalmarker zwischen Pragmatik und Kognition. Korpusbasierte Analysen zur Variation im Deutschen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Walter, Maik & Patrick Grommes 2008. Die Entdeckung des fortgeschrittenen Lerners in der Varietätenlinguistik. In: Walter, Maik & Patrick Grommes (eds.), *Fortgeschrittene Lernervarietäten: Zweitspracherwerbsforschung und Korpuslinguistik*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

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*Ineta Sejane, Roman Schneider, Helmut Frosch & Bruno Strecker*

IDS, Mannheim

**Ontologie zur deutschen Grammatik im Online-Informationssystem *grammis***

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Angesichts der stetig steigenden Zahl der Publikationen zur deutschen Grammatik wird es zunehmend schwerer, sich einen Überblick über die Thematik zu verschaffen und an benutzergerecht aufbereitete Informationen zu gelangen. Diesen Aufgaben



widmet sich die Online-Informationsplattform zur deutschen Grammatik *grammis* am Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Mannheim. Die vier Informationseinheiten:

- Systematische Grammatik
- Grammatik in Fragen und Antworten
- Terminologisches Wörterbuch
- Bibliographie zur deutschen Grammatik

mit jeweils unterschiedlichen Zielsetzungen werden neuerdings mittels einer Ontologie zur deutschen Grammatik miteinander verbunden.

Die Ontologie-Einheit in *grammis* baut auf Erkenntnissen der Informationswissenschaft und der Ontologieforschung in der Informatik auf. Das relevante Fachvokabular sowie Relationen zwischen den einzelnen Begriffen wurden teils durch statistische Verfahren aus Korpora extrahiert, teils durch Experten kontrolliert, verfeinert und ergänzt. Die Ontologie bietet eine Übersicht über die Einzelbereiche der deutschen Grammatik und hilft dem Benutzer, durch kurze definitorische Erklärungen sein terminologisches Wissen aufzufrischen bzw. zu überprüfen. Die Haupthürde in diesem Vorhaben war die ausgeprägte Polysemie und die lockere Synonymie der grammatischen Terminologie, die aus parallel existierenden, historisch gewachsenen Forschungsrichtungen, unterschiedlichen Zielgruppen und der allgemein für das Fach charakteristischen relativen Benennungs- und Definitionsfreiheit resultieren. Um diesen Umständen Rechnung zu tragen, wurde die Ontologie von Anfang an vielschichtig und leicht durch zusätzliche Informationen erweiterbar konzipiert.

Von der Ontologie-Schnittstelle aus kann eine Suche angestoßen werden, die nach Begriffen, die durch verschiedene im weitesten Sinne synonyme Termini dargestellt sind, und Begriffskombinationen sucht. Das Ergebnis ist eine Liste mit Hyperlinks zu den betreffenden Texten in *grammis*. Damit dient die Ontologie vor allem der Erschließung der Fachinformation in digitalen Texten, aber implizit durchaus auch didaktischen und vielfältigen informativen Zwecken. Die Ontologie soll in Zukunft auch zur Erschließung weiterer Quellen zur deutschen Grammatik benutzt werden.



## Abstracts Lehramtsinitiative

### Linguistik und Sprachunterricht

#### Umsetzung von Bildungsstandards und Umgang mit Mehrsprachigkeit

In den letzten Jahren hat sich im Bildungssystem ein Paradigmenwechsel vollzogen: Anstatt der bislang üblichen Input-Steuerung durch Lehrpläne orientiert man sich nun stärker an den Ergebnissen. Dazu wurden bundesweit Bildungsstandards entwickelt, die einen verlässlichen Maßstab für die zu erwartenden Schülerleistungen bieten sollen. Aber nicht nur die generelle Funktion von Bildungsstandards, sondern auch ihre inhaltliche Gestaltung wird kontrovers diskutiert – sowohl unter Lehrer(inne)n als auch in der Wissenschaft. Linguist(inn)en der DGfS haben sich kritisch mit den Standards im Sprachunterricht auseinandergesetzt und möchten im Rahmen der DGfS-Jahrestagung in Bamberg mit Lehrer(inne)n ins Gespräch kommen, um den Fortgang bei der Umsetzung der Bildungsstandards zu diskutieren und Erfahrungen auszutauschen. Gegenstand der Veranstaltung sind weiterhin Herausforderungen, vor die sich Schulen durch zunehmend heterogene Schülerpopulationen konfrontiert sehen. Beispielsweise fühlen sich Lehrer(innen) zunehmend unzureichend dafür qualifiziert, mit Schüler(inne)n umzugehen, die oft nicht in der Lage sind, dem Unterricht in deutscher Sprache zu folgen.

Linguist(inne)n der DGfS setzen sich in vier Workshops in Bamberg (Orthographie, Mehrsprachigkeit, Grammatik und Korpustechnologie) mit diesen Themen auseinander. Die DGfS lädt Lehrer(innen) diverser Schulstufen zur Teilnahme ein.

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*Prof. Dr. Christa Röber & Prof. Dr. Ursula Bredel*

Freiburg & Köln

**Workshop „Orthographie“**

Di 14.30-16.30

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Die AG wendet sich an Lehrer(innen) aller Schularten. Das Ziel der AG wird es sein, eine Systematik der Orthographie des Deutschen darzustellen, die seit zwei Jahrzehnten von der Schriftlinguistik in allen orthographischen Bereichen herausgearbeitet wurde. Als Belege für die Systematik werden zwei Themenbereiche exemplarisch ausgewählt: die Schreibung der i-Laute für den Bereich der Systematik der Wortschreibungen, die Groß- und Kleinschreibung für die der Satz- bzw. Textgliederung. Der Bezug der schriftlinguistischen Resultate auf die Didaktik der Orthographievermittlung lässt sich an mehreren Aspekten festmachen:

1. Sie bieten einen Maßstab für die Kontrolle der sachbezogenen Stimmigkeit der Inhalte der rechtschreiblichen Lehrgänge: Bringen wir den Lernenden in der Schule das Richtige bei?

2. Sie lassen Fehler von Lernenden in einem neuen Licht erscheinen, indem diese nicht mehr (ausschließlich) als Defizite der Lernenden, sondern im Zusammenhang mit den rechtschreiblichen Instruktionen des Unterrichts gesehen werden: Sind Fehler nicht häufig als Folgen der rechtschreiblichen Lehrgänge zu interpretieren?
3. Sie bieten den Rahmen für die Neukonzipierung der Lehrgänge und damit zugleich ein verlässliches Instrumentarium für die Diagnose von Schülerleistungen als Reaktion auf einen sachgemäßen Unterricht: Wie ist der Lehrgang zu konzipieren, um Lernenden die Möglichkeiten zu geben, die orthographischen Regularitäten entdecken und automatisieren zu können? Welche Teilziele hat ein/e Lernende, der/die Fehler macht, noch nicht erreicht, und wie sind die Aufgaben für ihn/sie entsprechend neu zu gestalten?

Die AG wird keine Inhalte vermitteln können, die sich unmittelbar in unterrichtliches Handeln umsetzen lassen. Vielmehr zielt sie darauf ab, bisherige didaktische Positionen, damit auch den Umgang mit Leistungen von Lernenden zu überprüfen und die Möglichkeiten neuer Konzeptionsbildungen aufzuzeigen und zu begründen.

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*Prof. Dr. Petra Schulz & Prof. Dr. Rosemarie Tracy*

Frankfurt & Mannheim

**Workshop „Mehrsprachigkeit“**

Di 14.30-16.30

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Die Fähigkeit, Sprache bzw. Sprachen zu erwerben, gehört zu den besonders bemerkenswerten Begabungen des Menschen. Angesichts dieser Tatsache wirkt es geradezu paradox, dass Kinder in unseren Bildungseinrichtungen aufgrund fehlender sprachlicher Kompetenzen scheitern. Wie also kann man die Sprachbegabung von Kindern nutzen, um ihnen den Erwerb des Deutschen als Zweitsprache zu erleichtern, und wie kann die Schule auf den frühen metasprachlichen Kompetenzen mehrsprachiger Kinder aufbauen? In dem Workshop werden aktuelle Forschungsergebnisse zur Mehrsprachigkeit bei Kindern unterschiedlichen Alters vorgestellt und Möglichkeiten der Sprachstandsdiagnostik und der Sprachförderung diskutiert. Daher wendet sich dieses Veranstaltungsmodul auch besonders an Grundschullehrer(innen).

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*Prof. Dr. Peter Gallmann*

Jena

**Workshop „Grammatik“**

Di 14.30-16.30

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Im Workshop wird ein klassisches Thema der Schulgrammatik – die Kasus – aus verschiedenen Perspektiven hinsichtlich Norm und Gebrauch behandelt. Ziel des

Workshops ist es, am Beispiel der Kasuslehre inhaltliche und methodische Fragen des Grammatikunterrichts zu diskutieren. Die Teilnehmenden bestimmen mit, welche Fragen und Problemfelder eingehender diskutiert werden – wie zum Beispiel die Kasuslehre in den Bildungsstandards, Funktionen der Kasus, Proben zur Bestimmung der Kasus, Normatives im mündlichen und schriftlichen Sprachgebrauch, Terminologie und Jahrgangsstufen, Kasus und »Sprachgefühl« oder die Kasus im Sprachvergleich.

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*Prof. Dr. Stefan Engelberg & Rainer Perkuhn*

IDS Mannheim

**Workshop „Korpuslinguistik“: Dem Sprachgebrauch auf der Spur: Mit elektronischen Sammlungen primärer Sprachdaten arbeiten**

Di 14.30-16.30

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Ein zentrales Anliegen des Sprachunterrichts ist der *Gebrauch* der Sprache: Sprache adäquat zu deuten und sie angemessen einzusetzen. Größere Sammlungen von Primärquellen des Sprachgebrauchs finden aber außer im literarischen Bereich selten unmittelbar Eingang in die Gestaltung des Unterrichts oder der Lehrmaterialien. Daten aus diesen Quellen werden vorrangig in sprachbeschreibenden Werken (Grammatiken, Wörterbüchern) als "illustrierende Beispiele" aufbereitet. Dabei bieten geeignete Primärquellensammlungen einen reichen Schatz an Wissen über die Sprache, das auch für unterrichtsrelevante Fragestellungen genutzt werden kann.

Im Vergleich zum unüberschaubaren World Wide Web plädieren wir für kontrolliert aufgebaute Sammlungen deutschsprachiger Texte, heutzutage naheliegenderweise in elektronischer Form, sogenannte "*Korpora*". Eine geeignete korpuslinguistische Methodik kann dazu beitragen, das latente sprachliche Wissen dieser Sammlungen zu Tage zu fördern – sofern diese groß genug und für die zu beantwortende Fragestellung breit genug gestreut sind.

In dem Workshop wollen wir den theoretischen Hintergrund zum korpuslinguistischen Paradigma anhand verschiedener Bereiche erläutern: Schwerpunktthemen werden "Sprachwandel" (insbesondere "Neologismen") und "Wortverbindungen" (z.B. feste Wendungen und Kollokationen) sein. Daneben soll den Teilnehmer(inne)n nach einer Einführung aber auch die Möglichkeit geboten werden zu üben, korpuslinguistische Verfahren einzusetzen und ihre Ergebnisse zu deuten.



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## Übersicht der AG-Programme

Mittwoch, 27. Februar 2008

AG	Raum	10:00 - 12:30	12:30 - 14:00	14:00 - 14:30	14:30 - 15:00	15:00 - 15:30	15:30 - 16:00	16:00 - 16:30	16:30 - 17:00	17:00 - 17:30	17:30 - 18:00	18:00 - 18:30	ab 19:00
1	US/122			Heine	Norde	Enger			Kempson	Kaiser, G.A.	Stark / Şora	Butt et al.	
2	US/024			Zaefferer	Antweiler	Richerson	Progvac		Dietrich et al.	Hanulíková et al.	Ullman		
3	U2/204 (West)		M I T T A	Acarlar	Kauschke	Kuvač et al.	Pizzoli et al.		De Jong et al.	Babur / Chilla	Tsimpli et al.	Amon / Walter, J.	
4	H016 (Ost)		A S P	Diewald / Smirnova	Plungian		Stathi		Kugler	Alcazar			
5	US/117		A U S S E	Demirdache / Lungu	Reyle / Rosseut-scher	Laca / Cabredo-Hofherr	Rödel		Tonhauser	Wales	Katz / Percus	Landgraf	
6	US/118			Webelhuth	Göbbel	Hartmann			Meinunger / Frey	Crysmann	Strunk / Snider	Shiobara	
7	US/222			Alexiadou et al.	Abels / Benzen	Kobe	Kim		Klein, U.	Haida	Worth	Yoshida / Gallego	Geselliger Abend (Aula)
8	US/025 (Ost)		13:00 - 14:00	Endriss et al.	Petrova	Frey	Öhl		Consten et al.	Averintseva-Klisch	Demol	Isambert	
9	U2/133 (Ost)		MV der DGFS-Sektion Computertinguistik (US/122)	Restle	Burkhardt	Klein, N. et al.	Panizza / Chierchia		Holzgreffe et al.	Zondervan	Grodner et al.	Börjesson	
10	H201 (West)			Scherer / Holler	Busse	Munske	Neef		Cohen	Callies et al.	Nthirageza	Anchimbe	
11	US/217			Ehlich	Kendon	Rathmann	Pyers et al.		Perniss / Özyürek	Dotter et al.	Quinto-Pozos / Parrill	Fischer, R. / Kollien	
12	U11/016			Peters	Siebenhaar	Möbius / Jilka	Meisenburg / Gabriel		Kohler	Hughes / Szecepek R.	Alter	Diskussion	
Stud. AG	US/218			Warming-up	Hanke	Haas	Loos		Hack	Schackow	Weber	von Samson-Himmelsferna	



Freitag, 29. Februar 2008

AG	Raum	9:00 - 9:30	9:30 - 10:00	10:00 - 10:30	10:30 - 11:00	11:00 - 11:30	11:30 - 12:00	12:00 - 13:30	13:30 - 15:30
1	U5/122	Plank	Louden	Lenz	<p style="text-align: center;">K A F F E E P A U S E</p> <p style="text-align: center;">M I T T A G S P A U S E</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Plenar- vorträge (Klein, Thomason) (Aula)</p>				
2	U5/024	Majid	Pulvermüller	Poepfel					
4	H016 (Ost)	Hill	Grossmann / Tutin	Knees et al.					
5	U5/117	Jenny	Artstein	Mori					
6	U5/118	Chesi	Inaba	Walker					
7	U5/222	Hole	Kallulli	Schäfer					
8	U5/025 (Ost)	Reich	Lahousse	Bar-Asher					
9	U2/133 (Ost)	Schmitz, H.-Chr.	Kriempardis	Pouscoulous					
10	H201 (West)	Nakajima	Addison	Alex / Onysko					
11	U5/217	Tag	Marentette / Nicoladis	Verneerbergen / Demey					
13	U11/016	—	Bedoin / Dos Santos	Djickie et al.					
Stud. AG	U5/218	—	Pitsch	Handschuh					